GUIDE TO THE NU34 TARASCO FILE

[This file contains data on the Tarasco (Tarasca, or Tarascan) culture of western Mexico. It includes primarily information on those groups retaining indigenous speech at mid-twentieth century, although a wider area of mestizo culture retains many elements of the indigenous. Four unnumbered subheads are used to indicate subdivisions of the Tarascans: Sierra, Lake Pátzcuaro, La Cañada and Mestizo. The sources processed are all modern, but they incorporate in summary much historical background. All were written by professionally trained anthropologists except 4: West, written by a geographer and 11: Boyd, by an historian.

1: Beals is an intensive community study, detailed and thorough, with some data of a comparative nature from other parts of the Tarascan region. 2: Carrasco concentrates on the interrelationships of the folk religion with other aspects of the culture and the changes experienced through acculturation. 3: Beals, Carrasco and McCorkle is an intensive study of domestic buildings, their uses and furnishings, with data on historical and regional variation. 4: West is an excellent introduction to the region, its economy and its local specialization. 5: Beals and Carrasco is a discussion of game equipment and procedure with some comparative data. 6: Friedrich concentrates on community political organization and behavior, formal and otherwise. 7: Kaplan is a study of the conservation of traditional dance forms without comprehension of their significance by the participants. 8: Kaplan and 9: Lasker are two parts of an analysis of ethnic identification. 10: Beals and Hatcher presents information on quantities and types of diets in a Tarascan community. 11: Boyd is a presentation of eight Tarascan legends. The file was processed between 1959 and 1970.]

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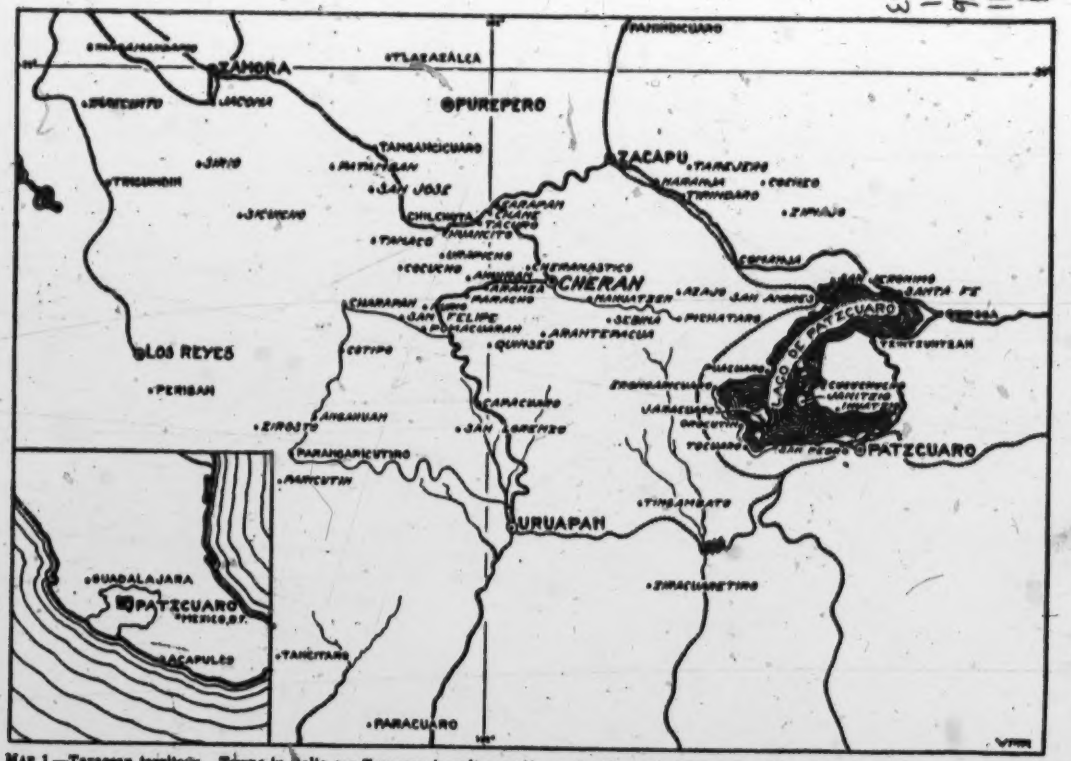

MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in italic are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestiso origin or are primarily Mestiso in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cherán; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

[p. 6]

133 Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this [132] range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzucuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact [136] that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some [132] areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from [312] almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

131 The present-day range of the Tarascans can-
101 not be defined with great accuracy, partly because of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

13| ritory is close to the railroad which runs
through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
10| The southern boundary might be defined
roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan
and thence close to the railway from Uruapan
to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from
Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs
just inside the northern limits and in others,
just outside. Within or near the borders of
the present-day Tarascan area occur a number
of old Mexican towns closely associated with the
historic Tarascans and their contemporary cul-
ture, which provide the administrative centers
and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los
Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
[563] towns of local importance have arisen more
recently, towns which were once Tarascan but
are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated
Tarascans. A good example of such a town is
Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may
be characterized generally as an elevated tem-
perate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic
soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood
forests. In detail there are differences, and a
number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake
Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages
are either on the shore or upon islands in the
lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to
cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but
is concentrated in the summer months. The
climate is temperate and cool even in mid-
summer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile
valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about
by hills and mountains covered with forest.
Although there is but little difference in eleva-
tion from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warm-
er and some tropical or subtropical plants such
as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of
Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada.
Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[912] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas,
and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no text]

I
INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. [161] They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 11a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

122 stitutions for the study of the Tarascans.[13] Work began in 1940 and since then the
114 main investigation has included two community studies, one of Cherán, a large Tarascan speaking town of farmers[14] and Tzintzuntzan, a Spanish speaking town of potters and farmers.[15] West gives a general cultural-geographical survey of the area.[16] Other reports are unpublished as yet or are not related to our problem.

The field work on which this paper is
114 based, also part of the Tarascan project, took place in 1945. Although drawn for the most part from one single village (Jarácuaro), material on the ideology and lore of the Tarascans was gathered from several other towns. The purpose of the investiga-
121 tion was to obtain a picture of what we might call their world view: ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, the natural and the supernatural elements, the main religious concepts, their folk science or lore. This kind of material is most frequently expressed in narrative folklore.

Cherán and Tzintzuntzan, the two com-
121 munities for which full monographs are available, are rather conservative towns
101 where the agrarian movement has been weak. Jarácuaro, on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro, where most of the author's material was gathered, is a town of hat makers and farmers. From a total population of about 900 only eight men were still agraristas in 1945. Most of the rest of the town considered themselves sinarquistas, were organized, and controlled the local government. Had the problem of this paper been stated before the field work, more material would have been obtained from predominantly agrarista towns, but this monograph deals mostly with the conservative and sinarquista positions. A detailed study of the Tarascan agrarian movement and what it has meant for the Tarascan

13. Rubin de la Borbolla and Beals, 1940; Beals, 1946, ix; Foster, 1948, 1.
14. Beals, 1946.
15. Foster, 1948.
16. West, 1948.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.1)b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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[101]

culture is greatly needed for an understanding of the problems of the area.

* * *

A comparative study is not attempted in this paper. Studies of Indian communities in Central and South America show that similar problems exist in these areas. The change of a folk culture in the direction of greater assimilation by the national culture is best exemplified in Redfield's Yucatan study[17] and it can be assumed to be a general process. The economic organization of the traditional cult is based on the primitive economic mechanisms of reciprocity of services and gifts. Under the impact of a modern economy this organization becomes inadequate and its obligations are felt to be onerous.[18] The attempts at radical change which took place in some Michoacan communities do not seem to be general. In some other cases the change away from expensive obligations to the cult is involved with conversion to Protestantism[19] or can be accomplished gradually without the violent conflict which characterizes this development in Michoacan.[20]

A comparative study of cases similar to that discussed in this paper would have to look into every local circumstance for the relation between the changing village economy and the economics and organization of the local cult. On the other hand the national pattern in which those communities live undoubtedly influences the form of the change, whether gradual, schismatic or anticlerical. The Mexican Revolution, which can be understood only in national terms, was the main determinant of the direction of change taken in most Tarascan villages. The influence of Protestant missions also depends on the national policies of the countries concerned. Any comparative study consequently will have to include the relations existing between the national and peasant cultures involved.

17. Redfield, 1941.
18. Mishkin, 1946, 448; Carrasco, 1951, 105-7.
19. For Guatemala, see Tax, personal communication; perhaps also in Peru, see Tschopik, 1947, 48, 53.
20. Carrasco, 1951; Tschopik, 1947, 34, 45-6.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 1-B]

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) in northwestern Michoacán. Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the
101 Tarascans Sierra or Siériš) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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[1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 843A (Uruapan) of the
102 AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S.
131 Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photo-
133 graphy taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arachúcuta.	27. Patambicho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojas.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupio.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolas.	30. Tareric.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Ucasanástacua.
6. Tapan.	19. La Atascada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepemal.	34. Yunuén.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tepetate.	35. Tecuena.
10. Querándaro.	23. Tejamanil.	36. Urandén Morales.
11. Zarzamora.	24. Pacápatiro.	37. Urandén Morales.
12. San Luis Serena.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandén Carian.
13. La Jolla.	26. Opongulo.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1940 census) are not located: Trintzicha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Encinillas and Los Laureles (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolución (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itzipariánucu (municipio of Tzintzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

131 boundary approximates the México-Guadalajara
101 highway, while the steep escarpment that plunges into the Balsas-Tepalcatepec Basin marks its southern limit. An eastward extension lies south and southeast of the lake and joins with the Sierra de Ozumatlán in eastern Michoacán. Containing
[162] 60 percent of the present indigenous group, the Sierra west of the lake is the modern center of the Tarascans. (2) The Lake Pátzcuaro (Japúndaru, Inčámecuaru) area contains 19 percent of the
[162] Tarascan population distributed in 13 pueblos and 13 ranchos along the lake shore and on the islands. Formerly one of the political centers of the Tarascan Empire, the lake region, in terms of indigenous speech, has declined rapidly since late colonial times. The speech of the entire south
[191] shore and the towns of Quiroga, Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro is predominantly Spanish. North and northeast of the Sierra lie two small areas of indigenous speech, which appear to be remnants of the once large northern Tarascan zone. One of these is (3) La Cañada (Eráseman), a small narrow valley located at the northern edge of the Sierra. This valley was the region of the "onze pueblos" of
[162] colonial days. Today nine towns with 9 percent of the total Tarascan population are clustered along a strip of alluvium within the valley. (4) The other remnant of the northern zone lies north and northwest of Lake Pátzcuaro and contains
[162] seven pueblos and 9.5 percent of the total number of Tarascan-speaking folk.[2] Other regions of Tarascan speech consist of "islands" south of the main area. Cuanajo, located southwest of Morelia in the western[1] extension of the Sierra, is the last fragment of the former indigenous area southeast of Lake Pátzcuaro. San Angel Zurumucapio and the newly formed towns (Caltzontzin and Villa Silva) harboring refugees from the stricken

[2] These pueblos include Tirindaro, Tarejero, and Naranja on the shore of former Zacapu marsh; Asajo and Cosmanja on the northeastern edge of the Sierra; Teremendo and Zipiajo at the northern foot of Cerro el Zirate.

[1] [Probably should read "eastern", it referring to Tarascan Sierra.—Analyst.]

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
● 101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
Formerly an important part of the Tarascan
[191] Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Jurío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
[166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1946), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1945).

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua ʒanári*.

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgua*. An official called the *kiéŋi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéŋi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akáčperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Aiásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *aiásuiákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the cacicazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of [101] some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, [105] bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-[423] clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations 128 that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete po- 594 litical functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin 66 active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and 612 these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.

A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or 423 66

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo. [101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns — "The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no overt conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those 563 with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans 565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin 563 America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United
113 States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. iii]

PREFACE

The Florida State Museum's field of interest includes the greater Caribbean area. It is appropriate that the first non-archaeological issue of the *Contributions, Social Sciences*, should pertain to Mexico, our sister republic to the south; should refer to the interesting but much neglected Tarascan Indians; should be prepared by Maurice Boyd, Associate Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Florida; and should be based on field work done by him while a visiting professor at the University of Michoacán in Mexico.

The Tarascans are relatively unknown in comparison with the Aztecs. They are covered by single line references or, at most, a paragraph in books written in English which deal with the history of Mexico. Yet these people were nearly the equals of the Aztecs both in military strength and cultural attainments. It is primarily an accident of geography which gave the Aztecs the greater prominence. 101 114

Dr. Boyd has made a special study of the Tarascans—their life, their history, and their culture. We are glad to present the first results of this research. 114

Ripley P. Bullen
Curator of Social Sciences

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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FIGURE 1.—Map of the modern Tarascan region.

[p.5c]

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MAP 1.—Topographic map of the modern Tarasc

[Facing page 1; section A]

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Topographic map of the modern Tarascan area.

[Facing page 1; section B]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 1-B]

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) in northwestern Michoacán. Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siériä) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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102 [1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 642A (Uruapan) of the
131 AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S.
133 Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photography taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arachécuita.	27. Patambicha.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trejas.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Icbupío.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolás.	30. Taruria.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Uemandetacua.
6. Tapan.	19. La Atasceda.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepemal.	34. Yunuén.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tapetate.	35. Tecuesa.
10. Querándaro.	23. Tejamanil.	36. Urandán Morales.
11. Zarzamora.	24. Paciqatiro.	37. Urandán Morelos.
12. San Luis Sereno.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandán Carlan.
13. La Jolla.	26. Opengulo.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1940 census) are not located: Tzintzicha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Encinillas and Los Lazurias (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Troposón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolución (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itzíparámucu (municipio of Tzintzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

133 have attracted human settlement to the valley
[312] since prehistoric times. Sierra Tarascans, who
[361] call La Cañada "Erásemen" (view from above),
[102] probably visited the valley for chile and early maize before the Spanish Conquest. Spaniards immediately seized the well-watered plains near Chilchota for wheat fields. Today La Cañada is a garden spot of orchards and wheat fields amid rocky volcanic hills.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

132 **Meteorological data.**—In dealing with meteorology, northwestern Michoacán will be treated as a whole; attempts will be made to point out regional differences in temperature and rainfall. Meteorological stations in the area are few; data are entirely lacking for the Sierra. Consequently, only general statements can be made concerning the weather and climate of modern Tarasca.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.3]

INTRODUCTION

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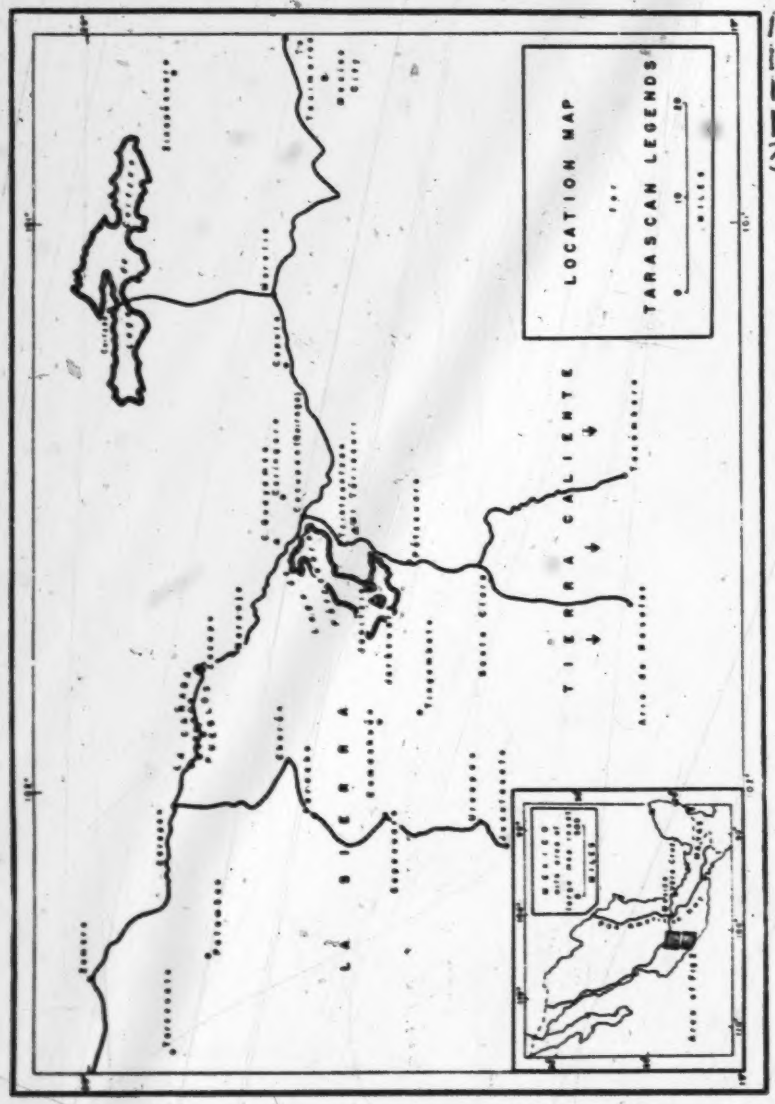

Fig. 1. Map of the Tarascan Area.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style.

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author.

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual

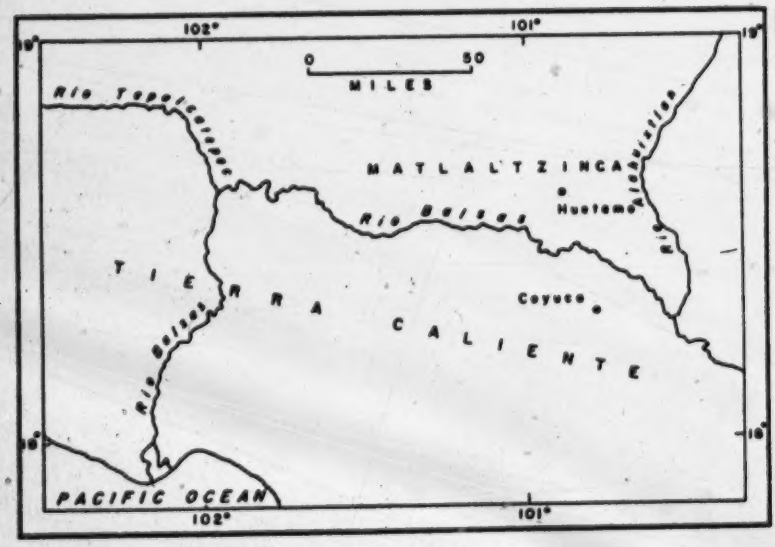

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison.

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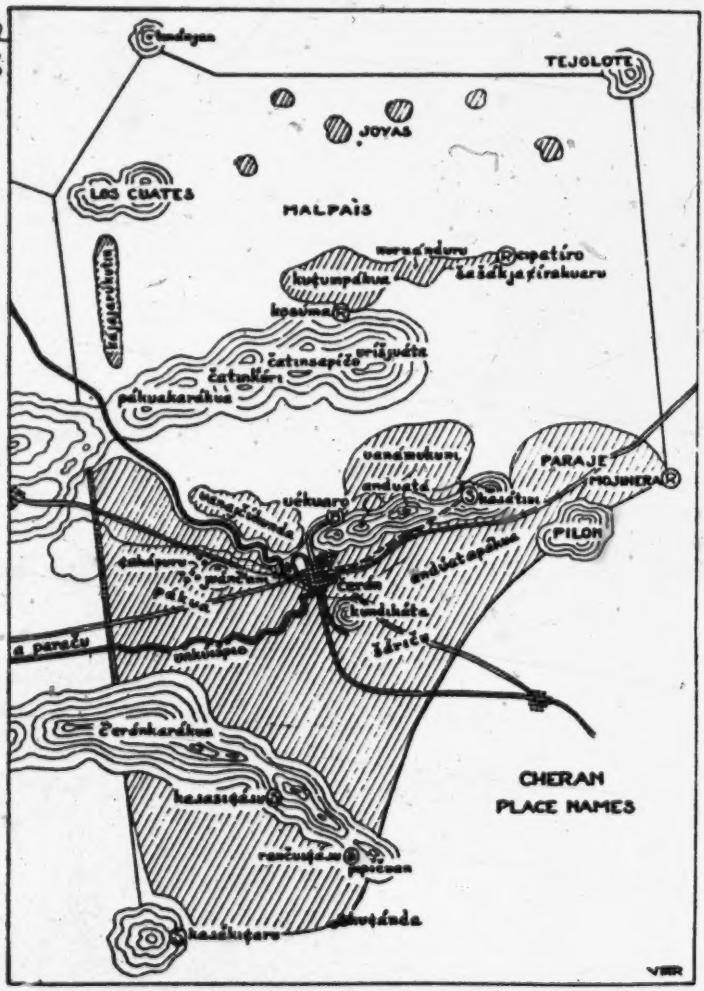
CHERÁN: A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE—BEALS



MAP 1.—The municipio of Cherán, showing the more important place names. See map 2 for explanation of symbols.

[p. 9]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.92b]

863 sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

A larger subdivision than the block is
633 furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps
103 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúkutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúkutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keíku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalákua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Parícutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

The *barrios* show very few differences.
633 Parícutin is less populated, has larger lots, and
184 is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest,
[231] the dogs of Parícutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely
633 on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.[27]

[27] On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

[P.3]

INTRODUCTION

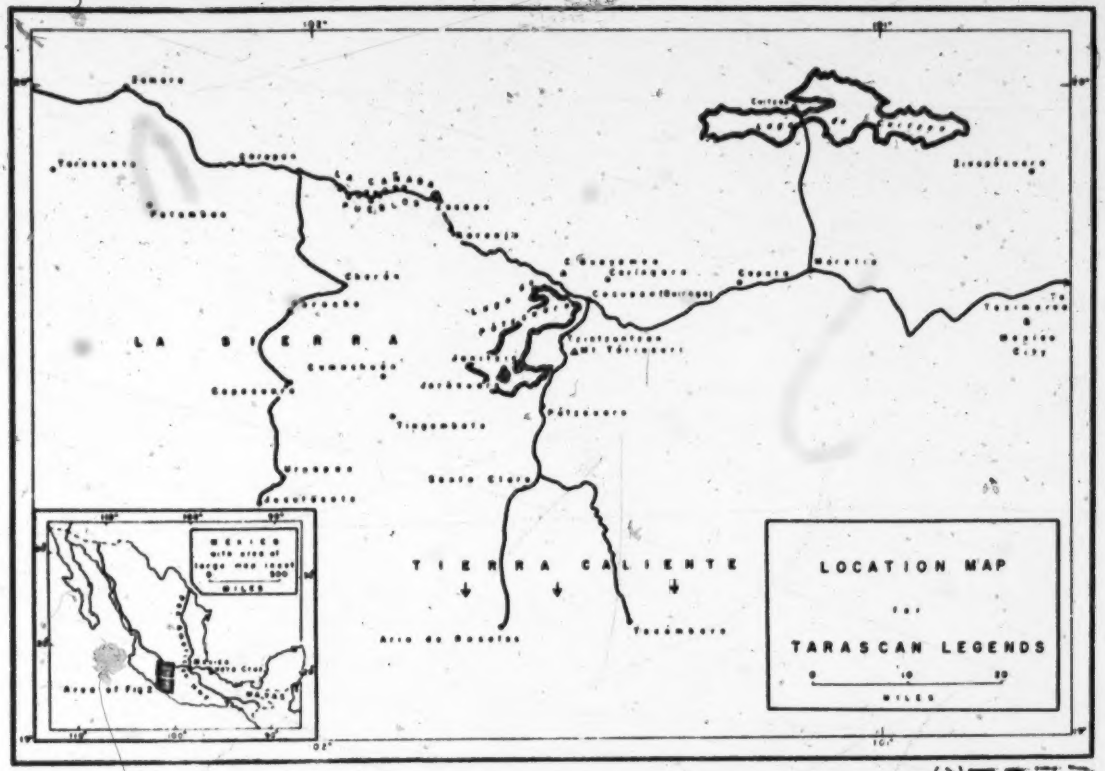


Fig. 1. Map of the Tarascan Area.

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author. 539 [126]

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual [175] [114]

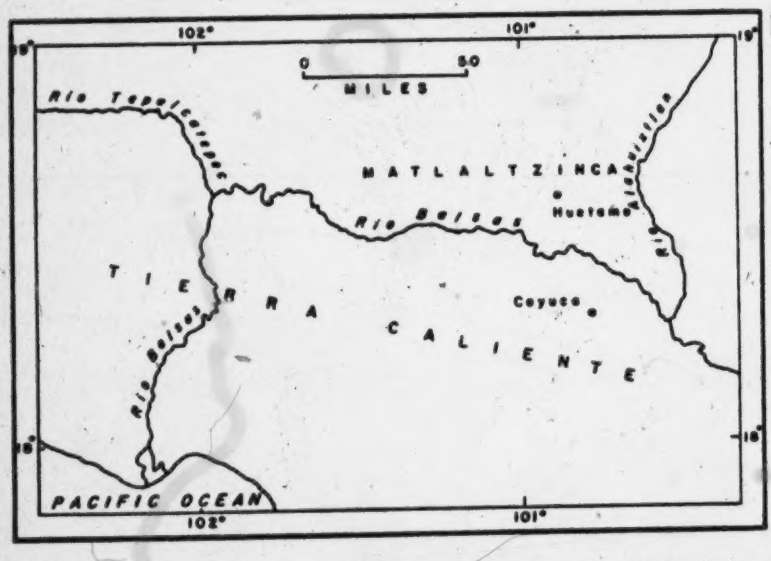

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Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
726 and other data essential to a successful compaign.

Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[96] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

PHONETIC NOTE

104 The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of Mexico in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel ʌ is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

- *ȼ* is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
- *č* is the equivalent of English *ch*.
- *ŋ* is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."
- *ɹ* is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
- *ř* is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
- *š* is the equivalent of English *sh*.
- *ȼ'*, *č'*, *k'*, *p'*, and *t'* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.
- *f*, *l*, and *r* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

[p, x c]

[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans
105 appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

In this section are described the techniques of
128 the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the
[263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*,
[278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is col-
[252] lected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly
412 of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.13b]

105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire
412 family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing wool-
388 ens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting tech-
222 nique still important in Cherán is gathering
237 wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two
[776] groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), baya (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[104]

37 either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is
[492] dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and taken into town on muleback.

Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made
333 from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles ("*huinomo*")* or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

312 Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Paricutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

[104] * Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

243 nontapering, early-seasoned, undented, and many-tillered varieties. They may possibly reflect a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like the maize of the Basket Makers. If so, it was one element in the ancestry of Tarascan maize.

[text continues on top of p. 223b]

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[text continues on middle of p. 223b]

GLOSSARY

104 The following list includes Spanish and Tarascan terms frequently used in the text. Words used only once or twice and defined at the time are not included in the glossary. Spanish words are given the local Tarascan usage, which is often different from either customary Mexican or standard Spanish usage. Tarascan words are followed by "T".

Ates (T), the *cabildo*, or chiefs of the ceremonial organization.

Agave, a genus of plants, often called the *maguey*. In the United States, called the century plant.

Agua miel, the unfermented juice of the *agave*.

Aguardiente, normally a liquor distilled from sugarcane; in the Tarascan area, often called *charanda*.

Almud, a dry measure of about 0.8 of a liter.

[text continues on bottom of p. 223b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.223b]

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Taken in conjunction with Mangelsdorf and Cameron's recent (1942) analysis of knob number in Guatemalan maize, these results demonstrate the importance of considering altitude above sea level in interpreting the history and development of *Zea mays*.

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GLOSSARY

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Arriero, a muleteer.

Arroba, a measure of weight, slightly less than 25 pounds.

Atapákua (T), squash blossoms and immature squash cooked together.

Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of ground maize with various flavorings.

Ayuntamiento, the civil government of a *municipio*.

Barranca, a steep-sided canyon or gully.

Barrio, a ward or division of a town.

Bilis, a word used to cover a variety of sicknesses.

Cabecera, the largest town and administrative center of a *municipio*.

Cabildo, the group in charge of the ceremonial organization; the acés.

Calzones, cotton trousers of unbleached muslin, worn by men for work and, by conservatives, for everyday wear.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Cantina, a saloon.
Čápata, a tamale made from amaranth.
Čarales, a small dried fish.
Carga, a somewhat indefinite measure, often a burro load.
Carguero, a *mayordomo*, a person who has taken responsibility for a saint's image for a year.
Castillo, a set piece of fireworks on a tall pole.
Catrin, urban or citified, particularly applied to clothes.
Centavo, a cent, or one-hundredth of a peso.
Centimeter, one-hundredth of a meter.
Charanda, a drink distilled from sugarcane.
Charape, a ceremonial drink, usually made of *pulque*.
Chayote, a lush-growing vine and the edible fruit it bears.
Chilecayote, a type of squash.
Cherimoya, the anona, a fruit.
Cohete, an explosive rocket used in fiestas.
Cohetero, fireworks maker.
Comadre, the godmother of one's child.
Comal, a lenticular dish used for baking tortillas.
Comisionado, a person who has been commissioned by the authorities to perform some task in connection with municipal affairs or a fiesta. May also be named by the priest or by ceremonial organizations.
Compadrazgo, the system of relationships set up through the godparent custom.
Compadre, godfather of one's child.
Copal, the gum of the long-needled tropical pine (*Pinus montezumae*).
Corales, tubular red glass beads worn by every woman in native costume.
Cuartel, a *barrio*, or division of a town.
Cuelgas, ornaments hung from ropes, poles, or about the neck of participants in some ceremonies.
Curato, the residence of the priest.
Čuripe (T), a highly seasoned broth containing cabbage and chunks of boiled beef.
Fanega, a Spanish dry measure which has various values in different parts of Mexico. In Cherán, the fanega appears to equal 90.8 dry quarts.
Garabanzos, chickpeas.
Gordos, flat thickish cakes fried in lard, usually of ground corn but sometimes of wheat flour.
Guaraches, sandals.
Guavas, a fruit.
Habas, the broadbean.
Hectares, a land measure of 2.47 acres, or 10,000 square meters.
Jefe de defensa, chief of the local militia.
Junta, any meeting of a town or organized body.
Kéŋi (T), an official connected with the *cabildo* and the church who does errands and looks after the church and church properties.
Kurúnda (T), a tamale made of steamed *nixtamal* wrapped in maize leaves.
Litro, a liter, a liquid measure.
Maestro, a school teacher; a lay reader.
Maguey, the *agave* plant.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.224b]

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Malpais, an old lava flow.
Mano, the smaller milling stone held in the hands.
Manta, cheap unbleached muslin.
Manzana, a block or square in a town.
Mayordomía, the entire process of caring for a saint's image, arranging for the Mass and other ceremonies involved by tradition.
Mayordomo, *carguero;* a person who is responsible for the care of a saint's image for a year.
Metate, the lower or stationary milling stone.
Meter, a measure of 39.37 inches.
Mole, a common highly seasoned and complicated sauce used on meat; also a meat dish served in mole sauce.
Moro, a type of dancer common in Michoacán.
Municipe, a *regidor* or city councilman.
Municipio, an administrative area somewhat like a county or parish.
Negritos, dancers wearing black wooden masks who appear at Christmas.
Nixtamal, dough made by grinding maize after it is soaked in lye.
Nopal, the prickly pear cactus plant.
Očépos (T), a sweet tamale.
Olla, water jar of pottery.
Panalero, a person who collects wild honey.
Pan dulce, wheat-flour bread with sweetening added.
Papaya, a subtropical fruit.
Peso, a Mexican silver coin.
Pinole, flour made by grinding parched maize.
Plan, plain; a large level cultivated area.
Portales, covered sidewalks, the outer edge of the roof supported by pillars.
Posole, maize soaked in lye and then cracked into small pieces.
Pulque, fermented juice of the *agave*, or *maguey*. (See *Agave*.)
Raíz de paja, a root which is dried and used to make scrubbing brushes.
Ramada, a rectangular unwalled structure primarily for the purpose of affording shade.
Rebozo, a shawl worn by women.
Regidor, a member of the city council.
Relata, the text which is recited at a dance.
Representante del pueblo, an official who looks after community property in lands and forests.
Reserva, an authorized armed militia.
Rezador, a person who recites prayers for a small fee.
Riata, a long rope used in handling horses and cattle.
Rollo, the native skirt with the thick band of pleats across the back.
Ronda, the night watch, or volunteer police.
Secretario, the town clerk or secretary.
Serape, a blanket, usually ornamented, and with an opening so that it may be worn over the head as a poncho.
Solar, a town lot.
Suplente, the alternate for an office in the government.
Tabla, a plank.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.225a]

104 **Tamale**, a food made of maize, often mixed with other ingredients, wrapped in maize leaves or maize husks, and steamed.

Tejamanil, wooden shakes.

Tejocote, a tree bearing a sloelike fruit much like a crab apple; the fruit of such a tree.

Tenencia, a settlement of some size which is administered by a representative of the *municipio*.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 225]

104 **Tortillas**, thin flat cakes of maize dough baked on an ungreased griddle, or *comal*.

Troje, the Tarascan storehouse, the largest structure in a Tarascan house group, as a rule.

Tuna, the fruit of the *nopal* cactus, or prickly pear.

Velorio, a religious celebration at which candles are burned.

Viajero, a traveling merchant.

Zapote, a tropical fruit resembling a plum.

[p. 226 is blank]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE ☆ 596569—1946

2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 3]
[P. 2 contains no text]

PREFACE

The author wishes to express his thanks to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (formerly The Viking Fund) for a predoctoral fellowship under which the library research and a substantial part of the writing of this paper were done, as well as to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant which allowed the completion of the manuscript.

In writing Tarascan words we use the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas in 1939. It follows Spanish usage in so far as possible.

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in Spanish. ʌ is a high central vowel.

The consonants b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, p, s, t have Spanish values.

- ʦ is pronounced like Spanish *ts*
- č is pronounced like Spanish *ch*
- z is pronounced like English *dz*
- ǰ is pronounced like English *j*
- ŋ is pronounced like English *ng* in sing. In the Lake dialects it becomes *n*.
- r appical flap, like Spanish *r* in *cara*
- ɾ coronal flap
- š is pronounced like English *sh*
- p',t', etc. are aspirated

PEDRO CARRASCO

March, 1952

GLOSSARY

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Agrarismo. Agrarista movement or ideas.

Agraristas. Peasants who received lands under the terms of the post-revolutionary agrarian reforms (usually from haciendas). In many Tarascan villages this term is also applied to peasants who did not receive lands from the government but who nevertheless organized themselves to occupy lands taken from the community or from private landholders.

Alcalde. In colonial times, the mayor of a Spanish or Indian town.

Cabildo. In colonial times, the town council (and perhaps also, sodality council). Presently, the non-official group of cargueros and former cargueros in charge of the ceremonial organization.

Cargo. Yearly office in the religious organization of a town. It usually implies sponsorship of a saint's festival.

Carguero. Person holding a cargo.

Catrín. Person in city clothes. This term refers particularly to clothes but it also conveys the idea of a wealthy non-Indian city-dweller.

Compadres. Godparents of one's child or the parents of one's godchild.

Corregidor. In colonial times, the government official with authority over a city or provincial subdivision.

Ejidatario. Ejido member.

Ejido. In colonial times, the communal pasture lands of a village. Since the agrarian reforms after the Revolution, this term is applied to lands distributed to peasants for their use but with title held in common by the community of ejido members.

Hospital. Originally, hospital supported by a sodality and the sodality itself. This sodality also organized a substantial part of the religious cult and this function became the predominant one. Thus, hospital means today a ceremonial group and its chapel.

Japiqua (Tarascan). The king or owner of an animal species (usually fish or cattle); also, an animal which excretes coins. Often identified or connected with the Devil.

Jefe político. Chief authority of a district during the Porfirio Díaz regime.

K'uaqari (Tarascan). Giants, legendary people who lived before the advent of Christianity.

Mayordomía. Office of a mayordomo.

Mayordomo. Originally, steward of a sodality. Presently sponsor of the festival to some saint; also, one of the officers in the hospital. Mayordomo is not synonymous with carguero. Carguero is the general term for religious officer; only certain cargueros are also called mayordomo.

Pindecuario (Spanish from Tarascan). In colonial times, a list of the financial obligations of a village and its officers toward the financing of the Church and its festivals.

Priosta. Main officer of the hospital.

Principales. Originally, Indians of noble status. Today elders or members of the cabildo.

Regidor. A member of the town council.

Semanero. A lesser official of the hospital, serving for a specified number of weeks.

Sinarquista. The Catholic, nationalist party (or a member of the party) which is strong among the peasants.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5(1940-1942)1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

PHONETIC NOTE

104 The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of Mexico in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel ʌ is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

ʧ is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
č is the equivalent of English *ch*.
ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing".
ɹ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
ř is equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
š is equivalent of English *sh*.
ʧʰ, *čʰ*, *kʰ*, *pʰ*, and *tʰ* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.
f, *l*, and *ř* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

[p. ʌ£]

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

104 Tarascan words are written in the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most [764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

342 Two clearly defined types of construction exist in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. vi]

PHONETIC NOTE

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The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of México in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel ʌ is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

- *ȼ* is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
- *č* is the equivalent of English *ch*.
- *ŋ* is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."
- *ǰ* is the equivalent of French *j*.
- *ɾ* is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
- *r* is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
- *š* is the equivalent of English *sh*.
- *ž* is the equivalent of English *z*.
- *ȼ'*, *č'*, *k'*, *p'*, and *t'* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.

243 to the lower point of the frame. This instrument
412 stirs, rather than turns, the soil to a depth of less than 6 inches. Within the last 50 years many Tarascans have used a small adaptation of the North European moldboard plowshare for breaking new land and for first and second plowings. For planting and cultivating maize the moldboard (which is slipped over the end of the plow frame) is replaced by the *reja*. As mentioned above, in recent years the Mexican government has supplied a number of American steel plows to various
243 Tarascan municipios.

[231] Oxen are used almost exclusively to pull the plow, to which they are hitched by the horn yoke. Mules and horses sometimes supplement oxen during maize cultivation, when the work must be done quickly. Before being planted, maize fields are plowed, this operation being called *barbecho*. In the Sierra the *humedad* maize lands in the plains are plowed twice, once in late summer and again in late winter. Temporal maize fields located outside the Sierra undergo only one plowing—in late May or early June, immediately before the rains. For planting, rows are formed with the plow equipped with the straight *reja*. Usually rows follow the contour on slopes. Two to three seeds are dropped at 1-foot intervals into the furrow by a boy following the plow and driver. Often the boy covers the seed with earth to a depth of 3 or 4 inches with a sweep of his foot. If animals are available, the first plow is followed by a second, which covers the grain by throwing earth from the interfurrow ridge (pl. 5). This plow is often equipped with a horizontal beam (*orejera*), placed back of the *reja*, which rakes earth into the furrow. Maize is normally cultivated (earth thrown toward the plant and weeds eradicated) twice with the plow, once when the plant is about 1½ feet high (*escarda*) and again when the plant begins to tassel (*segunda*). There-
[412] after, fields are weeded by hand or with the hoe. Zacatón (a form of Johnson grass) is cut with the *judíe*, a machetelike sickle, similar to the *garabato* of the *tierra caliente*.[33]

412 Several forms of the pre-Columbian planting
243 stick are still used in the maize fields of the Sierra (fig. 3). These instruments, called meiánta-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 38a - ANALYSIS]

[104] [33] The Sierra Tarascans use many terms to describe maize in its various stages of growth. When the plant is about 4 inches high (2 weeks after planting), it is called pirán; at 1½ feet (ready for the *escarda*), kání or tapíta; when in tassel, pípita; when ears are in hair, tuxání or tuxápiti.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow: 171 526 [101]

Uʇsukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *udsukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári*. 526 [237]

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *sirángua*. An official called the *kiéni*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéni*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7] [624] [796]

Akúʇperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *udsukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atdsukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atdsutákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. [104]

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period. [171]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

105 To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the [263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*, [278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is collected from November to May. [252] The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 412 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.13b]

105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 412 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 388 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing woolens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

222 237 *Honey gathering.*—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two [176] groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (*arumbas*), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *bayo* (*bóngakua*), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[104]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 8b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 One might approach the question of
177 change from two points of view: first, how local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

121 In order to discuss the relation between folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

121 In the following table the culture of
105 Tarascan villages is classified according to this dichotomy:

FOLK	NATIONAL
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.99] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

121
105

FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

121 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits
177 and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

In this sense we study a process of change
121 which is the same as that which Redfield describes as a difference between a folk
181 and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 579] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

●185 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a 177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national 621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

Catholicism, the state religion, was also 771 the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. 794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the cacicazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

[101] [105] [423] 128

594 The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete political functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and these functions are especially impoztant in defining the cacicazgo.

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612

A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or

423
66

111 NU34 Tarasco

1: Beals, Ralph Leon. Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village. Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 2. Washington, 1946.

Pp. x, 226; 8 plates, 19 text figures; 5 maps; 3 appendices

HRAF copy

[This monograph is a general ethnographic study of the community of Cherán, with its main emphases on technology, economics, the community, religion and ceremonial, and the individual and the culture. The data are given in detail throughout, with numerous illustrative extracts from the field notebooks. Two appendices give comparative material on the food plants and food from La Cañada, and on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota, both of which are also Tarascan in culture. A third appendix is a report on the maize from Cherán by Edgar Anderson. Material on the mayordomía and cargó has been placed in Category 796. Material on the municipio has been placed in Category 632. This study was done by Beals and the Institute of Social Anthropology in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropologia as part of a larger program directed toward the study of the Tarascans of Michoacán. Beals is presently Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Los Angeles.--Analyst]

Field date: 1940-1941 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5

Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary Processed in 1959

2: Carrasco, Pedro. Tarascan Folk Religion. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, Publication 17, 1952.

Pp. 64; preface; glossary; bibliography; index.

Yale: C67ℓ T18 -952C

[This source is based primarily on field work in the village of Jarácuaro located on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro. The author, an ethnologist, gathered information from several other towns, Cherán and Tzintzuntzan in particular. The general purpose of this work is to show how changes in the social and economic structure of Mexico as a whole, and of the Tarascan area in particular, affected the Tarascan folk religion. The Tarascan "world view" is also clearly exemplified through their own ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, supernatural and natural elements, primary religious concepts and their distinctive folklore, as illustrated through many folk stories and tales. It should be noted that Jarácuaro is primarily a conservative village with only eight men out of a total population of 900 being agraristas (left wing political group) the remainder being sinarquistas (right wing conservative political group). The conservative element was also noted to be dominant in the villages of Cherán and Tzintzuntzan--Analyst]

Field date: 1945 Evaluation: Ethnologist--4, 5

Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1959

3: Beals, Ralph L., Pedro Carrasco, and Thomas McCorkle. Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology Publication, No. 1. Washington, D.C., 1944.

Pp. x, 37; 8 plates

HRAF copy

[This paper by three prominent anthropologists, has two stated purposes: the scientific study of an important aspect of Tarascan culture and the application of anthropological knowledge to the solution of a practical problem--housing. In this study, the authors survey the different types of building materials, types of structures, modes of construction, furniture, utensils, interior decoration, material and construction costs, utilization and adequacy of the various types of buildings, the ceremonial and social functions related to the house, and the historical development of building types. The authors conclude by saying that for the majority of the inhabitants improvement of housing condition is not an economic problem but a problem of altering basic patterns of culture. Since the Tarascan troje (house) is really a storehouse, it has been marked for 343 (outbuildings). On the other hand, the torita and cocinas de pie derecho (kitchens) are marked for 342 (dwelling) because they are used for family living. --Analyst]

Field date: 1940-1942
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologists-5
Processed in 1959

4: West, Robert C. Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 7. Washington, 1948.

Pp. vi, 78; preface; phonetic note; bibliography; 14 photographic plates; 6 text figures; 21 maps

HRAF copy

[This source was prepared by the author under the auspices of the Institute of Social Anthropology, for the purpose of establishing a general background for other studies made in the Tarascan area by the author's co-workers. This study is primarily a descriptive report of the cultural geography of the Tarascan area, with occasional elaboration upon historical information. The primary focus of the author is on the material culture of the people, with particular emphasis on agriculture, trade, handicrafts, and the economy of the present day Tarascans. The author also attempts to show how areal recession has taken place since the first culture contacts with the Spanish.

This source was primarily compiled from field work done by the author during April, May and June, 1946. The author claims to have visited all Tarascan towns, with the exception of Cheranátzicurin, and approximately

4: West, Robert C.

two-thirds of the total time spent in field work was done in the Sierra region. Historical library research was also done by the author for this study.

Occasional unnumbered subtitles are entered when the data refer principally to one or more of the cultural sub-areas of Sierra, Lake Pátzcuaro, La Cañada, or Mestizo Tarascans. --Analyst]

Field date: 1946
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Geographer-5
Processed in 1959

5: Beals, Ralph L. and Pedro Carrasco. Games of the Mountain Tarascans. American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 46, pp. 516-522. Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association, 1944.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II46

[This article describes in detail a number of athletic and board games which are considered to be at least partially of indigenous origin. Data on equipment and procedure are clearly presented. The introductory paragraphs relate the study to others on similar customs in other American cultures. --Analyst]

Field date: 1940-1941
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologists-5
Processed in 1960

6: Friedrich, Paul W. A Tarascan Cacicazgo: Structure and Function. In Verne F. Ray, ed., Systems of Political Control and Bureaucracy in Human Societies: Proceedings of the 1958 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, pp. 23-29. Seattle, 1958.

HRAF copy

[The cacicazgo is the social complex supporting "a type of informal...government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique." In this study, the author discusses the various social groups which are active in community politics, their relationship to those holding formal office, to political organization on local, state and national levels, and the methods by which the cacique and his followers exercise control. Because the activities of the groups and persons discussed are of various types, often concurrent, much of the information in this source has been marked for the general two digit category 66 rather than more specific ones.--Analyst]

Field date: 1955-56
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

7: Kaplan, Bernice A. Changing Functions of the Huanancha Dance at the Corpus Christi Festival in Paracho, Michoacán, Mexico. Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 64, pp. 383-392. Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1951.

Yale: Nkg10 J82 64

[This is a study of cultural change in festival customs in a particular community, with emphasis on the enduring form of a dance by a group of young girls. The author gives a background and history of the dance, and then a full description of costumes, accessories, selection and training of the dancers, and the dance itself. The author sees the conservation of traditional forms whose meanings are no longer understood by the performers as an attempt to maintain a "reminder of the past."--Analyst]

Field date: 1948
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

8: Kaplan, Bernice A. Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community: I. Socio-Cultural Factors. Phylon, vol. 14, pp. 179-186. Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1953.

Yale: Ntj10 P53 14

[This source and 9: Lasker, this file, are complementary parts of a study made in Paracho, Michoacan. The two present evidence that ethnic identification in this community is based primarily on cultural and linguistic factors rather than biological ones. The data given include various aspects of status evaluation by the inhabitants, a number of demographic statistics, and the author's evaluation of the information collected. --Analyst]

Field date: 1948
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

9: Lasker, Gabriel W. Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community: II. Racial Characteristics. Phylon, Vol. 14, pp. 187-190. Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1953.

Yale: Ntj10 P53 14

[This is the second part of a study described in 8: Kaplan, this file. This part presents data resulting from anthropometry and non-measured observations of physical characteristics of the same individuals from whom Kaplan obtained her information. The author's information support the conclusions in 8]Kaplan that ethnic identification in this community is based on social, not biological, traits. --Analyst]

Field date: 1948
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1960

10: Beals, Ralph L. and Evelyn Hatcher. The Diet of a Tarascan Village. América Indígena, vol. 3, pp. 295-304. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1943.

Yale: C51 In8c 3

[This article presents the results of a study of diet in the town of Cheran, Michoacan. (See also 1: Beals, this file). The authors had the cooperation of several families of varying economic status in collecting a record of food consumed over a fifteen day period, of typical menus, and of a list of all products consumed in the region. On the basis of this data, the diet was analyzed and the results presented in several tables. The authors recognize certain shortcomings in their data, but nevertheless consider general conclusions as to the adequacy of the diet to be valid. --Analyst]

Field date: 1941-1942
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4, 5
Processed in 1960

111

NU34 Tarasco

11: Boyd, Maurice. Eight Tarascan Legends. Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences, Number 3. Gainesville, Florida, 1958.

Pp. viii, 36: 3 plates.

Yale: C67L T18 958B.

[This book is a compilation of the texts of eight Tarascan legends and myths referring to various phases of Tarascan origins and traditional and post-Conquest political history. This report is ethnography in its purest sense, with negligible annotation or commentary. By not using any specific analytical framework, the author leaves the reader with a rather fragmentary idea of the relation of mythical content to actual historical phenomena, Tarascan sociocultural institutions, and to the nature of myth and legend in directing and channelling social behavior. The author's main conclusion, that these legends are vital for socializing the young to Tarascan ethical values in view of the rapid changes the society has undergone, seems rather obvious and superficial.]

Field date: 1953
Analyst: Gilbert Winer

Evaluation: Historian-4, 5
Processed in 1967

Gómez Robleda, José. La Cara de los Tarascos /The Face of the Tarascans/. Revista Mexicana de Sociología, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 83-91. Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1941.

Yale: Mexico NM10 M57e V.3

/This article essentially consists of an attempt to classify the Tarascans on the basis of descriptive, anthropometric, and impressionistic interpretations of facial characteristics. The factual information presented consists primarily of statistics conventional to studies in physical anthropology, although there are brief notes on dances and masks. Some theoretical basis for the author's interpretation is given, but the typologies used are unusual for anthropological literature. Seven photographs, mostly of individuals, are included. Because this article is of a highly specialized nature and is less fact than interpretation, it has not been processed for the Tarasco file. --Analyst/

Mendieta y Nuñez, Lucio (ed.). Los Tarascos: Monografía Histórica, Etnográfica y Económica. [The Tarascans: An Historical, Ethnographic, and Economic Monograph.] México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1940.

Pp. lxxiv, 312; 9 tables; 2 maps; 10 colored plates; 65 photographs; 16 house plans; 2 musical notations; 12 other illustrations; bibliography.

Yale: C67.O65

[This work is the result of the collaboration of several authors under the auspices of the Institute of Social Investigations of the National University of Mexico. The study gives broad coverage, both historical and topical, of the Tarascan culture. It has not been processed for the file inasmuch as the material available in English was considered adequate and for the most part was written by later authors who had this work at their disposal for reference. Nevertheless, it might prove valuable to anyone wanting to study the Tarascans thoroughly. The principal divisions of the study include sections on the pre-colonial, colonial and modern epochs, with an introduction and extensive synthesis by the editor.--Analyst]

Rubin de la Borbolla, Daniel F. Los Tarascos [The Tarascans] in, Arte Precolombino del Occidente de Mexico. Secretaria de Educacion Publica. Pp. 35-69. Mexico: 1946

Hraf copy

[This short article deals mostly with the pre-hispanic distribution of the Tarascans. Archaeology is used to delimit the extent of the ancient Tarascan empire. Most of the information is duplicated in other sources, particularly 3: Beals et al, already processed for the Tarasco file. --Analyst]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

243 nontapering, early-seasoned, undented, and many-tillered varieties. They may possibly reflect a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like the maize of the Basket Makers. If so, it was one element in the ancestry of Tarascan maize.

[text continues on top of p. 223b]

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[text continues on middle of p. 223b]

GLOSSARY

104 The following list includes Spanish and Tarascan terms frequently used in the text. Words used only once or twice and defined at the time are not included in the glossary. Spanish words are given the local Tarascan usage, which is often different from either customary Mexican or standard Spanish usage. Tarascan words are followed by "T".

Aŝes (T), the *cabildo*, or chiefs of the ceremonial organization.

Agave, a genus of plants, often called the *maguey*. In the United States, called the century plant.

Agua miel, the unfermented juice of the *agave*.

Aguardiente, normally a liquor distilled from sugarcane; in the Tarascan area, often called *charanda*.

Almud, a dry measure of about 0.8 of a liter.

[text continues on bottom of p. 223b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.223b]

243

Taken in conjunction with Mangelsdorf and Cameron's recent (1942) analysis of knob number in Guatemalan maize, these results demonstrate the importance of considering altitude above sea level in interpreting the history and development of *Zea mays*.

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GLOSSARY

104

Arriero, a muleteer.
Arroba, a measure of weight, slightly less than 25 pounds.
Atapákua (T), squash blossoms and immature squash cooked together.
Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of ground maize with various flavorings.
Ayuntamiento, the civil government of a *municipio*.
Barranca, a steep-sided canyon or gully.
Barrio, a ward or division of a town.
Bilis, a word used to cover a variety of sicknesses.
Cabecera, the largest town and administrative center of a *municipio*.
Cabildo, the group in charge of the ceremonial organization; the aées.
Calzones, cotton trousers of unbleached muslin, worn by men for work and, by conservatives, for everyday wear.

2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 60] Pátzcuaro

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2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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1948—some of the earlier functions of the office had disappeared and little save the outer formality of the performance of the dance remained. The fact that the performance has not yet been entirely eliminated indicates that the dance still holds meaning for at least some of the members of the community. It may do no more than give status and prestige to the families of the girls who take part. Yet if this is so, it is of some interest that this method of gaining position in the community continues to be recognized and approved. On the other hand, it seems plausible to explain the survival of the dance of the Huananchichas as a loose bond between the earlier sacred beliefs, practices and orientations of the community and the newer, more secular, emphases which are continually gaining ground. For the majority of the younger members of the audience it may well have been that the performance of the dance held no very deep emotional significance, that it was merely another spectacle of the Corpus Christi fiesta. Many of the older people, on the other hand, seemed to derive genuine satisfaction from its performance, if only because it reminded them of the past.

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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield
113 and Adams, Proximate Composition of American Food Materials, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits, United States Depart-

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146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than
262 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than mi-
556 nimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vita-
511 min B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories.

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it
[184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 ment of Agriculture Circular Nº 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**,
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114 COMMENTS--reviews; critiques of earlier sources; information about authors and their backgrounds; general statements on field experience; etc.

See also:

Methodology . . . . . 12 Date and locale of field study 101

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FOREWORD

By Julian H. Steward

000 The Institute of Social Anthropology was created within the Smithsonian Institution to carry out cooperative research and teaching in the field of social anthropology as part of the broad program of Cultural and Scientific Cooperation under the State Department's Interdepartmental Committee.

One of the most important cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. The field research of this program will be directed toward a study of the Tarascans of Michoacán, a large group of Indians whose culture is of great interest to science and whose role in national life is of great importance to contemporary Mexico. In undertaking this work, it is the good fortune of the Institute of Social Anthropology to help further a program already extensively carried out by the University of California in cooperation with the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. The
● 114 present monograph is a community study of Cherán, a Tarascan village, made by Dr. Beals in collaboration with the Mexican institutions.

This study is a basic document for under-
177 standing native American communities from the point of view both of their individuality and of their gradual assimilation to national life through economic and ideological acculturation. Although Cherán, like many other towns of the Tarascan area, is thought of and thinks of itself as Indian, it is difficult to identify anything that is aboriginal besides its language and racial type. Cherán's domesticated animals, many of its crops, its patterns of cultivation,

[p. viii is blank]

[p. ix a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

114 The study of Cherán was carried out in 1940–41 as part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative undertaking of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (formerly the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional), and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. In
121 general, the program aims at a thorough investigation of the Tarascans and their culture, both past and present.[1] An extensive program of this character is obviously the work of many persons and involves many individual projects. Consequently, a number of subjects which might have formed a part of the study of Cherán were not undertaken because they will be dealt with in other studies. The chief omission has been the lack of any general consideration of the Tarascans as a whole or any investigation of historical backgrounds. In some respects the study of Cherán would be more rounded and intelligible had fuller knowledge of the historical changes in Tarascan culture been available.

Unfortunately, the historical aspects of the Tarascan program are still little developed. Several years of documentary research would have been necessary to approach the study of Cherán with reasonably full background knowledge. Consequently, the description of Cherán is primarily a cross section of the culture of the community at the time of the study without any effort to interpret its historical development.

[1] For a fuller discussion of the Program, see Rubín de la Borbolla, D. F., and Beals, Ralph L. (1940) and Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1946).

[p. 1b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

121 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both
177 from essentially Indian towns themselves, two
563 school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

114 The field work in Cherán was a cooperative enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

115 In addition to the foregoing, many persons in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost innumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p. 10b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not 121 attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information 127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul- 114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

Practically all field work in the present 122 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in- 114

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1868, 330-34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1767); Ocampo, 1900, 398-40 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425-427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1902; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 11a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

122 stitutions for the study of the Tarascans.[13]
114 Work began in 1940 and since then the main investigation has included two community studies, one of Cherán, a large Tarascan speaking town of farmers[14] and Tzintzuntzan, a Spanish speaking town of potters and farmers.[15] West gives a general cultural-geographical survey of the area.[16] Other reports are unpublished as yet or are not related to our problem.

114 The field work on which this paper is based, also part of the Tarascan project, took place in 1945. Although drawn for the most part from one single village (Jarácuaro), material on the ideology and lore of the Tarascans was gathered from several other towns. The purpose of the investiga-
121 tion was to obtain a picture of what we might call their world view: ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, the natural and the supernatural elements, the main religious concepts, their folk science or lore. This kind of material is most frequently expressed in narrative folklore.

Cherán and Tzintzuntzan, the two com-
121 munities for which full monographs are available, are rather conservative towns
101 where the agrarian movement has been weak. Jarácuaro, on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro, where most of the author's material was gathered, is a town of hat makers and farmers. From a total population of about 900 only eight men were still agraristas in 1945. Most of the rest of the town considered themselves sinarquistas, were organized, and controlled the local government. Had the problem of this paper been stated before the field work, more material would have been obtained from predominantly agrarista towns, but this monograph deals mostly with the conservative and sinarquista positions. A detailed study of the Tarascan agrarian movement and what it has meant for the Tarascan

13. Rubín de la Borbolla and Beals, 1940; Beals, 1946, ix; Foster, 1948, 1.
14. Beals, 1946.
15. Foster, 1948.
16. West, 1948.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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Sierra Tarascans

PREFACE

000 their modern content and organization and of the potentialities they contain for future change.

An important part of the cooperative program of the Institute of Social Anthropology is the publication of research results. The publications will serve three purposes. First, the information they contain will contribute to a scientific formulation of the developmental and functional processes of culture. Particularly, it will contribute to an understanding of the formation of modern cultures. Second, the publications will provide specific and accurate data on which any successful action programs affecting the peoples concerned must be based. Third, they will afford an accurate picture of the peoples who constitute so great an element of many of the American Republics. Existing publications on these countries represent them disproportionately in terms of the city dweller or of special classes. There are extraordinarily few books from which the general reader can obtain an adequate and scientifically accurate account of the diversified peoples of indigenous ancestry.

One of the cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela
114 Nacional de Antropología of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. This program involves teaching anthropology, cultural geography, linguistics, and related subjects at the Escuela and field research among the Tarascan Indians of the State of Michoacán in Mexico. The research program for investigations among these Indians had already been formulated and partly carried out in recent years by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in cooperation with the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas of Mexico and the University of California. It is fortunate that the Institute of Social Anthropology will be able to further the work begun by these institutions not only by direct participation in the field research but by publishing some of the results already obtained.

[p. ix]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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Sierra Tarascans

114 The present paper, "Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans," by Ralph L. Beals, of the University of California; Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, California; and Pedro Carrasco, of México, D. F., is the first monograph to result from the work of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. Future monographs on other aspects of the program will be published under various auspices as opportunity arises.

"Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans" is also the first of the publications of the

[p, x, a]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 Institute of Social Anthropology. Subsequent publications of the Institute will include papers covering the work in Mexico and elsewhere. These will be published in English, Spanish, or Portuguese, and in Washington, D. C., or in the country in which the research was done, as circumstances dictate.

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Washington, D. C.

[p. x,b]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 The present paper is the first substantial publication resulting directly from the Program of Anthropological Investigations Among the Tarascans. The Program originated as a cooperative undertaking entered into by the Escuela Nacional de Antropología (formerly, Departamento de Antropología, Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now part of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia), the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. The program provided for the cooperation of other interested institutions, and the collaboration of the Institute of Social Anthropology is a logical extension of the plan.

The general features of this Program are set forth in "The Tarascan Project: A Cooperative Enterprise of the National Polytechnic Institute, Mexican Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the University of California," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla and Ralph L. Beals (Amer. Anthrop., vol. 42, pp. 708–712, 1940). Two short papers based on field research have already been published: "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher (Amer. Indígena, vol. 3, pp. 295–304, 1943), and "Games of the Mountain Tarascans" by Ralph L. Beals and Pedro Carrasco (Amer. Anthrop., vol. 46, pp. 516–522, 1944). Other papers are in preparation. These include "Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals, which will appear as the second paper in the publications of the Institute of Social Anthropology. A number of other papers have also appeared which contribute to the objectives of the Program but which are the

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 result of work which was undertaken independently. These include: "Tzintzuntzan-Ihuatzio, Temporadas I y II," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 3, pp. 99–121, 1939), and "Exploraciones Arqueológicas Realizadas en el Estado de Michoacán Durante los Años de 1937 y 1938," by Jorge R. Acosta (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 4, pp. 85–98, 1940).

121 The purpose of the Program is to provide a coordinated and integrated plan of investigation of the Tarascan Indians for the dual purpose of: (1) Making a comprehensive scientific study of a little-known major Mexican Indian group, and (2) providing a body of fundamental data for the administration of the Tarascan area. For both purposes of the study, it is felt that certain non-anthropological studies are essential. As the Tarascans have been a farming and fishing people into a remote past, and since Spanish times began have also been a woodworking and cattle-raising people, a thorough understanding of the environment and its potentialities is essential, not only in order to understand the past and present culture of the Tarascans, but also to provide an adequate basis for intelligent administration. To this end, geographical, botanical, and zoological studies are planned as well as a thorough soil reconnaissance followed by more detailed studies of agricultural methods, problems, and potentialities, together with similar studies of forest, grazing, and animal husbandry techniques. In a similar fashion, understanding of the present population requires the collaboration of medical and public-health workers with the physical an-

[p. 1c]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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SCOPE OF THE STUDY

131 In the 16th century, the Tarascans occupied the State of Michoacán and some adjacent parts of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Guerrero. Today they are reduced to part of central Michoacán, including the regions of Lake Pátzcuaro, Zacápu, La Cañada, and the Sierra. The present area extends from Lake Pátzcuaro on the east to near Los Reyes on the West, and from La Cañada south to Uruapan (fig. 1).

114 This study refers solely to the region where Tarascan is still spoken, and, more particularly,

SCOPE OF
THE STUDY

114 to the Sierra. The town of Cherán is taken as the basis of investigation. Beals and McCorkle spent nearly 8 months in Cherán, in 1940–1941, although visiting other towns briefly. Carrasco spent some time in Cherán in January and February 1941, but spent most of his time in Angahuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Carrasco also spent part of January and all of February 1942, in the field, working especially in Paracho, but visiting extensively in the Lake Pátzcuaro region. Towns visited for varying lengths of time

[continued on p. 6a]

114 by one or more of the authors included the following:

Sierra region:
- Ahuiran
- Angahuan
- Aranza
- Capacuaro
- Charapan
- Cherán
- Cocucho
- Corupo
- Nahuatzen
- Nurió
- Paracho
- Parangaricutiro
- Parícutin
- Patamban
- Pomacuarán
- Quinseo
- San Felipe
- San Lorenzo
- Tarecuato
- Urapicho
- Zirosto

La Cañada:
- Acachuén
- Carapan
- Chilchota
- Huáncito
- Ichán
- Santo Tomás
- Tacuro
- Tanaquillo
- Urén
- Zopoco

Lake Pátzcuaro:
- Cucuchucho
- Huecorio
- Ihuatzio
- Janicho
- Jarácuaro
- Tecuena
- Tzentsénhuaro
- Tzintzuntzan
- Tzurumútaro
- Yunuán

[continued on p. 6b]

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 Tarascan towns tend to be located on level, or relatively level ground. Exceptions are found only in a few villages located in the higher mountains such as Quinseo, Cocucho, and others. Ex-
[363] cept where the irregularities of the terrain prohibit, the towns are subdivided by streets forming rectangular blocks oriented approximately to the compass points (pl. 1, upper). This is undoubt-
[177] edly a reflection of the Spanish origins of these towns; in many of the settlements traditions of former locations still exist. The blocks are subdivided into lots, or *solares*, of quite variable size, which are used both as building sites and gardens. Usually, the lots are fenced, particularly on the side facing the street. Houses either may adjoin the street line or may be located well within the lot away from the street. In the center of the larger towns, structures are more apt to adjoin the street, but the doors of living quarters almost always open on the yard rather than the street.

In the Lake region, the fishing villages tend to
[363] be on the edge of the water. As a result, some of the smaller villages, such as Tecuena and Yunuán, do not have streets but merely paths. Where the ground is very uneven, as at Janicho

[p. 6a] [continued bottom of page 6-b]

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

104 Tarascan words are written in the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most [764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

342 Two clearly defined types of construction exist in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. V-a]

[P. iv contains no text]

PREFACE

121 The present study was done under the auspices
[122] of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F. The study proposes to serve as a background for the various detailed pueblo monographs executed in the Tarascan area by other members of the Institute.

Being a report on the cultural geography of a region, the present paper is chiefly descriptive, although a developmental treatment has been employed wherever the scanty historical materials would permit. Physical background is only briefly considered; emphasis is on material culture, particularly modern Tarascan economy: agriculture, handicrafts, and trade. In addition, an attempt is made to describe the areal recession of Tarascan speech since Spanish contact.

114 Field work was done in April, May, and June of 1946. With the exception of Cheranátzicurin, all Tarascan towns were visited. Many neigh-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. V-B]

PREFACE

114 boring mestizo pueblos (formerly Tarascan) were inspected to obtain comparative data. Approximately two-thirds of the field season was spent in the Sierra. Archival research was done in the 127 Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán, Morelia, the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F., and the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F.

115 I am especially indebted to Sr. Pablo Valásquez G., a native Tarascan and anthropology student, who accompanied me in the field. His intimate knowledge of the Tarascan Sierra, its language, and many of its customs was an invaluable aid, not only in the field, but also while the report was in preparation. Velásquez read a large part of the manuscript and corrected the use and spelling of all Tarascan words employed in the text.

ROBERT C. WEST.

MEXICO, D. F.
March 1947.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

121 ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the 171 simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

171 One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence 526 of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touching the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Durasno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Durasno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Durasno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Durasno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of police is a comparatively obvious factor here.

Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra-Tarascans

178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
[114] during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan
area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on
the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about
fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to
be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanan-
cha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but ap-
parently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it
had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
443 brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoa-
cán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal
requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of
merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make
the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several
places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second
Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday
has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the
year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious
aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special
church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people be-
cause they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The
clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday
then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had
been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the
present parish priest was in residence.

178 But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
533 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same special-
ized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about
the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the
time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to
have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the
trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored [574 273] by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

538 535 178 Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet-player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 535 796 114 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

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In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

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From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS[1]

121 A STUDY in a Mexican community provided opportunities for the collection of material for a statistical study of the bases of ethnic identification. In Paracho, a community in the Sierra Tarascan region of Michoacán, it appeared possible that a racial classification of the population might prove useful in the final analysis of certain anthropometric materials. The investigation was to study the effects of migration upon the physical dimensions of returned migrants in comparison with those of non-migrants and a question on the "race" of the subjects' parents was included on the data sheet. After a few records had been taken it became evident that the responses to the "race" question were such that they would be of little aid in the analysis of the anthropometric data, but that they might be of some sociological interest. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the responses to this question with a view to the insights gained into the ethnic categorization of a people by itself.

114 Although much has been written concerning the definition of Indian and Mestizo in Latin America, to the author's knowledge there has been 121 no quantitative study designed to show the degree to which several possible classificatory devices are employed by the natives of a region in categorizing themselves. Furthermore, there has not been any study designed to show which segments of a population manifest changes in attitudes regarding ethnic identification.

121 It has frequently been said that membership in either the Indian or the Mestizo (Ladino) group in Latin America is a matter of socio-cultural 186 rather than biological affiliation.[2] In communities where both Indio and Mestizo are locally distinguished, interaction between these groups is said to be similar to either class-like or caste-like relations.[3]

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[122] [1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

[2] Julio de la Fuente, "Ethnic and Communal Relations" in *Heritage of Conquest*, ed. by Sol Tax (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 77.
Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian" in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 282-305.
Harry Tschopik, Jr., *Highland Communities of Central Peru*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 5 (Washington, 1947), pp. 11-15.

[3] Julio de la Fuente, op. cit., pp. 76 ff.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho. 186 563

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration. 125

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized. 124 [114] 128

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking. 186 [563]

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio*, *Indígena*, *Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesciado*, *Cruzado*, *de razon*, Mestizo, half and half, *revuelitas*, and white.

9: Lasker D-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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By GABRIEL W. LASKER

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community[1]

II. RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

114 KAPLAN has shown that whether individuals are considered to be Indians or Mestizos is primarily a cultural matter.[2] She reports the answers of a group studied in the Mexican town of Paracho, Michoacán to the question: "Are your parents Indians, Mestizos or what?" Such criteria as place of birth and language rather than physical appearance feature in the explanations.

For the same group for whom Kaplan has published data on the stated 141 race of the parents, I have made a series of measurements and observations of racial characteristics. Both so-called Indians (148 males and 85 females) and Mestizos (135 males and 95 females) were examined. The Indians consist of persons both of whose parents are described as Tarascans, Indians or natives (*natural*). The Mestizos comprise individuals one or both of whose parents are described as white, Spanish (*gente de razon*), or mixed.

TABLE 1

RACIAL MEASUREMENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP

		Males			Females		
		No.	Mean	Standard Error	No.	Mean	Standard Error
Cephalic Index	Indian	146	77.8	0.3	83	78.6	0.3
	Mestizo	135	78.2	0.3	93	78.2	0.4
Bizygomatic Diameter	Indian	148	137.2 mm	0.4	85	129.8 mm	0.5
	Mestizo	96	136.3 mm	0.5	95	130.5 mm	0.5
Total Facial Index	Indian	148	90.1	0.5	85	90.2	0.6
	Mestizo	135	91.1	0.5	94	90.0	0.5
Upper Facial Index	Indian	130	53.9	0.3	74	54.6	0.5
	Mestizo	129	54.4	0.3	87	54.2	0.4
Stature	Indian	145	1618.4 mm	4.8	84	1513.9 mm	5.0
	Mestizo	132	1628.9 mm	4.7	93	1516.1 mm	5.0

Various physical traits are considered in respect to which Europeans differ from American Indian and other Mongoloid peoples. In the Mexican town under study, however, the children of persons identified as Indian and Mestizo differ little in these features. None of the differences between Indians and Mestizos in the measurements or indices considered shows a statistically significant critical ratio (see table 1). There is, for instance,

[1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
[2] Bernice A. Kaplan, "Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community. I. Socio-Cultural Factors," PSYCHOL, XIV, No. 2, 179.

λ [see Bi Kaplan, this cite. 187 Analyst]

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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The Diet of a Tarascan Village

By Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher
(Estados Unidos)

Sumario

El presente artículo es una compilación de datos acerca del régimen alimenticio de los habitantes de Cherán, pueblo tarasco situado en las montañas michoacanas, a 4,500 pies de altura. Cherán es un pequeño pueblo de agricultores relativamente próspero ya que solamente un 10 a 20 por ciento de los habitantes pueden ser clasificados de pobres, no existiendo por otra parte, familias marcadamente ricas.

Para colectar el material de este estudio se emplearon tres métodos. 1. Una lista completa de los productos alimenticios que se consumen. 2. Una colección de los "menús" que forman una comida normal. 3. Algunas familias cultas de la localidad cooperaron consiguiendo una lista completa de los alimentos consumidos en los últimos quince días. La deficiencia de este método estriba en la imposibilidad de incluir en la lista los vegetales que se recogen en los bosques y se consumen como antojo, entre comidas.

Sin embargo, a pesar de la deficiencia del método los datos adquiridos alcanzan una misma conclusión general. Varias tablas van insertas, que muestran el régimen alimenticio. Estas tablas se encuentran distribuídas en la siguiente forma: Tabla 1: Derivada de las diversas fuentes de información. Tabla 2: Muestra el régimen alimenticio de un adulto de familia acomodada. Tabla 3: Un adulto de familia pobre.

Los autores señalan las dificultades que presenta el análisis de estos datos. Por ejemplo existe una gran variedad en el contenido vitamínico de los diversos alimentos y luego la incógnita de si los requisitos de condimentación son los mismos en todas las familias.

Es preciso hacer un estudio minucioso acerca de los alimentos que se consumen en la región, determinando mediante análisis clínicos el valor alimenticio de cada uno para averiguar qué deficiencias de vitaminas ocasionan las enfermedades.

Los autores finalmente propugnan por el mayor consumo en la región de trigo, camote, naranjas, plátanos, leche, y tomates, y recomiendan asimismo se disminuya el consumo del maíz.

121 The collection and analysis of data on the diet of the mountain Tarascan village of Cherán has raised a number of problems which it is believed may be of value to students interested in similar studies. The data and the interpretations given them are necessarily provisional and should not be regarded as more than general suggestions about the dietary situation in the village. Nevertheless, several different approaches gave similar results, and the interpretations should be of some use, pending a more thorough investigation of the subject.[1]

114 [1] The field data upon which this paper is based were collected by the senior author, Ralph L. Beals, assisted by Silvia Rendón and Thomas McCorckle, in the course of general study of the village of Cherán

[p.295]

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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United
113 States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

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121 made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more
[114] advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans
[146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 One additional method of checking the validity of the present
146 results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved
146 by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking
435 differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph, "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in The Maya and their Neighbors, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

[text continues on p. 304]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P. iii]

PREFACE

The Florida State Museum's field of interest includes the greater Caribbean area. It is appropriate that the first non-archaeological issue of the *Contributions, Social Sciences*, should pertain to Mexico, our sister republic to the south; should refer to the interesting but much neglected Tarascan Indians; should be prepared by Maurice Boyd, Associate Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Florida; and should be based on field work done by him while a visiting professor at the University of Michoacán in Mexico.

The Tarascans are relatively unknown in comparison with the Aztecs. They are covered by single line references or, at most, a paragraph in books written in English which deal with the history of Mexico. Yet these people were nearly the equals of the Aztecs both in military strength and cultural attainments. It is primarily an accident of geography which gave the Aztecs the greater prominence. 10 114

Dr. Boyd has made a special study of the Tarascans—their life, their history, and their culture. We are glad to present the first results of this research. 114

Ripley P. Bullen
Curator of Social Sciences

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Pérez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style.

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author.

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual

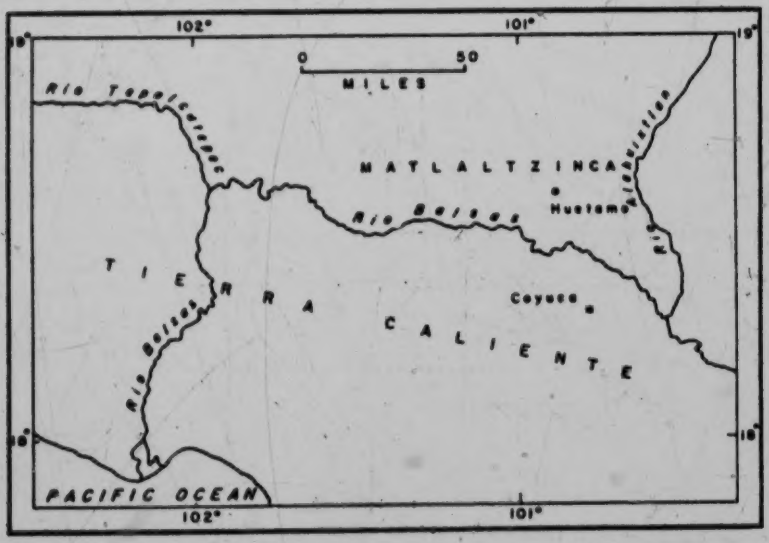

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

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east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region. 173 174 648

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The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century. 115 114 539 (173)

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listerners the memory of the charming Huanita. 539 173

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

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121 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both
177 from essentially Indian towns themselves, two
563 school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

The field work in Cherán was a cooperative
114 enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

In addition to the foregoing, many persons
115 in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost innumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

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[p. 2b]

115 his aunt, Doña Feliciana Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

A particular debt of gratitude is also due [875] Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one or the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as [624] town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided 124 us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

A word should be said about field methods at 126 this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

585 was a widower but still young. The girl lived
587 with an aunt, for her mother had become a woman of loose morals after having an affair with a worker on the highway and at the moment was in jail in Uruapan for disorderly conduct. The bride's father was dead. Another aunt refused to attend the wedding because she did not approve of the girl's marrying a widower.

In this instance the groom had not stolen the girl but had asked for her, taking bread to the house of the aunt, accompanied by musicians. Agustín, with other relatives of the girl, took her to church for the civil wedding, where she was delivered to the groom's father. She was not returned to her own home and there was no breakfast. As the groom's father was poor, there was no celebration in his house, but at noon the girl's aunt did the best she could to rectify the matter by serving a dinner in her house.

585 At another simple wedding attended, the general forms were gone through in truncated fashion. The dinner was over before 12 o'clock, and immediately following it the groom's father distributed the special breads in the form of crowns. This early distribution indicated that there would be no exchange of clothing on a large scale (although there was a little) and no drinking. There were no music and no dancing, and the affair was over by about 2 p.m.

Another of the weddings observed in some detail presents a number of interesting features. This was the wedding of Samuel Santa Clara,
[115] son of the widow, Doña Feliciana, principal informant regarding herbs.

Again, as the families knew each other well and it was certain that the girl's mother, also a widow, would consent, the girl was not stolen. Indeed, Doña Feliciana and her "brothers" went to the girl's house on a Thursday evening and asked for her. There were no music and no marriage manager on this occasion. The following Monday, September 9, Doña Feliciana and all the groom's relatives ate at her house and then went to the bride's house, starting about 2:30 p.m. This hour is early and was arranged for my special benefit so I would be sure to see everything. Unfortunately, I had not been advised of the plan and was not in Cherán that day, but Agustín, who as usual

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

Tarascan words are written in the alphabet 104 approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most [764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

Two clearly defined types of construction exist 342 in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. V-B]

PREFACE

114 boring mestizo pueblos (formerly Tarascan) were inspected to obtain comparative data. Approximately two-thirds of the field season was spent in the Sierra. Archival research was done in the 127 Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán, Morelia, the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F., and the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F.

115 I am especially indebted to Sr. Pablo Valásquez G., a native Tarascan and anthropology student, who accompanied me in the field. His intimate knowledge of the Tarascan Sierra, its language, and many of its customs was an invaluable aid, not only in the field, but also while the report was in preparation. Velásquez read a large part of the manuscript and corrected the use and spelling of all Tarascan words employed in the text.

ROBERT C. WEST.

MEXICO, D. F.
March 1947.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

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of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style. 115 539

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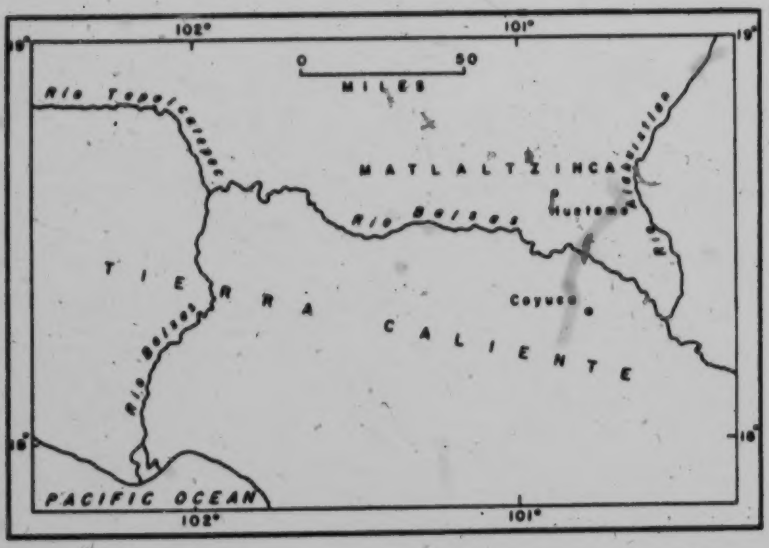

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Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[End Plate I]

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Plate I. Views of Tarascan Countryside

[115] *Upper*, looking towards village of Capula, home of Luis Espinosa, one of the narrators.

Lower, looking across Lake Pátzcuaro from top of island of Janitzio.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 3] NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.
Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 2

CHERÁN:
A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE

by

RALPH L. BEALS

Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE · WASHINGTON : 1946

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., June 21, 1944.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 2 of the Institute of Social Anthropology, which has been established by the Smithsonian Institution as an autonomous unit of the Bureau of American Ethnology to carry out cooperative work in social anthropology with the American Republics as part of the program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation.

Very respectfully yours,

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Director.*

DR. C. G. ABBOT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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FOREWORD

By Julian H. Steward

The Institute of Social Anthropology was created within the Smithsonian Institution to carry out cooperative research and teaching in the field of social anthropology as part of the broad program of Cultural and Scientific Cooperation under the State Department's Interdepartmental Committee.

One of the most important cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. The field research of this program will be directed toward a study of the Tarascans of Michoacán, a large group of Indians whose culture is of great interest to science and whose role in national life is of great importance to contemporary Mexico. In undertaking this work, it is the good fortune of the Institute of Social Anthropology to help further a program already extensively carried out by the University of California in cooperation with the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. The present monograph is a community study of Cherán, a Tarascan village, made by Dr. Beals in collaboration with the Mexican institutions.

This study is a basic document for understanding native American communities from the point of view both of their individuality and of their gradual assimilation to national life through economic and ideological acculturation. Although Cherán, like many other towns of the Tarascan area, is thought of and thinks of itself as Indian, it is difficult to identify anything that is aboriginal besides its language and racial type. Cherán's domesticated animals, many of its crops, its patterns of cultivation,

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177 and its general technologies and material culture are almost exclusively European. It is presumably European in its individual land ownership and inheritance, though the assumption that aboriginal America had collective land ownership needs further proof. Wholly European is its cash system, involving even a monetary standard of values, loans made for interest, and the purchase from elsewhere of most goods other than the local agricultural and forest products. It might be expected that these European economic patterns would have repercussions in other aspects of the culture; actually, the degree of Hispanicization of religious and social life is astonishing. Religion is strictly Catholic, witchcraft is European in type, and even the curers with their herbs and applications betray virtually nothing that is clearly aboriginal. Cherán's large, compact community of 5,000 persons is seemingly in the Spanish rather than Indian settlement pattern (a problem to be solved by archeology), and it may have been facilitated partly by the use of pack animals for transportation. The social configurations are likewise Spanish: the family, with a large circle of relatives by blood and marriage; the innumerable godparents; the *mayordomías* (festivals for the saints); the elaborate wedding ceremonies; and the dances, music, games, and other recreations.

With virtually all aspects of Cherán culture
181 that can be formally categorized clearly Spanish
in origin, why is Cherán considered Indian?
177 Cherán's strong attachment to the locality, to the local group, and to traditional culture characterizes many other "Indian" communities in Mexico, Central America, and the Andes. The essential characteristic of an "Indian" would seem to be his failure to integrate emotionally and actively with national life rather than demonstrable aboriginal content in his culture. The culture that he preserves in com-

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177 parative isolation may, in fact, be far more
181 that of 16th-century Spain than that of native America. This is not to say, however, that a pure 16th-century Spanish culture survives anywhere. In the case of Cherán, Beals suggests that the distinctive characteristics may represent the "pattern influence of native ideas" on European features, together with the effects of Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's application of Thomas More's "Utopia." For historical anthropology, these communities clearly pose important problems concerning 16th-century Spanish culture, its imposition through the conquistadors and priests on the Indians, and the subsequent long interval during which many areas stabilized their culture in comparative isolation.

Despite being considered Indian, Cherán seems to contain the potentialities for rapid acculturation. Its essential economic patterns will, so far as local productivity through agriculture or manufactures permit, facilitate further economic development as the new highway

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177 stimulates increased commerce with other
181 areas. Its essentially Spanish social patterns and its present proletariat consciousness and political sense seem to afford a ready basis for further assimilation of national culture through the informal means of outside contacts and the more formal means of governmental programs. Its strong Catholic background will pave the way for further Church influence. One cannot
000 predict the future of such a community in detail, for it will depend partly upon national and even international developments as well as upon Cherán's reaction to them. General trends are now observable among comparable communities; and the work that the Institute of Social Anthropology is now carrying on in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of Mexico among other Tarascan villages that have slightly different characteristics and degrees of acculturation and the Institute's studies in other parts of Latin America will yield data that will both clarify general trends and high-light local peculiarities.

[p. 7 b]

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PHONETIC NOTE

104 The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of Mexico in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel ʌ is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

- *ć* is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
- *č* is the equivalent of English *ch*.
- *ŋ* is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."
- *ɹ* is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
- *ř* is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
- *š* is the equivalent of English *sh*.
- *ć'*, *č'*, *k'*, *p'*, and *t'* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.
- *f*, *l*, and *r* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

[p, x - c]

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000 Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village

By Ralph L. Beals

INTRODUCTION

[p. 1a]

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114 The study of Cherán was carried out in 1940–41 as part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative undertaking of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (formerly the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional), and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. In
121 general, the program aims at a thorough investigation of the Tarascans and their culture, both past and present.[1] An extensive program of this character is obviously the work of many persons and involves many individual projects. Consequently, a number of subjects which might have formed a part of the study of Cherán were not undertaken because they will be dealt with in other studies. The chief omission has been the lack of any general consideration of the Tarascans as a whole or any investigation of historical backgrounds. In some respects the study of Cherán would be more rounded and intelligible had fuller knowledge of the historical changes in Tarascan culture been available.

Unfortunately, the historical aspects of the Tarascan program are still little developed. Several years of documentary research would have been necessary to approach the study of Cherán with reasonably full background knowledge. Consequently, the description of Cherán is primarily a cross section of the culture of the community at the time of the study without any effort to interpret its historical development.

[1] For a fuller discussion of the Program, see Rubín de la Borbolla, D. F., and Beals, Ralph L. (1940) and Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1944).

[p. 1b]

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122 Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several 121 reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of 177 the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. [491] In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The 177 non-Tarascan families were more or less tran- 563 sient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from 121 the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p.1c]

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121 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both
177 from essentially Indian towns themselves, two
563 school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

114 The field work in Cherán was a cooperative enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

115 In addition to the foregoing, many persons in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost immumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

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[p. 26]

115 his aunt, Doña Feliciana Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

A particular debt of gratitude is also due [875] Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one or the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as [624] town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided 124 us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

A word should be said about field methods at 126 this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

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[p. 3a]

126 Usually, field notes were classified, typed in triplicate, and filed according to a modification of the system of the Outline of Cultural Materials prepared by George P. Murdock and others for use in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University (Murdock and others, 1938). In this way it was possible for all workers to find immediately what had already been collected on a subject and to discover discrepancies in accounts when these existed. The system also served to show deficiencies in the data.

Certain other problems in field methods arose. 123 Cherán habits place some obstacles in the way of field work. The main occupations of the town are farming and forest exploitation. In [512] the former case, men are usually in the fields all day, often at points several miles distant from town. In the latter instance, men may be away from town for 4 or 5 days at a time. In certain seasons the town is almost deserted during the day. As women will not talk with strange men [609] in the absence of their husbands, it often took many visits to find at home a man we wished to query on some specific point. In addition, yards are surrounded by high walls and it is customary to greet visitors at the yard gate and converse with them on the street. Consequently, it is difficult to gain much insight into home life. Only women can get free access into the houses, and it is unfortunate that Sra. Rendón could not have spent full time in the field. Certain aspects of this study would then have been much better than they are.

In general, the method followed was first to discuss a topic with Sr. Chávez in detail, obtaining from him as complete an account as possible. In some cases Sr. Chávez also wrote supplementary accounts. Efforts were always made to get the names of specific people who were involved. Once we had obtained what might be considered Sr. Chávez's view of a particular aspect of the culture, this was sometimes checked with Sr. Rangel. On other occasions we started with Sr. Rangel and checked with Sr. Chávez. An effort was then made to visit and talk with a large number of the people concerned. For example, after securing Sr. Chávez' account of childbirth, a list of all the professional midwives in town was secured. These were all then visited by Dr. Palacios and interviewed intensively. Some were inter-

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[p. 36]

123 viewed independently by other staff members. Data were likewise taken from as many women as possible. In another instance, accounts were secured of as many fiestas and *mayordomías* as possible. Each *mayordomo* and other ceremonial official was then visited and interviewed, often several times. Finally, in this instance, as many ceremonies as possible were observed. In the case of economic life, virtually every specialist in town was interviewed and the data were checked and cross-checked. In addition, a representative sample of forest workers and farmers were interviewed. This process was facilitated by the existence of a complete roster of males of voting age for two *barrios*, together with their major occupations, given to us by the town authorities. In the case of farmers, the tax rolls of the tax collector's office were opened to us, giving some check on land ownership. Some fields were paced to estimate size (measurement was out of the question for various local reasons), and observations were made on the length of time taken to complete various farm tasks. At harvest time, the actual production of fields was determined by observing the harvest closely. In this case, data given by informants proved markedly variable from the facts. Prices of all products were established by questioning numerous producers and also by questioning buyers. Obviously procedures varied with different topics, but the examples given perhaps sufficiently indicate the general method employed.

000 In conclusion, acknowledgment should be made of assistance and encouragement given by persons not directly concerned with the field study. Dr. Morris Swadesh, director of the *Proyecto Tarasco*, an experiment in bilingual education with headquarters in the nearby town of Paracho, together with all the members of his staff, was extremely helpful in many ways. Scores of residents of Michoacán at one time or another rendered personal assistance. In Mexico City, Dr. Paul Kirchhoff and Miguel O. de Mendizabal were helpful, both in personal matters and in giving numerous suggestions and leads for problems to investigate. Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, then chief of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas,

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000 gave much time and effort to forward the program. Dr. Alfonso Caso discussed many problems and gave valuable advice. Numerous members of the staff of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional also gave of their time. President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, arranged a special leave of absence to make the study possible. Above all, thanks are due to Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, then head of the Department of Anthropology of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional and now director of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, collaborator in the general program, who gave many days of his time in completing necessary arrangements to make the study possible.

In addition to the persons mentioned, I wish also to express my gratitude to those who have helped further the general Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans: General Lázaro Cárdenas, former President of the United States of Mexico; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, Berkeley,

[continued on top of p. 4b]

THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

131 The modern Tarascans occupy the west central section of northern Michoacán, Mexico. In prehistoric times the Tarascan area was larger, including most of the State of Michoacán, except possibly the rather abrupt and not very hospitable seacoast, as well as parts of the State of Jalisco to the northwest, Guanajuato to the northeast, and the lower end of the Balsas River basin in Guerrero to the south. This expanded area apparently represented the results of a series of conquests. Two or three centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tarascan area probably was not greatly different from that of today.

161 The State of Michoacán is one of the most densely populated rural States of Mexico. It lies to the west of Mexico City, and its capital, Morelia, is about 250 miles from the National Capital by road or railroad. Despite its dense population, much of the State is rugged and mountainous. Its eastern and northern parts
133 are on the plateau of México. Level areas are often above 7,000 feet elevation, but, although it is technically a part of the Central Mexican plateau, only the northern margins of the State

[continued in middle of p. 4b]

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[p.4b]

000 Calif.; Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, former Chief, Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico; Dr. Gerardo Varela, Director of the Escuela Nacional de Ciencis Biológicas, Mexico; Lic. Gilberto Loyo, Director General of the Census, Mexico; Dr. J. B. Lockey, former Chairman, Board of Research, University of California, Los Angeles; Dr. Vern O. Knudsen, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; and the late Dr. Charles B. Lipman, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

The excellence of the drawings is due to the intelligent cooperation and skill of Virginia More Roediger, who worked not only as an artist but as an illustrator.

Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for editing this manuscript and for publishing it in this series, which is devoted to inter-American cooperation.

THE SETTING AND
THE PEOPLE

133 have large level tracts, for most of the elevated part of the State is in the so-called "volcanic axis" of Mexico. In many regions, and this is particularly true of the area occupied by the Tarascans, the characteristic sky line is a series of old volcanic cones, often surrounding basins or long depressions, in which more recent low cinder cones frequently occur (pl. 1, upper and lower left). Dozens of peaks have elevations of over 10,000 feet, but only one may exceed 11,000 feet.

To the south and southwest the terrain drops sharply toward a great basin formed by tributaries of the Balsas River. The slope is steep and so thoroughly dissected by streams that, despite the opening of many roads and truck trails in recent years, it still is not possible to reach the Balsas River by road from highland [184] Michoacán. This great basin forms an important portion of Michoacán and is much visited [137] by the Tarascans. Tropical vegetation and [132] climate characterize the basin except for a semiarid section in the west.

The Pacific coast of the State is paralleled by a large range of mountains, the Sierra de

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133 Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this [132] range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzucuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact [136] that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some [132] areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from [312] almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

The present-day range of the Tarascans can- 131 not be defined with great accuracy, partly be- 101 cause of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

131 ritory is close to the railroad which runs
through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
101 The southern boundary might be defined
roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan
and thence close to the railway from Uruapan
to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from
Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs
just inside the northern limits and in others,
just outside. Within or near the borders of
the present-day Tarascan area occur a number
of old Mexican towns closely associated with the
historic Tarascans and their contemporary cul-
ture, which provide the administrative centers
and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los
Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
[563] towns of local importance have arisen more
recently, towns which were once Tarascan but
are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated
Tarascans. A good example of such a town is
Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may
be characterized generally as an elevated tem-
perate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic
soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood
forests. In detail there are differences, and a
number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake
Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages
are either on the shore or upon islands in the
lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to
cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but
is concentrated in the summer months. The
climate is temperate and cool even in mid-
summer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile
valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about
by hills and mountains covered with forest.
Although there is but little difference in eleva-
tion from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warm-
er and some tropical or subtropical plants such
as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of
Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada.
Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[912] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas,
and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

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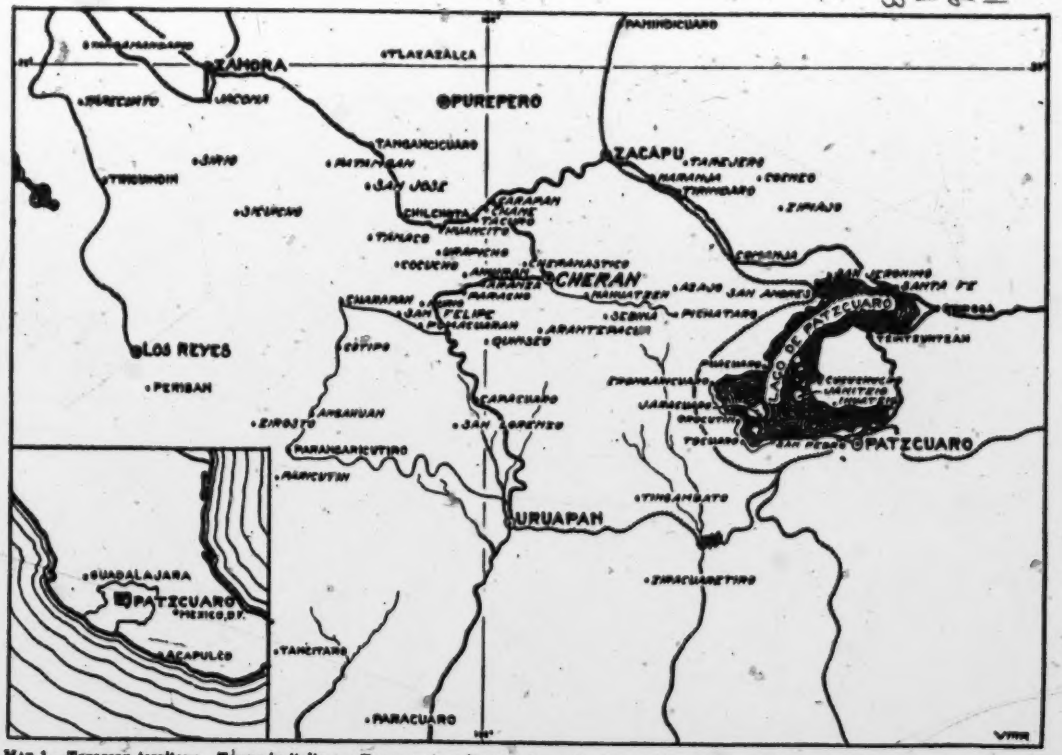

MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in italic are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestizo origin or are primarily Mestizo in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cherán; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

[p.6]

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[p. 7a]

13 . West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about
133 equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcu-
[361] aro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

Except for occasional marginal farm clear-
137 ings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where
[311] relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

Wherever the land is sufficiently level to per-
311 mit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smal-
311 ler extent, wheat, are almost the only field
241 crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

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311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

The town of Cherán has a population of
632 about 5,000. The community is unique among
162 Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherias. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherias or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the
632 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
311 a large area. Much of this area is mountain
578 and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan
361 agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

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Sierra Tarascans

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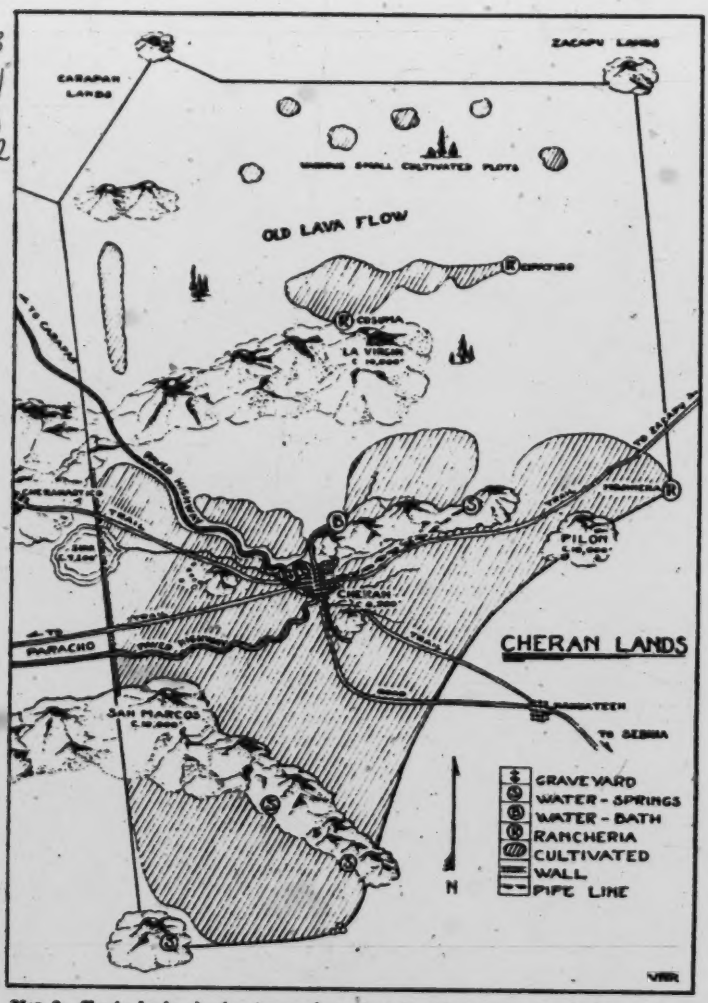

MAP 2.—Cheran lands, showing topography, principal cultivated areas, and various cultural features.

CHERÁN: A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE—BEALS

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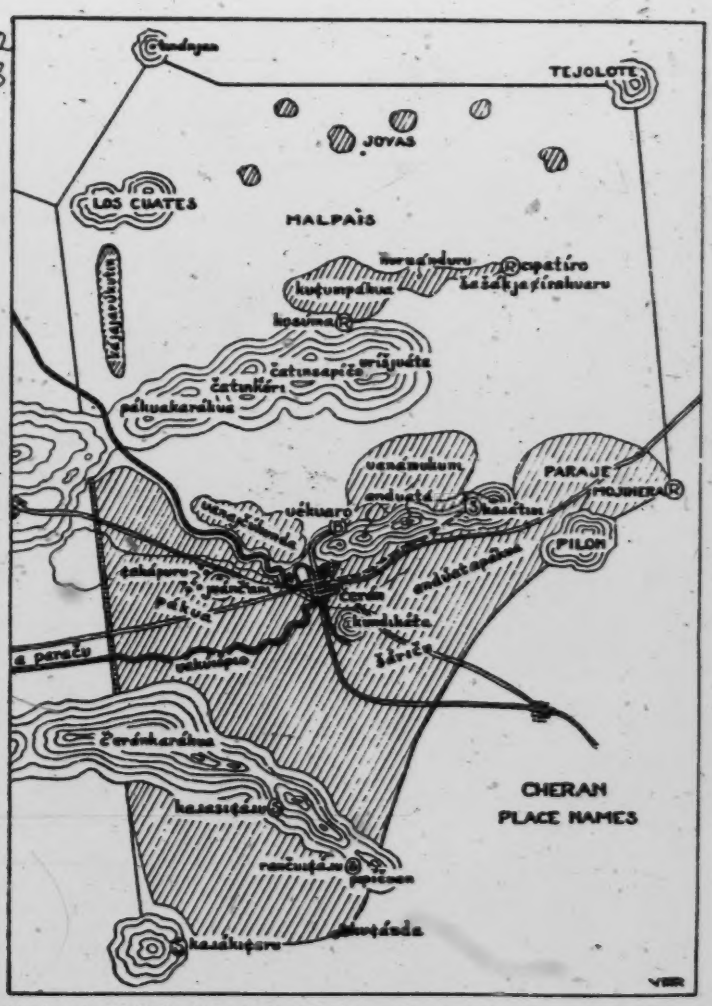

MAP 3.—The municipio of Cherán, showing the more important place names. See map 2 for explanation of symbols.

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Sierra Tarascans

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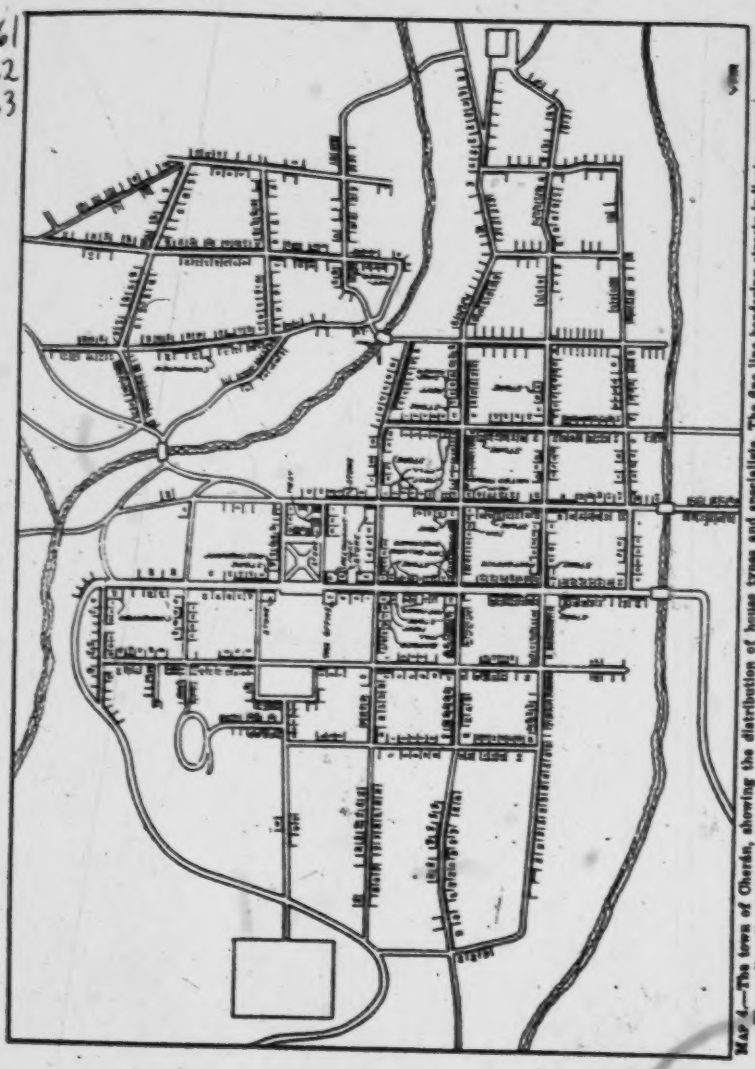

MAP 4.—The town of Cherán, showing the distribution of house types and specialists. The fine line bordering streets indicates vacant property. The medium line indicates the presence of wooden structures without masonry (although the lot may be walled with masonry). The heavy line indicates the presence of masonry or adobe structures. The majority of the latter also have one or more wooden structures on the same lot. Location of the majority of the specialized businesses or occupations is shown. The numbers refer to the house numbering system as of 1940.

[p. 10]

CHERÁN: A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE—BEALS

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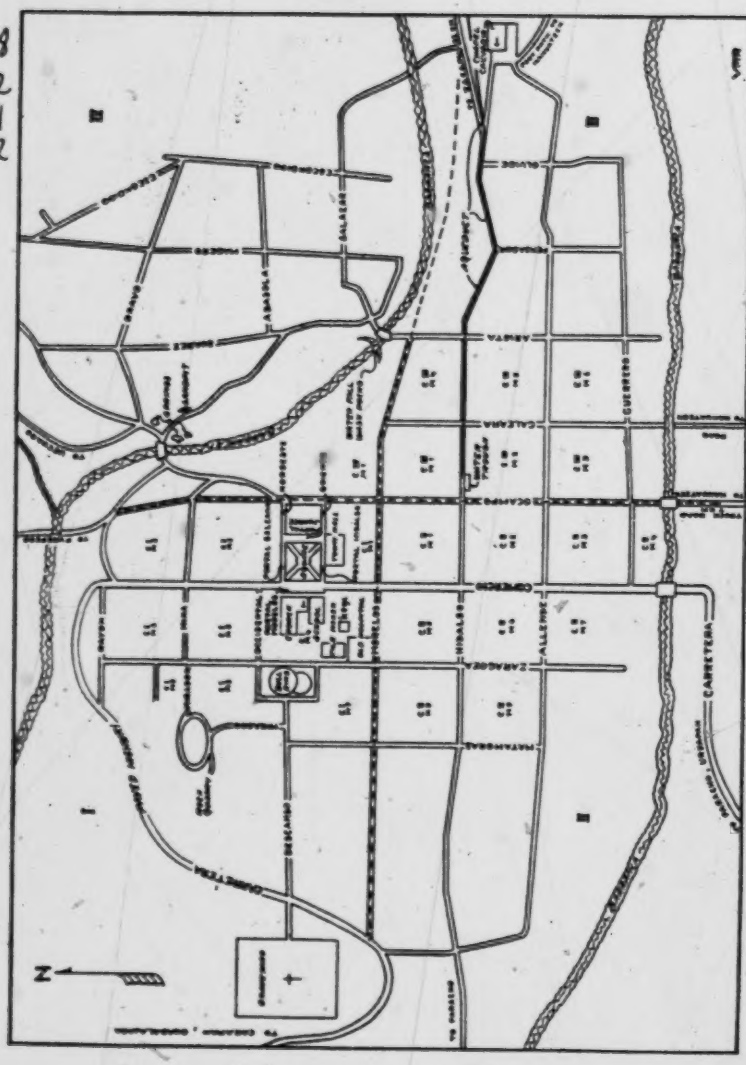
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CARRETERA
CALLEJON
HIDALGO
GUERRERO
SALAZAR
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[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settle-
174 ment. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

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136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an incon-
224 siderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Cor-
164 pulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

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197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans
105 appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomes-
[263] ticated state. This is particularly true of the most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo,*
[278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is col-
[252] lected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly
412 of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja,* the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in Italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

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[p.13b]

105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 412 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 388 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing woolens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

222 237 *Honey gathering.*—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two [176] groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arombas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *baya* (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *omeio*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[104]

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222 237 ing. The combs found here are round and hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravó*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon [752] juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If [481] the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk with a small special-type ax, tying himself with [412] a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three
316 mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack boxes.

Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used
317 only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[144] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

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317 either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is [492] dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and taken into town on muleback.

333 Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles ("*huinomo*")* or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

312 Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Paricutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

[104] * Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

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312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

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[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. [438] During planting and harvest times the price is $0.85 a carga [435] (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a carga. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

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Sierra Tarascans

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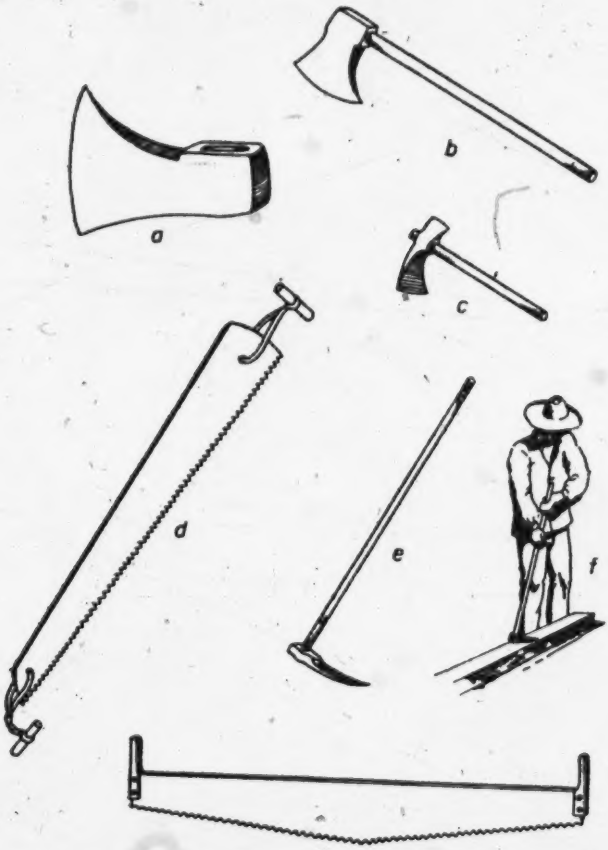

FIGURE 1.—Woodworking implements. *a*, Typical ax head, weighing 6 to 8 pounds. *b*, Same as *a*, with handle; total length about 3½ feet. *c*, Short-handled adz (ángáru). *d*, Saw used for cutting planks (k'eréri arákwtarakua), about 6 feet long; the lower handle usually is of metal and clamps over the end of the saw, engaging the saw teeth to hold it in place. *e*, Long-handled adz. *f*, Method of using long-handled adz to dress beams or planks. *g*, Logging saw, "*sardina*," used to cut felled timber into desired lengths.

[p. 16]

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[824] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardina"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a
[435] father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a
[563] day (16 *carpas*), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

[p.17b]

313 about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

An important product of Cherán is shakes, [438] *tejamanil* (tasámani). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, [824] as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (péri) with [401] a wedge, *cuña* (injárukua). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (uá,gua). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied [804] into bundles of 400 called an irépita (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the [438] length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.[9]

[9] A *cuarta* equals ¼ of a *vara* (the standard measure of length, about 32 inches long).

[text continues on p. 19a]

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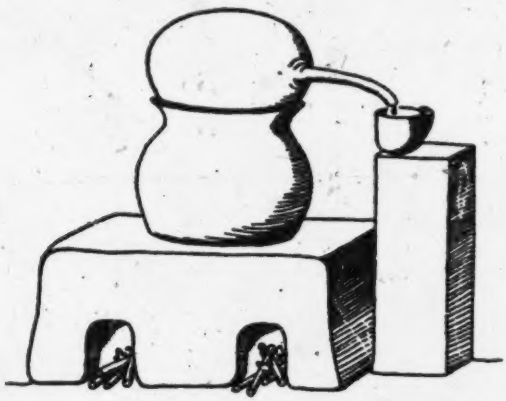

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FIGURE 2.—Turpentine still. a, Perspective view. b, Cross-sectional view from side. c, Schematic view of fireplace from above.

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[p119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
804 called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
438 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*, or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes 6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are sold in Zamora and are sometimes called Zamorana.

Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to
313 6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows: On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled. Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional, the finished product is taken to Uruapan or Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract
439 arrangements. The workers leave town on Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in splitting and shaping the ties with the ax. Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor, and the men are paid in time to return home that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
322 madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small wooden objects for which Paracho is famous. A few people in Cherán also make broom handles.

314 A considerable amount of charcoal is produced on the more distant lands of Cherán. Several men in town make their living entirely from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners usually spend from Monday until Friday in the woods, and return home over the week end. Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers, the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has been true of Cherán in the past, but, for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

314 negligible. Turpentine is produced at any season of the year. The first cut in trees is made about 20 or 25 cm. (8 or 10 in.) from the ground, with a small ax called gúrbia. The initial cut is one-half cm. vertically and 10 cm. horizontally. At the base of the cut a small copper or pottery cup is fastened. The initial cut is lengthened upward each year until, after about 10 years, the cut is 1.50 to 1.70 m. in height. A cut is then started on the opposite side of the tree. Formerly it was the practice to leave the cup for collecting the resin at the bottom of the cut. This wasted considerable resin, and now the cup is raised as the height of the cut is increased. In order to lead the resin into the cup, a small sheet of metal is driven into the tree just above the cup. The cup is emptied every 3 days and the cut cleaned or enlarged.

The collected resin or *brea* is cooked in special stills. An *olla* of resin is placed above a fire-
[323] box (fig. 2). The cover and "coil" are made of pottery (in the village of Patamban), and the turpentine is caught in another vessel. Before the decline in turpentine prices caused by World War II, a kilo of resin sold at 8 centavos in the woods and a 5-gallon tin of turpentine
[435] sold at 18 pesos. In 1941, prices were 4 or 5 centavos for a kilo of resin with a corresponding drop in turpentine prices.

HUNTING

Probably no one in Cherán derives any con-
224 siderable part of his livelihood from hunting. Some men hunt casually because their farms or lumbering activities take them where game is more plentiful. Others hunt a good deal because they enjoy it. Finally, sometimes people hunt because they are poor and thus can augment their food supply or income.

The most commonly hunted animals are deer, peccary (guákin), squirrels (both ordinary, kuínike, and flying squirrels), rabbits, quail, pigeons, and less commonly, armadillos. Other local wild animals are not eaten. Heavy rifles
[411] are used for large animals, usually .30 or .32 caliber, and .22 caliber rifles for squirrels.

Deer are sometimes trapped in pits in the mountains. Squirrels are caught in snares. Horsehair threads are used to make snares to
223 catch quail and pigeons. Quail snares are hung

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[p. 20a]

223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price of beef. It is said not to be liked very well.
438 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons
262 at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village.
[463] Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Beaches
Potato	Quinces

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241 Maguey (agave) Crab apples
Chayote *Zapote blanco*

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but [438] grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans 311 all have soils almost exclusively composed of 134 volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) 311 "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called "*joyas*," consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

[423] The so-called "plains" consist of several large areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are 241 the principal crops grown. The "plains" are 311 cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

The largest "plain," usually referred to sim- 311 ply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

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[p.21a]

311 boundary with Aranza and Cheranástico (pl. 1, upper left). The second most important "plain" is south and southeast of the town and extends on the east to the boundary with Nahuatzen. On the north and south the plain is bounded by hills and mountains, on the west by the slope to *el plan*. This area is usually referred to as Sharicho (šaričo). The "*plan* of Arantepacuaro" is south of the range of mountains of San Marcos, and extends to the boundary of Arantepacuaro on the south. The fourth and smallest "plain" of importance is northeast of the mountain of El Pilón.

Patches of sloping land under permanent cultivation are found scattered throughout the *municipio*. A large number of plots are found on the slope between *el plan* and the town and on the lower, gentler slopes of many mountains and cinder cones. These lands may be fenced or, more commonly, protected by deep ditches with hedges of agave on each side. Thorny crab apple or other fruit trees sometimes are also planted along ditches. Weak spots may be guarded by thorny brush and poles (pl. 4, lower left).

The so-called "joyas" are usually patches of only a few acres, often in isolated places far from town. They may be fenced or ditched to keep out animals and, like the other areas, are privately owned. Unless they are unusually fertile, "*joyas*" are cultivated only every other year.

The garden plots are within the town proper. In a few cases they may occupy an entire block, but normally they are merely part of a building lot (*solar*). Few of them are as large as half an acre. They are fenced and, unlike any other areas, they are cultivated every year.

Temporary fields are created by clearing the forest on community lands. Permission must [656] be obtained from the Federal Department of Forestry, Hunting and Fishing. Extra forest [651] taxes must be paid, but charges are nominal. Usually the areas cleared are steep and the soil is poor and badly leached. Frequently, serious erosion results from such fields. Although cultivated only in alternate years, these fields are short-lived and are abandoned after a decade or so. Only use rights exist for such fields and after abandonment they revert to the public domain.

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THE FARMING CYCLE

221 A clearer picture of the agricultural cycle
241 may be given by a monthly summary.

January: Little to do; second plowing of maize lands may begin.

February: Second plowing of maize lands.

March: Maize planting begins.

April: Maize planting; first cultivation of early maize at end of month; planting of vegetables and maize in *solares*.

May: Wheat harvest; second cultivation of maize.

June: Second cultivation of maize; some wheat threshing (continued in dry weather throughout rest of year).

July: Fairly free month; weeding of maize begins; second cultivation of maize continues.

August: Plowing for wheat.

September: Planting wheat; cutting maize fodder.

October: Plowing for maize; rains usually end; cutting maize fodder; wheat threshing nearly finished.

November: Maize harvest (if lower lands planted); plowing.

December: Maize harvest on higher lands; plowing.

SOIL PREPARATION

Land is prepared for field and garden crops
241 (except for small kitchen gardens of cabbage and herbs) by plowing one or more times (pl. 4, upper left). The plow used is usually a wooden type (fig. 3). The Government has given some 30 steel plows to the *municipio*, which lends them to farmers; although these are all in use, they care for only a small part of the plowing.

Regardless of the type of plow, it is almost
231 always drawn by oxen. Mules, and perhaps
241 horses, undoubtedly are used sometimes, but
492 not as frequently as in adjoining Aranza; in the entire season of 1940–41 no single instance was observed on Cherán lands. If the wooden plow is used, the long plow beam is attached to the ox yoke directly. Steel plows are attached to the ox yoke by a chain. An ox goad of wood, often with a chisellike metal butt (for sticking in the ground), is employed.

A great many farmers own oxen; if they do
[427] not, they must rent them at 75 centavos to 1 peso a day, depending on the demand. If drivers are hired, 50 centavos a day is usual. On the other hand, if a man has rented his land on shares, he must make sure his tenants plow at the right time. Usually land is plowed twice before planting, but the depth rarely exceeds 6 inches.

MAIZE

241 Except in the garden plots and a few other highly favored places, corn is never planted on the same ground on two successive years. Garden plots are more carefully cultivated and are fertilized to some extent by depositing organic refuse of all kinds and, if available, manure. Good farmers will even carry surplus manure
241 to the fields, but some are lazy and simply
133 throw it in one of the arroyos. It is then carried down to the "plain" west of town. As a

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133 result, a part of the "plain" where the water
241 sinks into the ground can be farmed every year.

The basin, of which the "plain" forms a part, has no outlet. So porous is the volcanic soil that streams run only briefly after heavy rainfall. The drainage of the entire basin collects on the Cherán–Aranza boundary, where it sinks into the soil within a few hours after a storm. The entire sink area is cultivated and is highly
241 fertile. No rotation of crops is ordinarily practiced on the plain; but in the mountains,

[Text continues on page 23 a]

407

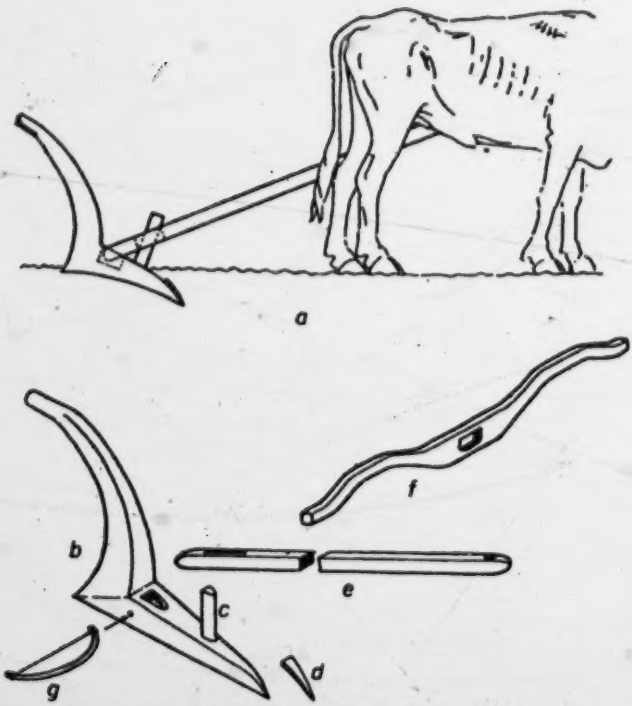

FIGURE 2.—The Cherán plow. *a*, Plow in use with oxen (see also pl. 4, upper left). *b*, Main frame, made from a single piece of wood. *c*, Peg over which the tongue fits. *d*, Steel plowshare fastened on the point of the main frame. *e*, Tongue which goes over peg (*c*), while the end fits in a socket on the main frame. *f*, yoke; the tongue (*e*) passes through the opening in the yoke and is held by a tapered peg (not shown). *g*, Bow used on the plow in planting to spread the dirt into the already planted furrows; the bow is inserted into the indicated hole.

[p. 22 c]

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[p. 23a]

241 when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

243 Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may [804] be planted. Maize rows are about 1 *vara* (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work [462] is done by men. There is no exchange of labor [476] or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (ɨirá,ki) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

[p 236]

243 although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of
[262] the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter, apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and
[263] chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color
243 variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types.
824 Red ears are called čóču and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called čústika and a coiled shape called tokére čústika.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest.
243 All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shell-
[821] ing is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fun-
[262] gus. The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

243 Trespass by domestic animals and theft must
672 be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields
685 are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 Unseasonal frost often damages corn, par-
[132] ticularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated (*"escarda"* also *"trozando"*) by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded
[412] *"chaponeado."* This is done by hand with a short machete, called *"os,"* with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

243 As soon as grain is well formed on the ears,
221 some maize is used for food, usually roasted.
674 At this time, also, guards must be set in the fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

243 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine
221 tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set
674 firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

When the ears are well formed, but while
243 stalks and leaves are still green, fodder
246 ("*rastrojo*") is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 The main work of harvesting is done by men.
[462] Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-
[482] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which
[285] miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

The harvest is the busiest time of year.
243 Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the
464 infirm, everyone works, either on his own har-
466 vest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

Most of the harvest is carried to town and
243 the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to
492 hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are
[493] used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

243 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are
492 rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented
or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize
[427] or money equal to the rent is usually made.
Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

The time of the harvest varies in different
243 places. If the "plain" west of town is planted,
632 the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

As the harvest is a time of joint work, even
243 though not communal in character, it also is a
527 rather festive and social occasion. Moreover,
692 many workmen have more money than at any
273 other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

In 1940 the following schedule of harvests
243 was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

White maize and yellow maize are stored un-
251 shelled in the lofts of "*trojes*." Little effort is
243 taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in the house. Most black corn is consumed as [252] roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved [796] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands [231] are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat [821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. [462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in [407] 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Tarataro, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

244 *Beans.*—The soil of Cherán is said not to be good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

244 brownish, and various spotted beans with much variation in size and shape were observed, and, in many cases, were named by informants. Until reports are received from botanists, the details of variation seem of little interest. All seem to be of climbing types.

Some people plant a few beans between the corn rows, usually in the garden. Mixing of corn and bean seed is said not to give good results. Separate planting of beans is rare, if it occurs at all. Beans are threshed by driving burros over the straw, or children may trample out small quantities.

Squashes and pumpkins.—A few pumpkins are grown in gardens for home use. The most common type is a squash known as chilacayote, although it is not grown abundantly.

The chilacayote must be planted 15 to 20 feet apart, for the plant spreads widely. Uusally it is planted in gardens. The fruit is large and green, resembling a watermelon in shape and color. The flesh is white and watery.

251 Some chilacayote is eaten fresh, cooked with
[252] brown sugar. Usually, though, it is cured by leaving it in the sun on roofs or wall tops for 2 or 3 weeks. Sometimes the squashes are coated with ashes mixed with water. This is believed to harden the exterior. After curing, they are stored in the *"troje"* or in the storage loft and saved until spring. Planting time is the traditional season for eating chilacayote, for this is a period when there are almost no fresh fruits or vegetables. The squashes sell
[435] for 25 to 50 centavos.

Broadbeans or habas.—Broadbeans (*Vicia*
244 *faba*), a coarse variety of European vetch, are usually planted in gardens or, more rarely, in the field. They are planted in furrows, like maize, and are cultivated similarly. Broadbeans yield well in Cherán but relatively few are grown, as they are not liked as well as ordinary beans.

Potatoes.—Planting of potatoes began in Cherán only 2 or 3 years ago. Apparently
[439] they do well but only a few are planted as yet, principally for sale in Mexican communities, for they have little place in Tarascan cookery. They are planted in April and harvested in November or December.

Chayote.—The chayote is not grown abundantly. Plants are found only in gardens,

244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaǵitiniš and kuaǵitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Parícutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

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[p.27b]

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

252 The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

245 *Pears.*—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (ꞓarápiti), and t'ačani (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

245 Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

[194] [10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as quiote; the leaves are called ꞓíkua, the stalk or bud, šámaš. Mestizoized Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

245 Pears and other fruit trees are not pruned, cultivated, or fertilized. Fruit to be shipped, especially pears, is picked with a special implement to prevent bruising. Three narrow pieces of shake are cut to a point at one end. They are then tied with string to one end of a long light pole, forming a triangular funnel. The funnel is placed under the fruit and raised, detaching it gently from the tree (fig. 4).

[413]

FIGURE 4.—Pear picker, made of trimmed shakes, cord, and any convenient long pole. The fruit is caught in the opening, lifted until the stem breaks, and then lowered to the ground. Bruised pears will not stand shipment.

Miscellaneous fruits.—A bitter apple, *manzana agria* or *chata*, is grown in Cherán. A larger, sweet apple is grown in Pichátaro, but only four or five trees exist in Cherán.

Three kinds of peaches are grown in Cherán: *blanco*, a type with red flesh near the pit (name uncollected), a green peach (prísku), and a yellow peach (melókuta). Relatively few [439] peaches or apples are exported.

Two kinds of cherries, black and white, are grown in Cherán. Both are dried in some [251] quantities and are sometimes sold in the market at Paracho.

A few *zapote blanco* are grown in Cherán, but most of this fruit consumed in Cherán is imported. The same is true of plums.

The *tejocote* is said not to be cultivated, but it sometimes is planted deliberately along field borders and its fruit is used. As, with the exception of pears, this is all the attention ever given to other fruits, it is fair to include the

245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and
[252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote*." Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread 231 in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent 556 of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

Cattle are raised for several economic uses: 231 meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

Relatively few cows are milked, and most 234 families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

231 492 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

231 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán [184] but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in [435] adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

[232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

231 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes
232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
[422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[438] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but
[252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A
[364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

[232] Although some persons in Cherán were said to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 465 The average wages of sheepherders are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent misbehavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or [626] carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent,
[262] sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep
are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early
summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool
[435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to
$1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white
(as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Nor-
mally they are herded with the sheep and are
[234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats
are milked, and the milk is made into cheese.
[438] The most important use of goats is to sell them
for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat
[262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold
uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in
Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding,
it is said the animals deteriorate because of the
cold climate. Consequently, most horses are
imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly.
More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is
the fact that no one in Cherán understands the
care of horses. They are badly fed and receive
little protection from the weather. Stallions
are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and
[492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack
animals. Riding and pack gear are the same
[184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other
[241] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing,
this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor
[435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses be-
long to well-to-do men and primarily are indica-
[556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the
vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost
never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and
[232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any
knowledge of treating illnesses of horses.
[422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses
[552] are given names similar to those used by
[262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse
[291] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses
and have a higher value. Almost all are im-
[492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals,
but occasionally they are ridden or used with
the plow.

231 the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the
231 more common animals in Cherán. Often kept
492 in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not
[262] castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the
[281] hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or
231 perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals"
[552] such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, sheepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Paricutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squir-
[224] rels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when [262] a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal*. Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

23| Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch
[825] the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are special-
232 ists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angihuan and Parícutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Parícutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

[184]

232 common. If wounds are bound, carefully washed lard mixed with sugar may be applied or wet dressings may be used, dampened at frequent intervals with salt water.

Rabies is believed to be caused by the bite of some other animal, by inadequate food, or by heat. There is no cure.

Dysentery, *"posición,"* in horses and burros is believed to be caused by cold or *"salitre,"* a very salty mineral-bearing earth. The animal is fed pills of coffee, lemon, and bicarbonate of soda.

"Onia" is caused by overwork, but the symptoms were not recorded. Treatment is bleeding the side of the neck and rest. (In general, [753] overwork is regarded as an important cause of sickness.)

Sore feet result from the feet becoming full of blood. The bottom of the foot is bled and the animal must rest until well.

"Roncha" is a disease caused by mosquito bites; if it is not cured within 24 hours, the animal usually dies. Symptoms and treatment were not recorded.

"Pirojon" is very dangerous and kills in 24 hours. It is believed to be caused by mosquitoes or flies that have bitten a dead animal already putrefying. One curer burns the bites with a magnifying glass.

Evil eye, *malojo,* may affect animals that refuse to eat. There is no cure. The best thing is to sell the animal to the man who cast the evil eye (at his price usually); the animal then recovers.

[925] Bats are reported to bite animals at night and make them bleed. Nothing is done to prevent this. As it is said bats never bite humans, and as Cherán probably is above the range of vampire bats, the report may be folklore.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

In the previous sections were described the 128 technological processes which involve the exploitation of the environment and the extraction therefrom of raw materials. The present section will describe techniques by which the raw materials are processed and made ready for consumption. Obviously, such classifications must be somewhat elastic. No doubt, good reasons could be advanced against including domesticated animals under exploitative activi-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

128 ties. Neither are descriptions of dress or house use entirely appropriate under the heading of manufacturing processes. Nevertheless, there is a certain cultural or associative logic involved which would be violated by too rigid adherence to the literal meaning of categories.

CERAMICS

339 No native ceramic industry exists in Cherán. [323] Pottery is not made, but in 1940 two men, both non-Tarascans, made roofing tile and brick.

[413]

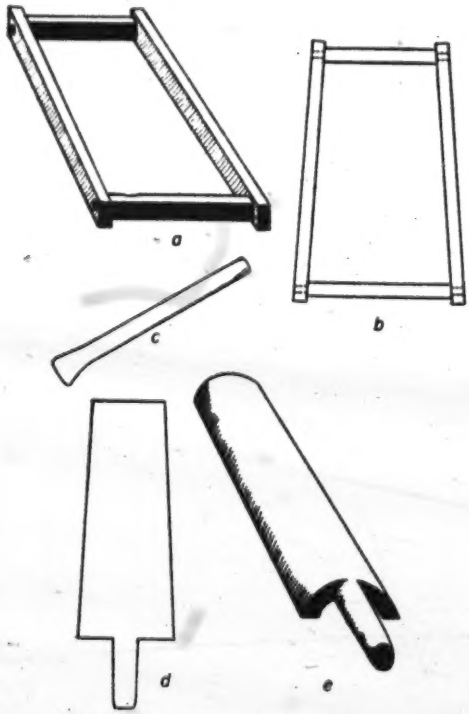

FIGURE 5.—Tilemaker's implements. *a*, Perspective view of the mold. *b*, Direct view of the mold to show proportions and the shape, which is narrower at one end than the other. *c*, Wooden chisel or knife used to loosen clay from mold if necessary (length about 18 inches with other artifacts in proportion). *d*, Outline of the form for tiles. *e*, Perspective view of the form for tiles. The mold is filled with clay and the top smoothed. The mold is then lifted up, leaving the clay on a bench top. The clay is then slid onto the form to receive the curved shape of the tile. After a few minutes drying, the unfired tile is slipped off the form onto the floor to complete the drying process.

939 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [438] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

Hat making.—About four men manufacture 294 men's hats of palm straw braid, although pro- 439 duction does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated
with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
[462] or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

296 of petticoats are made by one woman, although
531 this technique is primarily found in Nahuatzen. The proportion of women doing this work seems significantly smaller in the third *cuartel* or *barrio* when compared with the other *cuartels*.

The crochet may be replaced by embroidery or drawn work, especially on finer materials such as linen or rayon. Designs either come "from one's head" or patterns may be bought in market. Usually the poorest designs come from the market, but no evidence was found either to indicate preservation of traditional patterns on the part of those not using commercial patterns, or to indicate creativeness in designs. Blouses decorated with crochet involve 1 week's part-time work, and embroidered or drawn-work blouses, from 1 to 3 weeks.

286 *Blanket weaving.*—About four men in Cherán weave blankets. These men buy raw wool, and wash, clean, card, and spin the wool, and do the weaving. White, brown, and black colors are usually natural wool colors. For blue, the
[386] only other common color, the weaver dyes white wool with indigo. A urine mordant is used. To produce a gray thread, white, black, and blue wool are mixed together before carding. Raw wool is washed and cleaned, losing about one-third its weight in the process.

Carding is done with commercial steel cards
283 which cost $8.00 a set and last about 3 years.
[435] A handful of wool is placed on one card and the other is drawn across it several times. The wool is then folded on one of the cards and the process repeated. If wool of two or more colors is being mixed, the rectangles of carded wool are torn into pieces, mixed together, and carded a second time in order to give a more uniform color.

Spinning is done with a wheel (fig. 6). The edges of a rectangle of carded wool are folded along the long side. The rectangle is then pulled apart down the middle except at one end, giving a strip of carded wool about 1½ inches wide. One end is thrown over the left arm and the other end fed into the yarn with the left hand while the wheel is turned with the right. When 6 to 8 inches are lightly twisted, the yarn is stretched to from 24 to 30 inches, given a tighter twist, and then wound on the spindle (fig. 6). [Text continued on page 36 b]

283
[H05]

[H02]

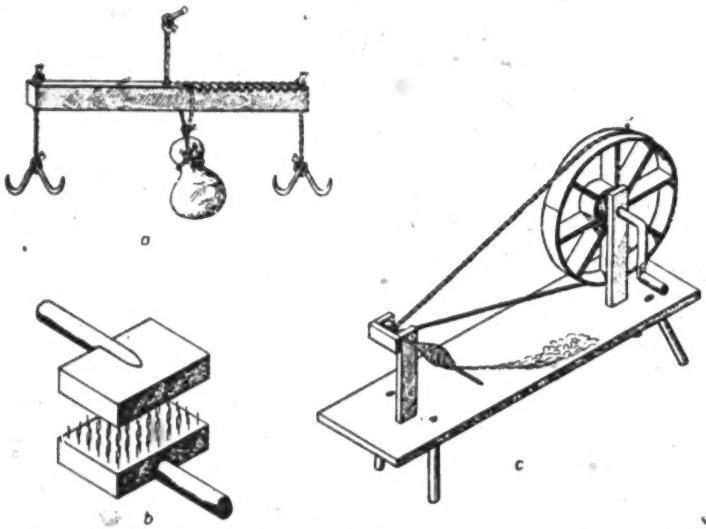

FIGURE 6.—Spinning wheel and associated implements. *a*, Scales for weighing wool; the weight is a 1-pound stone; length of the beam is 14½ inches. *b*, Carders used to prepare wool for spinning, about 9 by 12 inches; the wires are merely indicated schematically and actually are much more numerous. *c*, Home-made spinning wheel; the wheel is turned with the right hand, the wool fed into the thread with the left hand; the spinner stands to operate the apparatus.

[p. 36a]

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[p. 36b]

286 Weaving is done on a wooden European type
294 loom with heddles and treddle. A blanket is always woven in two strips, and then sewed together with an opening left in the center so it may be worn as a poncho. Further details are omitted pending a study of the handicraft in a town specializing in weaving.

Lace weaving.—It is probable that this tech-
286 nique is misnamed. In any case it is not properly a Cherán technique, the only weaver being a woman from Aranza. So far as is known, only six or eight women in the latter village know the technique.

A broadloom frame is used, about 8 feet by 4 feet. It is warped with white cotton thread. The weft, also of cotton thread, is placed with the fingers. Designs are set off by open work and consist of human and animal figures. A bedspread or tablecloth takes 2 months
[435] or more to make and sells at $75.00 and up (asking price). Often the design is

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p. 36c]

286 arranged to be cut up in small pieces. A 2-
435 foot square piece in coarse thread (which weaves faster than fine thread) with figures of a man, a burro, and two deer, was purchased for $2.00.

Belt weaving.—Perhaps five or six women
286 in Cherán weave narrow belts for women. A small belt loom is used. One end is tied to a house post or tree, and the weaver kneels on a mat. A circular warp slips freely about the yarn beams. Two heddles, a spreader, two or more shed dividers, and a batten are employed (fig. 7). The belts always have a central design with plain border. The main warp is cotton, but the central design area has a double warp, one being of wool. Sheds for intricate parts of the design are picked up with a small stick, not with the heddle. There is no shuttle; the weft threads are wound in small balls or on a piece of paper. No patterns are used for designs. Belts take about 2 days of fairly in-

[Text continued on page 38 a.]

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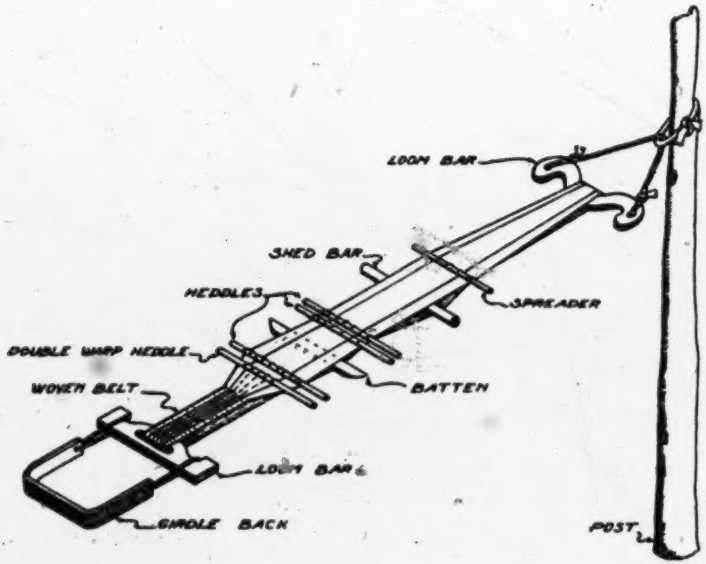

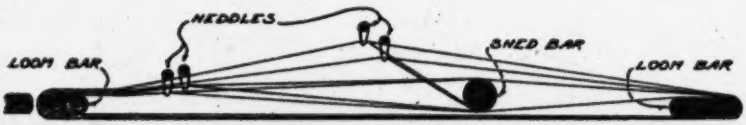

FIGURE 7.—Belt loom. Proportions are distorted to show detail; the actual width of the belt is about 1¼ inches. The central part of the warp is double. The lower view shows schematically the various sheds created by the shed bar and the four heddles. Length is 3 feet 9 inches between the loom bars.

[p. 37]

286 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make
463 their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town
[511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards
[177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside
[439] in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

Men's dress.—Influence of the Mestizo world
291 is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside
177 from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

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291 The most prominent and significant change
177 in men's dress in Cherán is not the entry of the *catrin* garments of storekeeper and professional man of the towns, but of the blue denim jeans or overalls of the mechanic and factory worker, the garment of the proletariat. As the con-
[665] trolling group in town is allied to the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanas, the town officials, including mayor and secretary, often wear over-
[292] alls, reserving their *catrin* clothes for visits to Uruapan or Morelia or for important civic events.

291 The working dress of Cherán males, and the exclusive dress of many, is trousers (*calzones*), shirt or blouse of unbleached muslin (*manta*), straw hat, and sandals (*guaraches*). A blanket or poncho (*serape*) is worn or carried as protection against cold or rain (pls. 3; 4, lower right).

The *calzones* or trousers are tight-fitting in the legs but cut full at the waist with a baggy seat. There are no buttons on the fly; instead of a fastening, the two ample sides of the fly are lapped over each other, and a sash, about 6 inches in width, is wrapped about the waist to hold the trousers. The lower part of the trouser leg has a piece of cloth tape attached which is used to tie the bottom of the *calzones* tightly around the ankle. The shirt, or more properly, blouse, likewise has no buttons. It usually has no tails, or very abbreviated ones, and is usually worn outside the *calzones*. It is open part way down the front and has a roll collar, but neither opening nor collar ordinarily is fastened. Buttons are never used, except in attempts to copy city garments, but strings may be provided. Such fitting as is attempted is badly done. A coat of *manta* may also be worn on special occasions; it differs from the blouse primarily in being open down the front and in being of heavier material. It may also be stitched in bright-colored thread.

Both shirt and coat may be modified by at-
[177] tempt to copy urban models and sometimes are purchased ready-made.

Sandals or *guaraches* have a heavy pointed double thick leather sole and leather heel. Part of the top is of leather pieces nailed to the sole, but the major portion is made of woven leather strips passing through slits in the upper sole

291 and the nailed portions of the uppers. The toe is open. As the manufacture of *guaraches* is practiced by only a few Cherán residents, most of them recent arrivals, no detailed description of techniques is given.

An inseparable part of the costume is the straw hat. From infancy, every male is equipped with a hat, which he always wears outdoors, no matter how inconvenient the circumstances. Awkward jobs, such as carrying heavy timbers, are infinitely delayed because every time a man's hat falls off, the entire operation stops until the hat is replaced. Moreover, the first way in which a man makes an extra "luxury" expenditure in clothing is to buy a more expensive hat. The hat is frequently embellished by a bright-colored string about the front of the crown and, passing through two holes at each side, then going around the back of the head. Flowers also are often worn on the hat. Hat manufacture is described under weaving.

From the above-described working costume, many departures occur. Without achieving *catrin* styles, a gay and well-dressed man may wear a brilliant rayon blouse or shirt of blue, red, or yellow, and bright-yellow high shoes (the latter without socks). A brilliant rayon kerchief may be added, as well as a colorful *serape* or poncho, although in Cherán the latter is usually dull in color. In such a town as [292] Capacuaro, however, Sunday or fiesta dress might consist of *calzones* of *manta* supported by a brilliant red sash, a vivid blue rayon shirt, bright green rayon kerchief, yellow shoes, a striking orange or strong pink poncho folded over one shoulder, and a large whitened straw hat with a big spray of pink gladiolus or a cluster of geraniums. Worn with an air, the ensemble is impressive.

In Cherán a good many men have shirts bought in market or in Uruapan; a necktie; a pair or two of cotton trousers, perhaps made by a tailor in Uruapan; a woolen sack coat; and a felt hat. Such a costume normally would be worn on Sunday or on trips by bus to Uruapan or some other town. Very rare, though, are individuals with a complete wool suit. Sweaters are fairly common for lounging about home or on the streets.

The dress of male children is similar to that

291 of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of
[885] an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

Today both men and boys wear the hair
302 short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only
178 one boy in Gherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remem-
[856] bered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of
291 women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only

[Text continues on page 40 b]

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FIGURE 8.—Women's dress. See text for description. The petticoat is made more visible than usual in order to indicate the embroidered edging. The apron commonly reaches the bottom of the skirt. The *rebozo* would normally be on the head or about the shoulders, but is shown on the arm to permit a view of details of the blouse, hairdress, etc.

291 for visiting or receiving guests, while a great many conservative women wear it constantly. In the latter case, if they can afford it, women have two costumes, an old one for everyday, a newer one for special occasions.

The complete Tarascan woman's dress consists of petticoat, skirt, blouse, apron, *rebozo* or shawl, and a number of woven belts (fig. 8). The greatest variation is in the blouse. This may be of cheap *manta* or even discarded flour sacking, in which case it merely has an opening for the head, short sleeves, 4 to 6 inches in length, and is unsewn down the sides. The [853] open-sided blouse is often worn by nursing mothers, even though the materials are of better quality. No matter how cheap the materials, however, some design in cross-stitching is usually found about the neck opening.

Finer blouses may be of good cotton, rayon, or even silk, although cotton is the most common. The short sleeves may have a drawstring at the end to tie them closely about the arm. This gives a puffed sleeve appearance, although there is no fitting. More commonly, except in garments made for tourists, the lower end of the sleeve is finished with a crocheted band about 1 inch wide in a contrasting color. Often the lower seam of the sleeve is not carried to the body of the garment. The side seam of the latter is also often incomplete for about 2 inches below the sleeve. The opening left compensates to some extent for the lack of fitting. The neck opening is bound either by solid cross-stitching or a crocheted band similar to that on the sleeve. An extensive cross-stitched design usually gives the effect of a yoke, although front and back of the blouse are a single piece. The neck opening is tied together with two pieces of cord, a piece sewn to each side. Garments for sale may have a drawstring about the neck opening, which then is not extended down the front of the garment.

Cherán women's blouses are usually plainer [184] than those worn in other villages. The decoration is usually a dull yellowish brown and is applied with restraint. No study of the designs was attempted, as it is hoped a general study of the Tarascan textile and garment industry will be made.

The petticoat is of white cotton cloth or *manta*. It reaches from the waist nearly to the

29) ground, and the lower edge is decorated with a band nearly 2 inches wide of cross-stitched designs in blue, strong pink, or red. These designs are made in Nahuatzen on long strips of *manta* and are purchased and sewn on the lower edge of the petticoat. The garment itself is tubular with a circumference of at least 6 yards. The top edge is folded back a foot or more, giving a double thickness of cloth about the waist. It is worn flat across the front and then skillfully gathered in knife pleats across the back, forming almost a ridge of material across the back. The pleats are not sewn but are laid in place each time the petticoat is donned. The top of the petticoat comes at least 6 inches above the waist. A woven belt of wool, usually in brilliant colors, about 2 inches wide and 2 or more yards long, is then placed very tightly about the waist to support the petticoat. Only training from childhood makes it possible to endure the tightness of the belt constantly.

If Tarascan dress is worn constantly, women frequently wear the petticoat without the skirt and apron while working. This is true even when running errands on the street. Any formal occasion, however, is thought to require the outer skirt and apron.

The outer skirt is of very dark-blue or black wool cloth, either of commercial origin, or hand-
[438] loomed materials from Paracho or Nahuatzen. Two widths of the latter are required. The skirt is tubular also, and the circumference should equal or exceed that of the petticoat, the limit being the purse of the family and the fortitude of the woman. Skirts over 30 yards in circumference are known; a 15-yard circumference is probably about the minimum for a really stylish garment. The top is folded in, and the surplus material is gathered, as in the petticoat, in knife pleats across the back. The top of the skirt is well above the waist and is held in place by several narrow woven belts of bright colors and designs. Despite their elaborate designs, these belts are wrapped one on top of the other. Although one would suffice, ideally one belt is superimposed on another until they reach a thickness of as much as 2 inches (pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2, upper right and left).

The pleats of the skirt must be prepared more carefully than those of the petticoat.

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 [854] When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 [438] [435] For special occasions, women who can afford them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children [492] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the rebozo. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

291 of the *rebozo* (pl. 2, upper right and left). The bare arms are also usually covered by the *rebozo*. The ends may be used to lift hot objects or as a handkerchief. The *rebozo* is worn with cotton dresses as well as with the traditional costume.

Women usually go barefooted on all occasions. Today some wear shoes, but no woman was even seen to wear *guaraches*. Occasionally women may wear a man's straw hat over the *rebozo* when traveling in hot sun. Usually, though, a leafy branch is plucked and held to shade the head.

Women dress one another's hair. The hair
302 is carefully combed and brushed, frequently with brushes from urban sources or with brushes of *raiz de paja*. Oil or lemon juice is often rubbed on the hair to impart a sheen and preserve the hairdress for 2 or 3 days. The hair is parted in the middle and then carefully braided in two braids. Young women and some older women braid in pieces of bright-colored yarn or narrow ribbons. Small girls usually have yarn or ribbon only in one braid. Very old women sometimes do not comb the hair, letting it hang in a tangled mass, possibly because they have no relatives or friends to do this. A band or cord may, in this case, be tied around the head to keep the hair out of the face. In Mestisoized Chilchota, women still do not comb their own hair but do it for each other.[12]

Girls frequently are put in the traditional
291 costume before they can walk. Usually a
854 portion of a worn-out skirt or *serape* is bound on the infant with a belt. When the child can walk, a miniature blouse and petticoat are provided, and usually a portion of a skirt, even though ragged. Thus, even from infancy, the
[856] girl is tightly bound about the waist and at an older age is able to stand the tight belt necessary to support the heavy petticoat and skirt (pl. 2, lower right and left).

Both women and girls wear necklaces of
301 tubular red glass beads called *corales* (corals). Three or four to several dozen strings are worn. The strings go only part way around the neck, being attached to two ribbons which are tied behind the neck. Earrings are also worn.

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[12] In Sopeco in La Cañada, women dress each other's hair after the weekly bath. The hair is "fixed" with lemon juice and the juice of an unidentified herb.

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301 Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs [435] about $35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

335 Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán 322 except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

511 The differences in the economic well-being of towns situated only a few miles apart are 465 sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive $1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually 335 consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

[text continues on p. 436]

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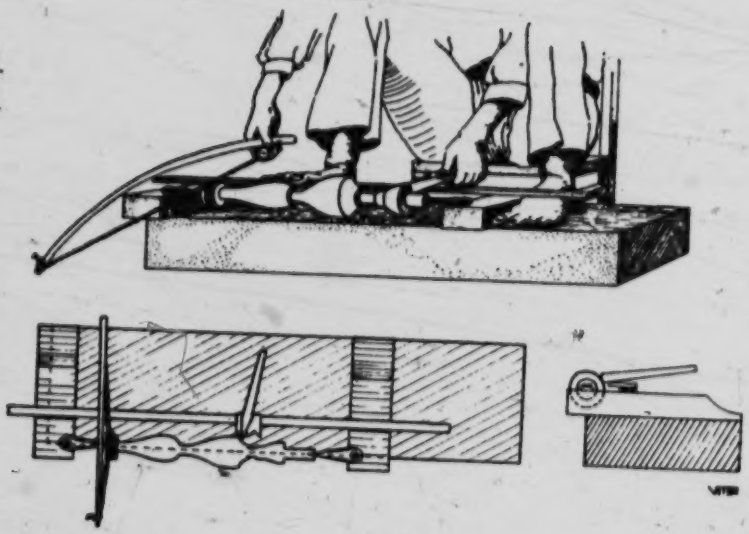

FIGURE 9.—Lathe driven by a bow. A candlestick, about 12 inches long, is in process of manufacture. The two bottom views show the position of the cutting tool.

[p. 43a]

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[p. 43b]

335 carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

322 As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán
402 manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type.
[824] They are made of madroño wood and are turned on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

322 Broom handles are made by one family, as
438 already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

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[p. 43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra [461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work [462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

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[p.44a]

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather 532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed 326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan* 256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943. 438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán 389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

389 elaborate, as they require fuses of various speeds, different colors of fire, and slow-burning types of powder. As handbooks exist for this type of manufacture and supply houses also furnish information to their patrons, it was felt that detailed inquiry into techniques was not worth while. The *cohetero* usually receives a small advance payment—5 to 15 pesos—when he accepts an order. He receives no further payment until the *castillo* is burned. Should
[686] there be a failure, not only may the *cohetero* fail to receive his pay, but he may be jailed and fined.

Stonecutting.—Several men do stonecutting
324 on a part-time basis. Doorsills and bases for door posts and pillars are the major products, although some men also make grinding stones for *nixtamal* mills. A fine-grained gray lava from the barranca north of town is the most-used material. Tools include an iron-headed hammer, weighing about 2 pounds, steel chisels, and a pair of calipers. Stones for the *nixtamal* mills are made in pairs and are about a foot in diameter and 6 to 8 inches thick. About 3 days are required to make a pair.

Tanning.—The only full-time tanner of hides
281 in Cherán is a native of Aranza, who moved to Cherán because of the better water supply. He has a house and lot on the east side of town beside the aqueduct. Most of his work is done on hides brought him by shoemakers and *guarache* makers. Such work is charged for on a fee basis.

A man and his uncle also tan hides on a part-time basis. They are primarily farmers and do relatively little of the tanning in Cherán.

Cowhides are tanned with oak bark. The process takes 20 to 30 days, mostly occupied with soaking the hides in the tanning mixture. Sheepskins, used for inner soles of shoes, must be put through a lye bath, scraped, and then soaked with oak bark. A batch of five or six sheepskins requires 2 days' labor and about 8 days' soaking.

The principal equipment consists of a number of large hollow logs for soaking the hides.

Lacquer.—One woman learned lacquer mak-
532 ing in Uruapan. She works fairly steadily, producing a typical Uruapan black-background lacquer with floral designs in four or five colors. She sells all her product in Cherán.

[Text continues on page 46 a]

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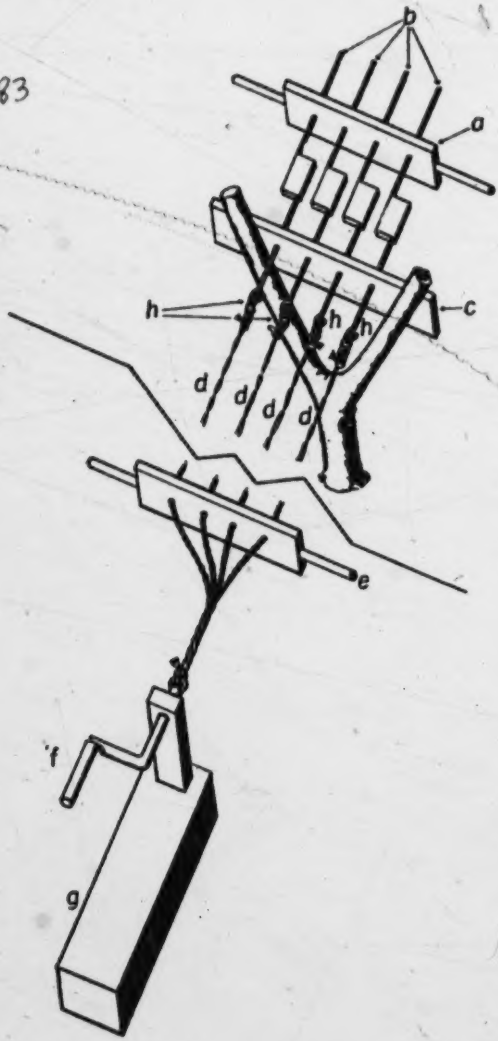

FIGURE 10.—Four-ply rope-twisting device used in making horsehair lead ropes. Three men are needed to operate the device. Four groups of horsehair threads (spun on a simple spinning device, not illustrated) are fastened at *h* and at *f*, passing through the holes in the piece of wood *c*. *e* is a second perforated piece of wood fastened to a Y-shaped stump. Crank *f* is first blocked so it will not revolve. The first operator rotates the piece of wood at *a*, causing cranks *b* to revolve and twist the four hanks of thread (*d*), into cords. Crank *f* is now released. The first operator holds the board (*a*) stationary, a second operator rotates the crank (*f*), and a third operator moves the board (*a*) toward *e* as the rope is formed by twisting the four cords (*d*) together. *g* is a heavy billet of wood, about 5 by 1 by 1 feet. As the cords and rope are twisted, the increasing tension drags *g* forward about 6 or 8 feet. *h* are short maguey fiber strings attaching the cords (*d*) to the cranks (*b*). These strings are not part of the finished rope.

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295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings
283 during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its
303 entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to
532 order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are
[439] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized-knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter [347] house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. [651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. Individual sales are usually small, and the [437] portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

Nixtamal mills.—Some seven or eight *nix-* 256 *tamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

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256 arrangement guarantees an adequate number of customers each day a mill is operating.

The miller must have some mechanical knowl-
256 edge as well as capital and business ability.
402 Most of the mills are driven by an old automobile engine converted to operate on gas produced by a charcoal burner, usually made from an old oil drum. A belt drive transmits power and reduces the speed. Usually the owner (or manager in some cases) supervises the motor and the gas burner and an employee or member of the family feeds the maize into the mill and collects the charge, 1 centavo a kilo. In one case a woman occupied this post, but most of the mill operators are men.

Except for a few very poor families, everyone in Cherán now patronizes the mills. Each mill serves from about 330 to 360 customers a day.

Wheat threshing.—One wood-burning steam-
407 driven threshing machine has operated in Cherán for several years. The machine is stationary (although it could be moved, it is too cumbersome to do so), and the customers bring their wheat to the machine. Two tenders, who feed the wheat into the machine, and a water carrier are required besides the operator. Firewood is purchased. Exclusive of interest on the investment and repairs, the operator nets about 25 pesos a day above operating expenses.

In 1940 a smaller gasoline-driven thresher, which could be moved from house to house, was said to have made considerable inroads on the trade. However, as the bulk of the Cherán wheat is still threshed by hand, there seemed to be ample business for both threshing machines.

Painters and plasterers.—This is a rare occu-
338 pation followed by two or three men on a part-time basis. Only a minority of the houses of adobe or stone are plastered, and few of them are painted. The pay is fairly good, but the best worker probably does not put in more than 90 days' work a year. Brushes and stencils are used in painting.

Masons.—As the house owner normally pro-
333 vides all materials, the mason sells only his services. His equipment is a trowel, hammer, a board frame for holding mud mortar, a shovel for mixing mortar, an ax to cut poles for

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333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

Barbers.—Most men in Cherán now have
305 their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

Water carriers.—In most households the
312 women bring the water from the fountain or
482 aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders.
462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

Consideration of food processing in this
128 section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

The storage of food is confined primarily to
251 maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

Eating habits show considerable variability
264 as between families. They also change with
262 the season and the prevailing occupations.
184 Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later.
[556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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184
262 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled
264 squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly
262 eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, čurípo, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (očepos), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*.)

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.[13]

MEAT FOODS

252 Čurípo is a stewed meat, almost always of
262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few garabanzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot.
[263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

[13] Some wild foods are reported by Ira. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*joconocostle*), is used as greens in čurípo and in making chile sauce (*sindurakua*). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

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262 and as a daily food by all who can afford it,
252 which in Cherán would probably constitute a considerable majority of the population. It is often eaten with tamales of the type known as kurúndas, or with boiled chayote. Meat, if not made into čurípo, usually is boiled.[14]

Mole is a less common meat dish, probably derived from the Mestizos. It consists of a stew, preferably of turkey, but if this is not obtainable, of chicken, pork, or beef in descending order of frequency as well as preference. Pieces of the boiled meat are served in a sauce made in various ways, according to the availability of the ingredients and the knowledge of the cook. The sauce may include the following ingredients: Cloves, ginger, chocolate, cin-
[263] namon, ground toasted bread or tortillas, pumpkin seeds, garlic, onion, and chile of the type known as pasíya or "*chileancho*." The chiles are either fried in lard or dipped in hot water, ground with the other ingredients, and cooked in the meat broth. A thick, rich, and usually rather greasy sauce or gravy is the result. Mole is usually eaten on special occasions.

Fish are brought to Cherán either fresh,
[438] broiled, or dried. Fresh fish come from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro only a limited part of the year, usually just after the rainy season in the fall. It is expensive compared with meat, but is much liked. During the rainy season, broiled fish are brought from Lake Chapala; in the dry season, from Erongaricuaro.

The fish are washed carefully in hot water before cooking. Fish is boiled in water with
[263] onion and *sílantro* (a pungent herb). Some people eat the intestines, removing only the bile. Seasoning with chile and tomato, ground together, is common; sometimes the broth is thickened with maize dough and sometimes onion is added. Fish may also be fried with eggs in lard, making a sort of fish hash.

Small dry fish (čaráles), resembling small dried minnows, are on sale on market day throughout the year and also at many of the stores. They are toasted on the *comal* and eaten with chile and tortillas, especially for breakfast. They are also made into a broth with chile sauce.

[14] The majority of the recipes were collected by Silvia Rendón.

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262 It is believed to be injurious to eat any kind
252 of fish when ill of the "*bilis*."

Game is eaten to some extent when available. Deer meat is sold in pieces or in retail quantities by the hunters in much the same fashion as beef. Squirrels, doves, and ducks are all liked. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos, doves at 5 centavos, and ducks at 50 centavos to 1 peso. Ducks come from Zacapu. A few people eat pigeons. Only adult pigeons are eaten.[15]

Eggs are eaten to a considerable extent, fried, mixed with fish, or scrambled with cheese. But poor families, even if they have chickens, prefer to sell the eggs and buy beans.

MAIZE FOODS

Maize is made into tortillas, *gordos*, posole, or tamales, and is also used to thicken some types of broths and sauces. It is also eaten green, and certain foods are made from green corn. No maize foods are salted. Maize types include white, yellow, red, and black, the latter two types not being common. White maize is sold chiefly outside the village.

Methods of initial preparation vary. For tortillas and *gordos* the maize is boiled with lime. This softens and to some extent dissolves the outer shell of the grain. After thorough washing in a special basket, it is ground into *nixtamal* or dough. If economically possi-
[556] ble, grinding is done at the power mills in the town, followed by further grinding at home. Some people are too poor to pay for the mill, and the women do all the grinding on the metate.

Tortillas are made of the *nixtamal* or maize dough. A quantity is scooped off the metate and shaped into a flat disk in the hands. This is then skillfully slapped between the palms until it becomes a thin sheet about one-eighth inch in thickness and 6 or 7 inches in diameter. This sheet is baked on a dry flat clay dish, the *comal*, with moderate heat. Usually the tortilla is turned two or three times in the process. Tortillas are served at virtually every meal, regardless of the rest of the menu, and are the main article of diet.

Gordos are smaller and thicker cakes fried

[15] The people of Ichán in La Cañada are well known for their fondness for small wild birds such as *hongotos*, doves (*kuñotas*), wild pigeons, *tecuanes*, and *jarrines*.

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262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*
252 more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed
[751] with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they
[576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with čurípo but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the
[265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets
[435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

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262 With čurípo, the kurúnda is one of the most
252 typical of Tarascan dishes.[16]

There are various forms of the kurúnda, which are eaten on special occasions. The details follow.

Atápakwa kurúnda.—Atápakwa is a sauce made of any kind of chile, cooked, toasted, or raw. This is ground with green tomatoes, garlic, and onion, and seasoned with salt. Fresh or dried cheese, finely broken up, may be added. The regular kurúnda is simply dipped in the sauce as it is eaten. This dish may be served at any time, but it is most frequently used when men come home to lunch from the fields or on other occasions in the middle of the day when the family do not ordinarily have a midday meal.

Agwákata kurúnda.—Beans of any sort are cooked and ground. They are placed in layers alternating with layers of *nixtamal* until a thick cake is formed. This is wrapped in maize leaves and steamed. Agwákata kurúndas are made primarily at the time of the bean harvest (Cherán grows few beans) and are eaten at any of the main meals. They may also be given to children between meals.

Nákatamal.—This is a tamale made with maize dough filled with meat and chile sauce. Beef is commonly used, although pork may also be employed. The meat is boiled in water and cut in small pieces without bones. It is then mixed with a chile sauce made of the dry chile known as *pasiya,* which is cooked in water and ground with tomatoes, garlic, and onions. These tamales are not wrapped in maize leaves but in dry maize husks soaked in water. A small quantity of dough is spread over the leaf and on this is placed a small quantity of meat and sauce. The leaf is then doubled over and the tamale cooked in boiling water. The nákatamal must be small in size to be properly made. The name and the type suggest it is of
[177] Valley of Mexico origin. It is ordinarily made
769 only for the fiestas of the dead on the 1st and
252 2d of November, although it was served to me
262 once on an ordinary occasion. It forms a part of the offerings made to the dead and is also eaten in the graveyard by the mourners and

[16] In Paricutin kurúnda means "corn husks." Kurundurání means "to wrap tamales in maize leaves."

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[769] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.
252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common
252 form of atole. It is made as is described above
262 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is
263 usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

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252 is drunk throughout the day, even by children
272 (including the *aguardiente*). It is made in
[273] March, April, and May.

Kágwas kamáta.—Fresh or dried nuríte is ground on the metate with three or four chiles of the type known as *cascabel* (káwas guajílyo). This is mixed with maize dough before it is dissolved in water and cooked. A little brown sugar and salt are added during the cooking. This atole is eaten in September with green corn on the cob. It is also eaten in December and January for either breakfast or supper; if the day is very cold, it may be taken during the day, for it is very "heating." For this reason it is also given to mothers for several days after parturition.

Turípiti kamáta.—This is made with maize dough and brown sugar. A quantity of corn husks is toasted until almost black; this is ground and added to the atole while cooking. The resulting atole is almost black and appears to have ashes in it. The taste is agreeable, however. Turípiti is usually eaten with nákatamales, but it is also eaten at any other time of the year, being one of the more popular atoles in Cherán. It is also sold daily at the *puestos* in Uruapan, where it is known as *atole de cascara de cacao*, "atole of chocolate bean husks," although it has not the slightest chocolate in it.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean atole of maguey (or agave). The unfermented juice of the maguey is used instead of water. The juice is cooked until foam ceases to form on top and it is a little thick. Instead of maize dough, white maize is toasted and ground into flour, then added to the juice. It is made in the period before the rainy season, April, May June.

Srímba kamáta or téri kamáta (*šrimba, "cane," or teri, "sweet"*).—The sweet juice of mature green cornstalks is extracted by grinding the stalks on the metate. The juice is boiled until it no longer forms foam on top, and is a little thick. Green corn is cut from the cob, milled, and added to the liquid and cooked with water added. This atole is eaten only in the period green corn is available.

Iusitini kamáta.—This is a variant of nuríte kamáta, to which salt and three or four red

252 chiles are added. Everything is passed through
272 a colander before cooking.

Puɢiti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamaríndo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čarákata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamaríndo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Iɢúkua kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.[17]

252 *Tóquera ičusta.*—Uncooked maize tóquera
262 (half way between green and mature maize) is ground on the metate, mixed with brown
[751] sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo.*

Uačakata.—This is red or black maize which
251 has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at
252 least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

252 *Arroz kamáta, rice atole.*—Well-cooked rice,
262 milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

[17] It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquite. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These
[438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale
[443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not
[427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-
[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at
[435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

252 Peanuts are often on sale on the streets.
262 They and cooked squash are the only refreshments accessible to the very poor. Generally
[435] about a handful may be purchased for 1 centavo.

Chilacayote is a member of the squash family with watery white flesh. It probably is closest to what we call pie melons in the United States. It is much liked. The young, immature fruits are boiled with a little milk and, if it can be afforded, a little cheese.

As mentioned previously, mature chilacayotes are eaten all year but mainly in the spring.
[251] If placed in the sun daily for some time during dry weather, they will keep for some months in storage. They are sometimes coated with ashes mixed in water before storage. To serve, they are cut in pieces and boiled. Usually,
[435] cooked pieces may be bought on the street for a centavo.

Atapákua is made of squash blossoms and sliced immature squash, cooked with chile and a little flour or maize dough for thickening.

Nopal (prickly pear) is used as a vegetable. The tender leaves are skinned, cut in small squares, boiled, and then usually fried very lightly in lard.

Squash greens (the tender tips of the runners on the vines), which are commonly eaten in many parts of Mexico, are rarely eaten in Cherán. An informant had "heard" that those people who did eat them boiled the greens, then cooked them lightly with lard.

Green beans are not eaten. Informants did not even know a name for them. Dried beans are boiled, usually with a very little salt. They are often not very well done because of the altitude. They are watery and tasteless to an outsider, although relished by the residents.
[134] They are scarce, as there are few suitable soils near Cherán and most beans are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

262 Fruits are eaten rather sparingly in season in accordance with the economic status of the family. Locally grown fruits are eaten rather more than imported fruits. Children and young people appear to eat rather more fruit than do adults. Nearly every Cherán lot will have at least a pear, peach, apple, or cherry tree. Tunas, the fruit of the prickly pear, are also eaten as fruit.

BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what
[273] little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast
[757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made
[556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into jojóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

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272 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring
265 and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

262 A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

262 One of the poorest families in town, con-
511 sisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½
556 liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.548]

262 straits as the one mentioned above, would prob-
511 ably spend, in addition, 1 or 2 centavos daily
556 for sugar, consumed in cinnamon tea, or 3 to 6 ounces of brown sugar for use in *atole blanco*. Atole would occasionally be made of milk, 3 to 5 centavos worth being bought. Such a family [758] would drink milk only in case of illness, when a sick person might get a pint or a little more each day.

A "middle class" family, consisting of 8 persons (2 adults, 6 children aged 4 to 16), eats about 3½ liters of maize daily, about 3½ pounds of meat (a peso's worth) a week, and 10 centavos worth of cheese daily. In addition, about 25 centavos a day would be spent for other foods. (The data on the three diets given above were all collected by Sra. Silvia Rendón.)

What appeared to be two reliable quantitative records, covering 2-week periods, were obtained, the first for a wealthy family and the second for an average family. They are as follows:

Diet records of two families for 2-week period

1. Wealthy family, Don Hilaro Xhemba (10 persons in household):

Maize	111 liters
Meat	13 pounds
Cheese	2 pounds
Fruit	[1]$ 2.54
Milk	1.54
Chiles (about ½ dozen)	.03
Bread (15 pieces, whole wheat, about 4½ inches diameter, 1¼ inches thick)	.75
Beans (brown or red; little less than 3 liters)	.41
Fish (probably about ½ pound dried fish)	.21
Total expenditure	$12.50

2. Average family, Melquiades Romero (2 adults and 5 children):

Maize	75 liters
Meat	12 pounds
Fruit	[2]$0.9[illegible]

[1] This amount seems high. It would be the cost of 50 to 75 oranges, small to medium size, but undoubtedly it was not all spent for oranges; in fact, it was much more probably spent for bananas, pears, and perhaps apples or peaches.

[2] Perhaps spent for 20 to 30 small to medium oranges, but probably mostly for bananas, peaches, pears, and apples.

In both cases recorded above, vegetables undoubtedly came out of the family garden and are not listed. Probably, from the distribution of purchases, this would mean cabbage daily, perhaps half a leaf per person, boiled with the

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[p.55a]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada Tarascans

262 meat. At this time of year there may have
511 been a few meals with immature squash or wild
556 herbs from the woods, stewed with perhaps a little milk or cheese and lard.

Evelyn Payne Hatcher kindly consented to
146 attempt an analysis of the diet of Cherán.
262 The results are full of guesswork, but they
556 are at least suggestive. The results show
511 that if yellow maize was used almost exclusively, the diet of a wealthy family would contain no outright deficiencies and in many respects provide more than the usual recommended minimum amounts of various vitamins and proteins and calories. A very poor family, on the other hand, would show a striking deficiency in vitamin B_1 and an inadequate caloric intake. Both diets would give a marked deficiency of vitamin A if white corn were used instead of yellow corn. Despite the inadequacy of the data, there seems little reason to doubt that in some cases, particularly among poor families, deficiencies in the diet are sufficiently large to have a pronounced effect upon behavior and cultural participation (Beals and Hatcher, 1943).

COMPARATIVE NOTES

262 Some interesting comparisons are afforded by
556 data from other towns. The most complete
511 information was secured from Chilchota in La Cañada.

Chilchota is a Mestizoized Indian town, i. e., the bulk of the population is of Indian descent but a number of Mestizos have moved in, the native language is scarcely spoken any longer, and the people regard themselves as non-Indian. Customs are closely similar to those in the nearby Indian towns, however. Following are some menus collected by Silvia Rendón (for Cherán menus, see Beals and Hatcher, 1943):

Chilchota menus

Luncheons (taken about 10 or 11 a. m.; no breakfast in this case):

Average household:

Broiled beef
Boiled beans
Black atole
Chile sauce
Tortillas

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[p.55b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Chile sauce
Tortillas
511 Coffee (black)
556 Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Very poor household:
Greens of wheat plants (boiled)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Pork cooked with chile
Fried beans
Tortillas

Fried pork
Boiled beans
Milk
Tortillas

Pork cooked in chile sauce (mole?)
Fried beans
Tortillas
Black coffee

Dinners (2 p. m. or later):
Average household:
Meat broth with cabbage (cooked)
Meat (beef) from which broth was made
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Meat broth with cabbage
Boiled beans
Rice, cooked in water

Pork broth (with rice and bitter *tunas* or prickly pears)
Rice boiled in water
Beans
Tortillas

Fried rice with tomatoes
Pork in chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Broth
Meat from the broth
Beans boiled with chile and silantro
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Meat broth
Meat (different from that from which broth was made) cooked with chile
Beans
Tortillas

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[p.56a] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Suppers (about 7 o'clock in the evening):
511 Average household:
556

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Milk

Very poor household:

Beans
Posole (hominy, probably with a little boiled meat)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Broiled meat
Milk

Fairly common suppers are tamales (with or without meat) and atole or coffee or a piece of bread (a whole-wheat bread slightly seasoned) and a cup of tea made from the herb nurite or a type of orange leaf.

In all cases quantities are probably small, except of tortillas. Rarely would more than one piece of bread be eaten, perhaps 2 to 3 ounces at most; perhaps half a cup to a cup of beans; meat, if broiled or boiled, two pieces about 1½ inches in greatest dimension—if in sauce, perhaps a couple of tablespoonfuls with the sauce.[19]

With substitution of different foods, these would represent Cherán menus on the whole, although there would not be so much meat with breakfast-luncheon, but rather atole, while the meat broth and meat would more commonly be served together.

At the Indian town of Sopoco in La Cañada, the following midday meals were observed:

[19] See Appendix 1 for more data on Chilchota.

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[p.56b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas
Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by
262 *Silvia Rendón)*—Possibly because Capacuaro is
184 a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, gophers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground swelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

[264] Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričúskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

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[p.57a]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (čiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is *"tepache"*
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[20] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called *"esquite"*
252 (guaníto). They also carry *"esquite"* from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[20] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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184 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like
261 maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

A special "bread" of maize is used as an offer-
782 ing at the house altar. This is made of maize
532 toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted.
262 Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas.*"

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque,
[273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

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264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

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184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

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Recognition of the interrelations of various economic activities in different regions is not a new idea to the Tarascans. The economy of the region tends toward individual and local specialization with a consequent high development of trade. While undoubtedly the majority of the Tarascans are members of self-sufficient family groups so far as the bare necessities of existence are concerned, very large numbers are partly or wholly dependent upon employment, manufactures, or trade. Consequently, the internal economy of a Tarascan village not only is complex by primitive standards but also fits into tribal and extratribal patterns of even greater complexity. Quite apart from relations with the national economy of Mexico, and, through it, with international economy, large numbers of Tarascans have been traders and middlemen on a large scale. Not only have they carried local products from Tarascan village to Tarascan village, or outside the Tarascan area; they have bought goods in non-Tarascan areas to sell in other non-Tarascan areas. The study of Cherán economy, then, must be considered an incomplete picture of Tarascan economy just as the study of the economics of a single small town would inadequately describe the economics of the United States.

The following tabulation gives the units of measure used in Cherán.

Cherán units of measure

Dry measure

1 *litro* = 1 liter, or 0.908 quart
1 *medida* = 5 *litros*
1 *fanega* = 20 *medidas*, or 100 *litros*, or 1 *hectalitro*

Weight[1]

1 *libra* = 1 pound
1 kilo = 2.2 libras
1 *arroba* = 11.5 kilos
1 *carga* = 161 kilos or 14 *arrobas*
1 burro load = ½ *carga* (approx.), 7 or 8 *arrobas*
1 mule load = 1 *carga* (approx.), 14 to 18 *arrobas*

Capacity

1 cuartillo = 1 pint or ½ liter
1 *litro* = 1 quart (approx.) or 1 liter
1 *decalitro* = 10 litros

Square measure

1 *hectarea* (hectare) = a piece of land about 10,000 sq. paces or 10,000 sq. m.

[1] The beam balance is widely used for determining weight.

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[p.59b] Sierra Tarascans

Cubic measure (used in masonry)

804 1 *barra* = 1 yd. × 1 yd. × 16 in.
1 *metro* = 1 m. × 1 m. × 50 cm.

PRODUCTION

Production in Cherán depends more directly
433 upon the land than it does in most other Taras-
439 can villages. Although the land ultimately is the source of all Tarascan raw materials, some industries require relatively few of such materials. In some cases—for example, the straw hat industry—all the raw materials are imported from outside the Tarascan area. Even more numerous are instances where the raw materials are secured from some other Tarascan town.

While Cherán economy is primarily self-sufficient in character, it is less so than are most Indian economies of Mexico. Cherán does supply most of its own basic food and housing needs, but it does not supply its own clothing. Moreover, many foods every Cherán resident desires are not produced locally. Numerous Cherán families also depend on wages more than upon their own direct exploitation of the land or upon industry. Finally, Cherán produces many goods for export, although to a far less degree than neighboring Paracho.

LAND

Tarascan land is of three main types: farm,
423 forest, and residential. To these might be added public roads, water courses, and mineral deposits. The latter are relatively unimportant. Public roads and trails of course serve communications and do not enter directly into production. Water courses are also mainly in the public domain. Virtually their only use is to supply drinking water for man and beast and for washing purposes. Public lands also supply the small requirements of sand, clay, and building stone.

All permanent farm lands are privately owned. The only exceptions are occasional temporary fields cleared from the forest on lands too steep for cultivation for more than a few years. On the farm lands the major products are white or yellow maize and wheat. Beans, squash, fruits, oats, and barley are produced only in small quantities.

423 The value of farm land is startlingly low, al-
435 though accurate figures on either the amount of farm land in the *municipio* or the amount owned by any individual were impossible to secure. The tax rolls of the town are an inadequate guide. A very large number of lands are not listed and in many cases the area given is much smaller than actual size. A number of farmers admitted this fact. The tax rolls show only 303 farmers, although most men in town own some land. The total parcels listed number 759 with a total area of 1,943½ hectares (a hectare is 2.47 acres) with a value of $259,620. Community-owned lands are listed as 1,667 hectares valued at $100,000. This would total slightly less than 9,000 acres, or about 14 square miles. This is probably less than half the total area of Cherán.

The average holding according to the tax rolls is 2.5 pieces of land, totaling 6.41 hectares valued at $856.86. This average is misleading, however, possibly through an error on the part of the tax collector's office staff, or perhaps because a few large landowners hold high-priced lands. From $80 to $100 per hectare is the most common valuation. An average of one page of the tax roll listing 58 farmers gave 2.62 plots per person, averaging 5.1 hectares valued at $377.07 or $74 a hectare. The largest holding on this page was 32 hectares, valued at $2,560; the smallest was one-half a hectare, valued at $50. Bearing in mind that these figures represent taxable values, actual values probably average around $150 a hectare.

Data from individuals probably are even more unreliable, yet show surprising uniformity. The average value is $77.08 per hectare, Estimates from six landowners are as follows:

Area (hectares)	*Value*
2	$140
4	350
16	1,280
½	40
14	1,080
8	640
44½	$3,530

The surprising closeness of owner evaluations to the average assessed values suggests that farmers are well aware of the latter. Information from more individuals is desirable but
[156] is difficult to obtain. Even good friends nor-

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
435 The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of $40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, $400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as $25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as $10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community.
423 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
311 and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

The use of forest lands formerly was open to
311 all who paid a small fee to aid the community
656 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

The sex division of labor in Cherán bars
462 women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European —children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

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462 They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

The bulk of the population of Cherán falls
463 into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor
[464] supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages,
465 especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to $1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

Bearing in mind that most men have some
462 land, the list of occupations in Cherán is exten-
463 sive, as shown in the following tabulation:

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

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465 Hat making (few)
Plank making
462 Shake making
Cutting railroad ties
Charcoal burning
Blanket weaving (few)
Broom-handle making (rare)
Gathering *raiz de paja* (few)
Wild-honey collecting (few)
Bee keeping (few—one woman)
Baking bread (one making *pan dulce*)
Ice cream making (one)
Brickmaking and tilemaking (rare)
Carpentry (few)
Wood turning (rare)
Blacksmithing (rare)
Masonry (few)
Brush making (few)
Painting and plastering (rare)
Fireworks making (one)
Tailoring
Twine making (few)

Women

Embroidering
Belt weaving (few)
Paper-flower making (rare)
Herb gathering (rare)
Gleaning
Cloth weaving (one)
Baking bread
Tailoring
Mat making (rare)

DISTRIBUTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Storekeeping
Trading
Selling at markets
Butchering
Transport

Women

Storekeeping (helpers)
Local food selling
Selling at markets

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Grain threshing
Operating *nixtamal* mills
Barbering (few)
School teaching (few)
Billiard-hall operation (two)
Marriage managing (few)
Water carrying for pay (rare)
All political offices[1]
All formal church offices[1]
All public works[1]
Mayordomias[1]
Musician
Rezadores (men who pray)

463 Ritual dancing[1]
Sorcery
462

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensi-
464 tive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a
465 return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

Unemployment for laborers usually comes
464 about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angahuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three medidas of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two medidas of maize and meals.

465 464 Low as wages are, Rendón collected an account which indicates that wages were only 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

651 464 In addition to paid labor or labor for one's own account, men are required to perform certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also [602] obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

464 No data were secured on the relation between labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

471 Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

471/ Ownership of livestock similarly poses ques-
556 tions. The wealthy man who keeps a consider-
able number of bulls whose main use seems to be to enhance his social prestige by having the bulls selected for riding at a fiesta may also sell them for beef if he needs money for productive enterprises. Sheep are capital in much the same sense that land is capital. A yoke of oxen or a burro may be used to aid production and are also rented. A horse, on the other hand, is close to a "conspicuous expenditure."

Probably the minimal capital required in
471 Cherán is for the production of certain services. A water carrier needs only two 25-liter oil cans, a bit of rope, and a piece of wood to make a
[313] yoke. A *tabla* maker (one producing heavy hewn planks or beams) needs only an ax and some oak wedges he cuts out himself, and 10
[474] pesos to join the cooperative (formerly he would have needed only enough to pay the tax for use of communal lands). A digging stick and a knife would suffice to gather *raiz de paja*, while herbs need only a bit of cloth to tie them in. At the other extreme are the owners of threshing machines, *nixtamal* mills, or trucks, the latter requiring a cash outlay of between 8 and 10 thousand pesos.

For the farmer, aside from land, very few capital goods are necessary. Ox teams and plows may be rented and paid for out of the crop; even land may be secured on a sharecrop basis. A special *machete* for weeding is, in fact, the only indispensable tool. Such farming, however, will bring a relatively small return, probably little, if any, more than could be earned by a hired laborer.

At the other extreme, a landowner, farming his own land, should own an ox team, yoke, plow, *machete*, burros, and nets for transporting the crop, adequate storage facilities, and sufficient cash to hire labor at crucial periods such as planting and harvesting. A man so situated will reap the best possible return from his labor.

The major investment of a farmer is in land, storage facilities, and livestock. His ox yoke and plow he may make himself, and the few metal tools needed are not costly. In general, the investment in tools and equipment is much less than that required in manufacturing or some service occupations. A sewing machine

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471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [437] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have [423] acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners [556] to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *hacienda*s, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [175] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

433 Some further insight into production prob-
434 lems may be gained by detailed studies of
128 specific activities. These data throw light upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diff-
433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so
124

124 much secrecy or misleading information given.
243 Three sources of information were used: (1)
433 Data from farmers about their own activities. All this information is suspect, even after eliminating obviously false answers. (2) Data from Agustín Rangel, who was interested in establishing himself as a farmer and probably was a good and relatively unbiased observer. (3) Observation of farm practices and participation in harvests on roughly measured fields. Actual measurement of fields was undesirable and would have caused trouble.

243 In table 1 are given the various data collected on farm yields. The average of figures given
433 by farmers is about the top figure given by Rangel for average land in a poor year. It is slightly above the figure for the yield of average land in a poor year as secured by participation in the harvest. The cross checks suggest the figures given by farmers are on the whole plausible although probably low. The figures given by any individual farmer, however, may be quite incorrect. This should be borne in mind throughout the discussion.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*

ESTIMATE BY OWNERS

Number of hectares cultivated	Yield (per hectare) in—		Value of crop
	Cargas	*Fanegas*	
2½	40	30	.....
10½	190	135	.....
4	7	5¼	.....
½	20	15	80–110
½	10	7½	60– 70
½	5	3½	25
½	10	7½	65
¾[1] (early-frost area)	3	2¼	15
4	90	70	350–400
1	10	7½	40
1½	10	7½	40
½	12	9	55
½	12	9	55
Average	...	14¾	.....

ESTIMATE BY AGUSTÍN RANGEL

Type of land and year	Average yield per hectare	
	Cargas	*Fanegas*
Best land:		
Average year	40	30
Bad year	15–25	11¼–18¾
Average land:		
Average year	30	22½
Bad year	5–20	3¾–15
Poor land	.....	1½

[1] An exceptionally rich "joya," a fertile depression in the mountains fertilized by drainage from surrounding slopes.

[2] This is a stupendous yield, if true, but the land is said to be exceptionally located, with fertilization from adjoining slopes.

[3] Data in this line are typical of information from owners. One area given as ½ hectare yields a crop to be expected of a full hectare; on inspection, it proved to be nearly 3 hectares.

[124]

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TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*—Continued

243
433

ESTIMATE BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AT HARVEST

Type of land	Yield in *fanegas* per hectare	Remarks
Poor to average land	3	Maize badly damaged by early frost.
Average land	12	Maize slightly damaged by frost.

243
433
461

In addition to securing data on yield, i.e., income, for maize, an effort was made to secure data on production costs. General statements as to the amount of time put in on farm work proved worthless. Usually the time given would scarcely provide for a single weeding. The best figures were secured by breaking down the different steps and getting experienced farmers to estimate the time necessary for cultivating 1 hectare. A summary of such data gives the following:

	Days
Labor of owner:	
First plowing	10
Second plowing (at right angles)	10
Sowing	3
First cultivation (with plow)	4
Second cultivation (with plow)	3
First weeding (with sickle or machete)	3
Second weeding (often omitted)	3
Harvest	1
Carrying maize to house (estimated average)	5
Total	42
Hired labor:	
Sowing (2 peons)	3
Harvesting (3 peons)	1

Costs:	
[465] Owner's labor (42 days valued at $0.45 a day outside of planting and harvesting time)	$18.90
2 peons for 3 days	3.00
3 peons for 1 day	1.50
Total	$23.40

On the assumption that a man will own sufficient land to require hired labor, the summary given above includes 9 man days of hired labor at a cost of $4.50 or a total of 51 man days of labor worth $23.40. To this must be added $30 for hire of an ox team if one is not owned, probably $1 in taxes, and $2.50 for the value of the seed corn (one-half *fanega*), or a total of $56.90. If this is about an average piece of land, the yield will be 15 to 20 *fanegas* of shelled

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[p.65b]

243 433 461

maize, for which the farmer should receive from $75 to $120, or a profit of $22.10 to $63.10. From this, in theory, should be deducted interest on the investment in land and equipment as well as a depreciation allowance on the equipment. If the land is worth $90 (above average), it would seem fair to allow at least $11 for these charges, which still leaves a profit of $11.10 to $52.10.[23]

As will be seen in later discussions, this makes maize farming on average or better land probably one of the most worth-while businesses in Cherán. Obviously there are elements of risk. Farmers on poor land, moreover, probably get no profits at all on this basis, for labor and expenses would be reduced very little relative to reductions in yield. The second weeding and part of the harvesting expenses might be eliminated. But if the yield is as low as 1½ *fanegas* (as has been reported) a man would get virtually no return at all. If he had his own ox team and did all his own work (with the help of sons or his wife), he might get $4 to $5 worth of maize for his effort after deducting the costs of seed and taxes. From the standpoint of our economy, there is obviously a very considerable net loss.

To view the agricultural situation in Cherán only from the standpoint of our economy, however, would be grossly misleading, for to do so does not take into account numerous cultural factors. The Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits, and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage house. I have already mentioned that harvest workers refused an increase in wages from 50 centavos to $1 if the right to glean were rescinded. Most observers agree that the amount of maize obtained from gleaning in a day is less than can be bought for 50 centavos. At $1 the workman could therefore buy more corn than his wife could obtain by gleaning. The large farmers would get a more thorough harvest and would not have to employ supervisors. On a bookkeeping basis, everyone would benefit. But the harvest hand would not have a load of maize, small though it might be, to carry home from a day's work; he would have only an inedible silver peso in his pocket.

[23] Charges for animals to carry the crop and for watchmen and storage facilities are not included.

In the case of the farmer who slaves at pro-
243 ducing a scanty crop on submarginal land,
433 similar considerations are important. The
461 farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

Even in the case of the average or somewhat
243 better than average case cited in detail, the
433 calculations made on the basis of our economic
153 viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

In case maize is raised for sale on any scale,
184 however, the farmer encounters new market-
433 ing problems. The local market prefers yellow
243 maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

From the statements given above it should
243 not be concluded that the idea of a return for
433 land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital
427 investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

243 cropping basis. The number of sharecroppers
433 in Cherán is unknown, but probably is con-
427 siderable. Small landowners often farm addi-
tional lands on this basis, and some fairly prosperous families are sharecroppers.

The rental paid by sharecroppers is usually one-half the crop. In the case of our average hectare this would mean the owner received 7½ to 10 *fanegas* of maize worth from $37.50 to $60.00. This might well be equal to more than a 50 percent return on the investment in land. As even the most exorbitant interest rates on cash loans from banks would not exceed 15 percent, it would appear to be a very good business to borrow money to buy land for rental on a sharecropping basis. Yet such a procedure, so far as could be discovered, is seldom if ever followed. Moreover, persons with money will lend on land as a security, receiving only interest, instead of buying land which would appear to offer a relatively larger return. (But short-term loans are at a much higher rate of interest. See p. 63.)

231 A number of factors still have not been
243 treated in the foregoing discussion. It should
427 be observed that the hypothetical farmer could
434 still further decrease his cash outlay if he owned his own ox team. Such a team would be worth from $100 to $120, depending on size. Ownership of a team would save about $30 a year in rental in cultivating a hectare. In addition, there might be opportunities to rent the team at $1 a day for perhaps 30 days to work on maize lands and perhaps for another 30 days during the wheat season. As there is less demand in the latter time, the rental probably would be only 75 centavos a day. The returns from rentals, however, would possibly be $52.50 a year. If the saving of $30 for rentals on the farmer's own land were included the investment in an ox team obviously would be a very good one.

Ownership of livestock, however, involves the problem of feed. Mostly the feed is secured by cutting the *rastrojo* or corn fodder. Wheat straw is also fed. Part of the year animals may be grazed on the common pastures. Rarely, however, is enough feed produced, and in a bad year there is always danger of losing animals during the latter part of the dry season. Ownership of oxen also increases the

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231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or 3 days while in pasture.

427 The question may be raised why horses or
434 mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:	*Days*	
First plowing	10	
Second plowing	10	
Sowing and harrowing	2	(or less)
Harvesting	4½	
Total labor	26½	
Costs:		
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92	
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00	
Taxes	1.00	
Seed	1.00	
Total production costs	$28.92	
Interest on capital investment	11.00	
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92	

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

[p. 68a]

256 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* pro-
243 duces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds
434 of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or
438 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 One agricultural activity for which few data
438 were obtained is fruit growing. No informa-
434 tion was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

Another view of farming activity may be
434 gained by examining the income of individual
241 farmers. These data are probably somewhat
511 unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

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241 434 511 maize. Case 3 owns a store run by his children, but he regards himself as a farmer by preference. Even without his store, he would be well off by Cherán standards, although not a "rich man." In 1940 he produced nearly enough maize for his family and sold over $300 worth of wheat. In 1941 he probably was able to sell not less than 35 *fanegas* of maize above his family's food needs (less if he raised pigs or fattened beef for butchering). Case 4 is a widow. Her land is cultivated by a nephew, but under what circumstances is not known. If the nephew lives with her, the amount of maize is a little inadequate; on the other hand, if she lives alone, the quantity is more than enough for one person.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 434 It is virtually impossible to secure useful data on labor costs or profits in relation to animals. Under agriculture I have mentioned some of the facts about oxen. No data were collected on chicken raising; probably no one in Cherán knows how much grain he feeds chickens or how many eggs a year he gets. [435] Prices vary from 2 to 6 centavos per egg. The situation about pigs is little better.

Virtually everyone keeps pigs; no one has any idea of the total amount of grain fed except during the fattening period. Shoats have little value and are frequently given away. Data on labor are lacking, yet the labor cost cannot be negligible when the animal is being fattened and its pen is cleaned frequently. A

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TABLE 2.—*Data on farm income*

[Data for 1940, claimed; for 1941, estimated.]

Case No.	Land cultivated			Yield			Value of crop[2]		Total income for year		Combined income for 1940-41
	Number of parcels	Number of hectares	Value	Crop	1940	1941	1940	1941	1940	1941	
1[1]	2	2	$140	Maize	20 fanegas		$100-140		$100-140		$150-240
	1			do		10-15 fanegas		50-100		50-100	
2[2]	1	4	350	Maize	35 fanegas		175-200		175-200		175-200
	1	Town lot		Pears	10-100's	8-100's					
3	1	8	1,280	Wheat	17 ½ cargas		[3]385-571		449-661		733-1,331
	1	1		Maize	7 ½ fanegas		40				
	1	1 ½		do	7 ½ fanegas		40				
	1	Town lot[4]		Peaches	35-100's	25-100's	10	10		235-670	
	1	5 ½		Maize		55-110 fanegas		275-660			
4	1	½	120	Wheat	1 carga		25		80		135
	1	½		Maize	9 fanegas		55				
	1	½		do		9 fanegas		55		55	

[1] Values of fodder or wheat straw not included.
[2] Land rented; crop values represent owner's share (one-half).
[3] Cost of threshing deducted.
[4] Value not included in $1,280.

[p. 68c]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

231 434 pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to fatten, valued at from $5 to $7. According to size, the animal may bring from $30 to $75, a [435] gross profit on the fattening process of from $12.50 to $70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos less if the pig was bought. If an adequate market were developed, or if sales and transport facilities at a distance were to be developed, pig raising might be a more important activity, although an increase in the number of pigs would decrease the amount of foraging possible and would require more feeding.

236 434 Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few. The reliability of the major informants is suspect, but the evidence suggests that sheep raising is profitable. The major expense is the initial cost of the flock and the wages of a shepherd. Sheep are worth $2.50 to $5.00 [435] apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of the flock, but probably rarely exceed $20 a [465] month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep for food; most shepherds receive considerably less, often only $5 a month without food. Often several small owners merge their flocks and hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and payments to have the flocks bedded on farm land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year (this seems low but the sheep are of poor [435] quality), which sells for $1 to $1.25. A fair-size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for [262] meat outside the village; almost no lamb or mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were secured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high, but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an investment of $750 in theory although it probably was built up by natural increase from a smaller flock. The shepherd receives $20 a month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least $5, and a sheep worth, on an average, $3.75, or a total of $28.75 a month ($345 a year). Wool would produce $200 to $250 a year. Bedding on farm lands would produce probably 50 centavos a night for this flock for 110 days (estimated) or $55. Total income from these sources would be $255 to $305 a year. The natural increase may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at $2.50 apiece, they would bring in $187.50 a

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
231 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433 WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at..... $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

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Plank making:

313 *Tools:*

433 Oak mallet

434 Oak wedges

Ax

Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)

Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

Charcoal burning:

314 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day

433 week, no economic data were secured. The little char-

434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

Carpentry:

395 *Tools:*

433 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30

434 *Products, labor, value:*

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house

[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

Wood turning:

322 *Equipment:*

433 Lathes

434 Saws

Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen ..... $1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

Brickmaking and tilemaking:

339 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):

433

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
434 Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):

Rent of building and right to d[illegible] on public lands (paid to *municip*[illegible] percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

Masonry:

333 *Equipment:*

433 Trowel ("*cuchara*")

434 Short shovel

½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)

2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

Production:

333 Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

433 *Price:*

434 From 80 centavos a meter to $1.25; about $1 a meter seemed most common

[435] *Average return:*

From 80 centavos to $1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

324 *Tools:*

433 2-pound iron mallet

434 Chisels

Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair) .... 3 days

Door bases (pair) ..... 1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

[435] *Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) $9

Door bases and sills (each) 10

Comment: The figures suggest a $3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

285 *Tule mats:*

433 *Costs:*

434 Tules at Erongaricuaro, per bundle $0.25

Rent of burro, 3 days 1.00

Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load) 3.50

Labor:	Days
Getting tules	3
Weaving 13 mats	6½
Selling mats	2½–3
Average total time	12

[435] Sales price at 60 centavos each $7.80

Gross profit 4.30

Daily profit per worker ..... .35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

295 *Hats:*

433 Cost of materials:

434 Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at $0.30 to $0.40 ..... $0.90–$1.60

Thread, per hat ..... .15

Sizing materials for white hats ..... Unknown

Total ..... 1.05–1.75 (?)

Labor, per hat ..... 3–9 hours (approximately)

[435] Selling price, per hat $1.25–4.00

Gross profit, per hat $0.20–2.10

Return for labor, per hour ... $0.06⅔–0.23 plus (?)

Return for labor, per day $0.60–2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs [427] $40 to $50 second-hand, or rents at $10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the $1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:

286 Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated) $1.00

433 Labor (part time) ..... 1–3 weeks

434 Selling price ..... $4.00–$12.00

[435] Gross profit ..... $3.00–$11.00

Return for labor, per week $3.00

Return for labor, per day ..... $0.40–$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:[1]

Cards, life 3 years $8.00

Spinning wheel, life indefinite 12.00

Loom, life indefinite ..... ?

[1] Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

28 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season) $11.25
434 Labor: Days
[435] Purchase of wool 1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time) 1
Carding 2
Spinning 2
Weaving 2
Total 8

[435]

Asking price	$25.00
Average sales price	20.00
Gross profit	8.75
Return for labor per day	1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis	.58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:

Materials, thread and yarn	?
Labor, part time	2 days
Asking price	$1.25
[435] Actual selling price	1.00
Gross profit, estimated	.80–.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours)	.40–.45

Clothing manufacture:

294 Capital investment:
433 Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
434 Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based on steady work on low-priced garments.

[585] Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
[435] Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

294 433 434 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a [435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in [439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 434 [394] *Candlemaking:*

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	$2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	$0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*

Horsehair $0.50 per kilo	$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	$1.50
Gross profit per day	$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 433 434 *Shoemaking:*

Equipment:

Sewing machine	$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?

Labor:

1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices

[435] Value of product (per pair)	$3.00–7.00

Estimated gross income:

Per day	1.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 435 434 *Tanning:*

Charge per cowhide	$5.00–$10.00
Charge per sheepskin	.50
Average daily return	1.25

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

922 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

Bakers (commercial):

256 433 434

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

243 *Threshing machine:*
407 *Equipment:*
433 Woodburning steam-driven threshing machine. Cost unknown, but probably several thousand pesos.
434

Charges for wheat threshing (a *carga*)	$2.50
Capacity daily	12 *cargas*
Income daily	$30.00

Operating expenses (daily):	
Wood	$2.00
Hired labor	2.00
Water carrier	1.00
Total	$5.00

Operating season (June 20 to Oct. 25, period worked in 1940 estimated):	*Days*
June	8
July	25
August	25
September	20
October	15
Total	93

Total business (1,116 *cargas*, estimated, at $2.50 a *carga*)	$2,790
Net profit annually before deducting repairs, wages for owner, interest and depreciation, approximately	$2,365

Comment: Probably the threshing machine has the largest peso volume of business of any enterprise in Cherán, although one of the *nixtamal* mills probably is a close second. The threshing machine also represents the greatest capital investment except for some individual investments in real estate. High repair costs probably reduce the true net profit considerably, while depreciation in this case cannot be ignored. Add to this the time and skill required of the owner, and it is probable that this is not the most profitable enterprise in town even though it be the largest. Certainly, other families of farmers or combination farmers and storekeepers show more outward signs of prosperity.

402 *Nixtamal mills:*
433 Cost of equipment ..... $300.00–$1200.00
434 Costs daily:
256

Gasoline and oil for gas engines	1.00
Charcoal for producer gas equipped engines	1.20
Labor, 1 man	.80–1.00
Gross income at 1 centavo per kilo of maize ground (daily)	13.00–15.00
Net income (daily)	10.00–12.00

Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

256 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included.
402 Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not
433 driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for
434 splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 *Barbers:*
434

Prices:	
Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 *Musicians:*
434

Wages:	
For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 *Painters, plasterers:*
434

Daily wage	$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

433
434

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 *Butchers:*
433
~~434~~

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	$80–$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

253 15 *arrobas* (375 pounds) $90
433 14 *arrobas* (350 pounds) 65
434 16 *arrobas* (400 pounds) 92
Retail price (per kilo) ..... .70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo) ..... .40–.45
Price of pigs ..... 30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week 7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig 3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 *Field watchers:*
434 Wages:
In maize ..... 1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize) ..... $60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 *Water carrying:*
434 Charge for two 25-liter cans $0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 *Beekeeping:*
12 hives produced:
433 15 liters of honey at $0.60 ..... $ 9.00
434 3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50 6.70–10.00
Wax:
1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth 3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth 9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles 18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 *Fireworks making:*
433 Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts
434 seem reasonable.

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389 **Materials and prices:** *Per kilo*

Nitrate	$1.70
433 Chlorate	5.00
434 Sulfur	.80
Fiber string	1.00
Shakes, cane, etc.	Nominal

(Shakes are $5 a bundle of 400, but the number used is small; 3 or 4 per dozen *cohetes*, for example.)

Comment: Cohetes are made to order and sell at $3.00 to $4.00 per dozen. *Castillos* or set pieces are done on contract. Gross income from this source was at least $400 in 1940. Between times *cohetes* were made fairly steadily. Probably the fireworks maker's income is above average.

DISTRIBUTION

439 The problem of distribution affects primarily those goods which are exported from Cherán and those things which are imported. Only a small fraction of the materials produced locally are sold locally; in the main each family produces the local products it consumes and sells its surplus for export.

The export goods of Cherán consist almost wholly of forest products and farm products. The first are usually sold on contract or are transported by the producer to market. Railroad ties, for example, are always cut on contract. Charcoal is mostly sold to dealers from Zacapu and is delivered to the nearest spot where it can be picked up by trucks. However, there is some small local sale, mostly for operation of producer gas generators for *nixtamal* mills, and a little is carried on burros to such a town as Uruapan. Similarly, planks and beams are mainly sold, either to dealers who pick them up in trucks for export or locally on contract to someone building a house. In towns close to Uruapan, Zamora, or other centers, much of the sale of such products as charcoal, planks, and beams is direct, the maker carrying the goods to town on market day.

The major exception to the marketing methods for forest products described above is tejamanil, or shakes. For the local market, the shake maker usually works on order. For the export market he usually takes his product on burros to some nearby Mestizo town. These expeditions may be combined with other trading operations. Thus, shakes may be taken to Turetan via Nahuatzen, Tingambato, and Ziracuaretiro, a full-day trip with burros from 5

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439 a. m. to 8 or 9 p. m. As Turetan is considered the source of the best bananas in the region, a return load of bananas frequently is purchased. Tejamanil may also be taken to Uruapan, Zamora, or Zacapu.

Marketing of farm produce follows several patterns. Bulk crops, such as maize and wheat, are today sold mainly to dealers who come to town with trucks to carry off their purchases. Maize and wheat are sold as far away as Morelia. While large farmers may sell quantities directly to such dealers, the storekeepers also play a considerable part by their purchases of small quantities of corn or wheat. Most of the purchases in this case are of one or two *almuds* at a time when the family happens to need a few centavos. Nevertheless, some wheat is carried to the mills by the owner on burro back, and corn may be taken to one of the larger markets. Individual small-scale buyers also occasionally visit the town, mainly to purchase eggs, chickens, or even small pigs. Today they arrive by bus, as a rule, and put in the day going from house to house, generally taking their purchases to Uruapan for sale.

Some local vegetables and fruit are also taken for sale to Paracho or, more rarely, to Uruapan. Bread, atole, or tamales may also be carried to market by the women. The most important fruit export, pears, is often carried considerable distances into Colima or into Guerrero. Sometimes the owner will carry his own pears, but more frequently a regular trader or *viajero* will buy the fruit. Other exported fruits include tejecote, cherries, apples, and quinces.

Another aspect of distribution, naturally, is concerned with the supplying of imported goods to the inhabitants of Cherán. Practically all manufactured goods used in the village are imported. This applies not only to machine products but to household industries as well, for the specialists of Cherán in no field supply all the local demand. Three principal agencies of distribution exist: First are the stores, specializing primarily in machine products; second, are the local markets, although for everything but foodstuffs the principal occasions are when fiestas occur; third, are the *arrieros* or *viajeros*, the traveling traders of Cherán who bring back products from as far away as the Balsas Basin in Guer-

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439 rero or even from the Pacific Ocean. Even men who are not regular traders will go on local market. Finally, it should be noted that individuals often visit markets, especially those in Paracho or during fiestas at nearby towns, [494] and make purchases of needed goods. Especially since the highway has brought bus service to the town, for important purchases a man may even go to Uruapan. It is not uncommon for well-to-do men, for example, to have garments made to order by the tailors in Uruapan.

It is impossible to compile from present data a complete list of the products imported into Cherán. The list extends from chile and beans to horses and sewing machines. Many articles are available only on special occasions. For example, the almost universally used type of water jar in Cherán is made only in Patamban, and is offered for sale only on the occasion of the fiesta of the patron saint in October. Householders must anticipate their yearly needs of these fragile (but quite long-lived) articles at this time; otherwise they are forced to attend a fiesta in some other town and pick up a different plain style of jar made in Uruapan or La Cañada.

Nearly all goods sold in the stores are im- 438 ported (except occasional local products such as clothing). A considerable list of these goods is given in the discussion of price (p. 88). Tarascan products imported include fish and tules from the Lake area; hat braid of palm straw, chairs, tables, beds, and various wooden objects from Paracho; pottery from Santa Fe, Quiroga, Patamban, La Cañada, and the "hot country," or *tierra caliente* (the last is non-Tarascan); axes from Tingambato; knives, machetes, plow points, and jewelry from Nahuatzen; oils, garlic, spices, and vegetables from Zacapu and the Lake region; *rebozos* and cloth from Paracho, Nahuatzen, and elsewhere; pigs from La Cañada; beans from the Lake region; chiles from various places; and a variety of fruits. The latter include bananas, coconuts (from non-Tarascan sources), sweet and sour lemons, oranges, guavas, mameys, plums, mangoes, watermelons, cantaloups, avocados, zapotes of all sorts, and cherimoyas.

439 From non-Tarascan sources, but still outside the more conventional commercial channels, are

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439 to be mentioned pottery from Guanajuato (and even from Oaxaca), dried meat from *tierra caliente*, cattle, and horses. Machinery and tools made in industrial establishments include axes, saws, hoes, hatchets, plow points, engines (for *nixtamal* mills), sewing machines, flat irons, and, quite rarely, radios, phonographs, typewriters, and trucks. The functioning of the principal distributive agencies will now be examined in some detail.

TRADERS

441 A fair number of men in Cherán who engage in trade are known as *arrieros* or *viajeros*.
439 Whether there is any distinction between the two is uncertain. The impression received—and it is no more than an impression—is that originally the *arrieros* traveled to distant places outside of Tarascan territory, while the *viajeros* traded among the local villages. At present the two terms seem to be used as synonyms.

In the town voting register a number of men are listed as *arrieros*. Nevertheless, so far as could be learned, none of them dedicates all his time to trade. At the same time, there were numerous other men listed as farmers or laborers, yet who make fairly regular trading trips. The main distinction seems to be that a man listed as an *arriero* ordinarily makes about three long trips a year, while other men may make only one. Some men who make fairly regular short trips are not listed as traders. For example, one man who carries palm leaves regularly to the Paracho market is not included.

The main season for trading is from late fall until June, that is, the dry season. The principal routes followed for long trips are to Guerrero, Coalcomán, and Colima. A good many shorter trips may be taken to local fiestas, especially the great fiesta and market at San Juan Parangaricutiro. In addition, some men go to Guadalajara and Celaya for goods to carry to Guerrero. Finally, a long trip usually involves a number of short local trips around Cherán, either to purchase goods for transport to the *tierra caliente* or to dispose of merchandise brought back.

[462] The *arrieros* are all men, with a single exception (reported but not seen). Wives, however, frequently accompany their husbands. Sickness is the greatest hazard. Women are

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Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[927] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[464] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; how-
[674] ever, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero —is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products (*"tornillo"*) from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

439 sold locally (usually a minor part) or taken to
441 the weekly Paracho market or to fiestas in nearby towns. Often goods are kept some weeks if there is a prospect of a scarcity developing, or an important fiesta is scheduled.

The majority of the long trips are to Guerrero, usually to Petatlán, where the fiesta of Holy Week attracts the greatest number of Cherán traders. The length of the trip taken depends to some extent on the rapidity with which goods are sold; once stocks are exhausted, traders turn back. One trader reported having reached Acapulco on one of his trips.

Some typical trips follow:

441 M. F. goes on Sunday to Paracho, where he
439 awaits his trading partner from another town. Monday the two go to San Francisco and buy
487 sweetpotatoes. Thursday they arrive in Tepic (Colima) and sell the sweetpotatoes. Friday they go to Guajuya (Jalisco) and buy chiles. Monday they return to Tepic and Saturday M. F. reaches Cherán. The trip involves 12 days' traveling and 2 days' resting, buying, and selling.

The schedule in detail is as follows:

Sunday	Paracho
Monday	San Francisco
Tuesday	Periban
Wednesday	Buena Vista
Thursday	Tepic
Friday	Guajuya
Monday	Tepic
Tuesday	Buena Vista
Wednesday	Periban
Thursday	San Francisco
Friday	Paracho
Saturday	Cherán

Some traders go to Colima proper by way of Zaragoza, but details were not obtained. It is 17 days' travel each way.

M. F. also goes to Coalcomán, carrying pottery from La Cañada which he buys in Cherán or Paracho. The route is the same as far as Tepic. Thence he stops at Obregón, Las Parotas, and Coalcomán. The round trip takes 3 weeks, of which 18 days are spent in traveling.

On his trips to Petatlán, Guerrero, M. F. buys wooden toys from Paracho and pottery from Santo Tomas. Starting on a Thursday, he goes to Pichataro. On Friday (market day) he is in Pátzcuaro and buys garlic, oils, and

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441 spices (*marjoram, pincente*, etc.) The trip to
439 Petatlán takes a total of 18 days (see itinerary
487 below); San Gerónimo is 5 days farther. A round trip usually takes about 6 weeks.

J. G. also leaves on a Thursday. Leaving his burro at Pátzcuaro, he goes to Quiroga to buy pottery (probably on the bus, as he does not take his burros). Returning to Pátzcuaro, on one trip he bought 500 strings of garlic, 15 liters of oils at $1.50 a liter (salad oil, olive oil, *aceites de razar, malza mantequilla, canaldo, mastral*, and *verbena*), and spices (*pimiente*, rosemary, *mandruje, flor de azalco*, and *manzanilla boraja*), and 2½ dozen wooden spoons of assorted sizes.

At Paso de la Vaca, J. G. began to sell a little, but only enough to buy food (he had run out of money). His itinerary is similar to that of M. F., but he made one more stop. On his return he loaded one burro with dried meat and rode the other because he was sick. For the same reason he spent 8 days at one place. The two itineraries follow:

Arrive	*M. F.*	*J. G.*
Pichataro	Thursday	Thursday
Pátzcuaro	Friday	Friday
Santa Clara	Saturday	Saturday
Ario de Rosales	Sunday	Sunday
Alinonzita	Monday	.....
Corral de Piedras		Monday
Cayaco	Tuesday	Tuesday
Guadaloupe	Wednesday	Wednesday
Río de las Balsas	Thursday	Thursday
Paso de las Vacas	Friday	Friday (began to sell)
Límón	Saturday (began to sell)	
Zopilote		Saturday
Tepehuaje	Sunday	Sunday
Colmenaros	Monday	Monday
La Unión	Tuesday	Tuesday
La Onía (close to Pacific from here on)	Wednesday	Wednesday
Pantla	Thursday	Thursday
Puerto Sijuatanejo	Friday	Friday
Cuicuayul		Saturday
San Geronimito	Saturday	Sunday
Petatlán	Sunday	Monday

San Gerónimo is 5 days' traveling beyond Petatlán; Acapulco is 6 days' traveling from San Gerónimo.

Another example is C. S. C. who makes only one trip a year, a visit to Holy Week in Petatlán, Guerrero. He carries woodwork from

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441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery (*"posición"*) is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

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494 left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into
556 Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do
494 men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves.
[661] Although trucks are not supposed to carry passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns
443 in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos.
[511] It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

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443 goods, but may make buying trips in person to Purépero for cloth or to Uruapan for groceries. Some storekeepers make clothing in their spare time or have sewing machines for rent. In addition, storekeepers may add to their income by buying corn, wheat, or eggs in small quantities. It is no uncommon thing in some stores to see a small girl arrive with some wheat tied up in one end of her *rebozo* and perhaps one egg, and bargaining with the storekeeper for some small purchase. It is noteworthy, though, [431] that the transaction is not on a barter basis. First the sale of wheat or eggs to the storekeeper is completed and the money paid over. The seller then indicates what she desires to purchase.[24]

Time did not permit the making of a detailed study of the functioning of Cherán stores. It would be of considerable interest to do so, and if the cooperation of the wholesalers in Uruapan and Purepero could be secured, probably a fairly accurate idea of the movement of goods into the Cherán market would be possible. In the discussion of price some idea of the range of goods carried is given (p. 88).

Although not forming an important item in Cherán trade, it should be observed that women, children, and occasionally elderly men, sell some goods on the streets, usually at a street corner. Perhaps half a dozen corners always have one to three vendors selling such things as cooked squash or sweetpotatoes, fruit, peanuts, and other things which are purchased primarily as *golosinas*, or between-meal snacks. Similar vendors appear in some numbers at harvest time, often out in the country, at which time their stock also includes *čharanda* (sugarcane alcohol and water).

MARKETS

An important mechanism of exchange among the Tarascans is the market. In a great many towns markets are held only on the occasion of a religious fiesta or, if present at other times, are small and relatively unimportant. Taras-

[24] An hour in the store of M. S. is typical. A small girl brought 1 liter of shelled maize, two ears of maize, and one egg for which she received 11 centavos. Several other persons came in, bringing single liters of wheat or corn. One person brought 20 liters of beans (this is unusual as Cherán raises less beans than it consumes). In addition to a number of sales of less than 5 centavos, the following sales at 5 centavos were made (there were none larger): one cake of soap, *criolina*, castor oil, lime.

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443 can economy is also linked with the national economy through the markets. The Sunday market at Uruapan, for example, is an important occasion for the disposal of Tarascan goods and for the purchase of supplies. The Uruapan market, however, is primarily a Mestizo market, and the Indian part in it is minor and far from obvious.

Quite otherwise is the market at Pátzcuaro. Although it is perhaps even more of a Mestizo town than Uruapan, the markets at Pátzcuaro on Fridays and Sundays are predominantly Indian markets. The Pátzcuaro markets are probably the most important agencies of exchange to be found in Tarascan territory. They would well merit intensive study.

The Sunday market in Paracho is the only large, regular market in the Sierra Tarascan area. While numerous Mestizos participate, the bulk of the vendors and almost all the buyers are Tarascans. Although subject to fluctuation in size from week to week, the Paracho market compares favorably at any time with the occasional large markets held in other towns on the occasion of a fiesta.

Cherán does boast of two weekly markets in addition to the infrequent affairs on the occasion of important fiestas. These markets, however, are merely insignificant reflexes of the Paracho market. Traveling salesmen or *viajeros* whose route to Paracho leads through Cherán often set up shop in the Cherán plaza on Saturday afternoon. In the evening or early the next morning they move on to Paracho. If they have not sold out their goods in Paracho, they may stop Monday morning in Cherán for a few hours. The number of vendors and the amount of goods sold, then, are relatively insignificant. Fresh vegetables are the main items, and housewives who do not expect to go to Paracho the following day may stock up for the week.

The Saturday market at Cherán usually gets
366 under way about 1 o'clock in the afternoon.
443 Vendors continue to arrive, however, until as late as 4 o'clock, and the main activity of the market is between 5 o'clock and dusk. The market occupies the street on the south side of the plaza in front of the municipal building. The vendors form two facing lines on opposite sides of the street. Only on unusually busy

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366 days do the lines extend the full length of the
443 plaza. The Monday morning market is much smaller.

TABLE 3.—*Products sold in the Cherán market, 1940*

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438

Product	Number of vendors selling product on Sept. 7	Product sold on— Nov. 9	October 6 (fiesta)
Agua fresca (sweet water)			×
Aníllos (rings)			×
Ajo (garlic)		×	
Aretes (earrings)			×
Atole			×
Ayates (carrying nets)			×
Bateas (wooden bowls)			×
Cacahuates (peanuts)		×	
Cabetes (jellies)			×
Calabaza cocida (cooked squash)			×
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)		×	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	5		×
Canastas (flat baskets)			×
Carne seca (dried meat)			×
Cebollas (onions)	4	×	×
Changungas			×
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayote)		×	
Cherimoya		×	×
Chiles	13	[1]×	×
Chiquihuites (baskets)		×	
Cocos (coconuts)			×
Col (cabbage)		×	
Cucharas (spoons)			×
Cundas (harvest baskets)		×	
Dulces (sweets)		×	×
Dedales (thimbles)			×
Desdenistas		×	
Fajas (sashes)			×
Frijoles (beans)	1	×	×
Guayabas (guavas)			×
Habas cocidos (cooked broadbeans)		×	
Helotes cocidos (cooked green corn)		×	
Higos (figs)			×
Jícamas		×	×
Jitomates (tomatoes)			×
Juguetes (playthings)			×
Leña (firewood)	1		
Lenteja (lentils)	1		
Limas (sweet lemons)	1		×
Loza de Oaxaca (pottery from Oaxaca)			×
Loza (pottery)	2		×
Manos			×
Manzanas (apples)	3	×	×
Mecates (ropes)			×
Morales (bags)			×
Muñecas (dolls)			×
Naranjas (oranges)		×	
Nieve (ice cream)			×
Pan, blanco y moreno (bread, white and dark)		×	×
Pan dulce (sweet bread)			×
Pan de horno (cookies)		×	
Pastura (fodder)		×	
Peras (pears)	2		×
Pescado (fish, several kinds)[2]	3	[1]×	×
Petates (mats)		×	×
Plátanos (bananas)		×	×
Piñones[3]		×	
Papas (potatoes)	1		
Queso (cheese)	1		×
Rebozos (shawls)			×
Religion (crosses, medals, etc.)			×
Ropa hecho (clothing)			×
Zanhorias (carrots)		×	
Silantro			×
Serapes (blankets)			×
Sombreros (hats)			×
Tecalos (baskets for tortillas)		×	
Tela (cloth)			×
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	2	×	×
Tunas (prickly pears)		×	
Velas (candles)			×
Vidrio (glass)			×
Yerbas (herbs)			×
Zapatos (shoes)			×

[1] Black and red chile from Queréndaro; green chile, large and small; red chile, large and small; chile pasilla ancho; chile guajillo; chile miracel; chile verde ŝirápai.

[2] *Charo* (kuítepo—small, dried, from Pátzcuaro; turuli—large, fresh, from Pátzcuaro).

[3] Small, black fruit like green tomato in taste.

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On the occasion of a fiesta, the market occupies the entire plaza and overflows onto side streets. The variety and quantity of goods on such occasions exceed that at the regular Paracho market. Table 3 shows this clearly in the market held for October 6, 1940, the fiesta of the patron saint. Only two weekly markets were checked in any detail, as the fluctuations in the market simply reflect those occurring at Paracho the following day. Table 3 gives a list of the articles on sale in Cherán on three different dates, and for September 7 the number of vendors of each article is given.

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TABLE 4.—*Place of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1940*

Origin of vendor[1]	Article	Origin of article
Chapala	Fish	Chapala.
Cherán	Pottery	Huancito.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Pottery	Huancito.
Cherán (4)	Wood	Cherán.
Cherán	Apples	Do.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Cheese	Tierra caliente.
Pátzcuaro	Green chile Onions	Pátzcuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Uricho.
Uricho (2)	Yellow chile	Do.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, chile Tomatoes	Do. Pátzcuaro.
Uricho	Yellow chile Tomatoes	Uricho.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, cabbage	Pátzcuaro.
Do	Onions, cabbage, tomatoes	Do.
Uricho	Chile, onions, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Pátzcuaro	Potatoes, beans, tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes (purple)	Zipiajo.
Villa Jimenez	Beans	Villa Jimenez.
Zunaparío	Chile	Zunaparío.
Cherán	Bread, peaches	Cherán.
Caranco	Chile	San Gabriel, Jalisco.
San Francisco	Chile, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Do	Tomatoes	Do.
Cherán	Tomatoes	Cherán (?).
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes	Pandicuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Cherán (?).
Etucuaro	Lemons	Etucuaro.
El Tigre	Chile	El Tigre.
Zacapu	Tomatoes	Zacapu.
Lagalga	Sweetpotatoes	Purépero.
Pandicuaro (2)	do	Zacapu.
Chucandiro	do	Zacapu (San Simon).
San Pedro Caro	Dried [illegible]	Hacienda de la Luz.
Carapan	Lemons	Carapan.
Chapala	Cooked dried fish	Chapala.

[1] Numbers in parentheses indicate number of vendors if more than one.

Tables 4 and 5 show the places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán and at Paracho in September, 1940, and table 6 gives the products and number of vendors at the Paracho market on various dates in 1940.

About 70 to 80 percent of the vendors in the Paracho market on September 1 (table 5) were

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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*

Product	Origin of product	Vendor: Place of origin	Vendor: Number from each place	Vendor: Total number selling product
Agua fresca (sweet water)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Aguacates (avocados)	Cañada	(1)	1	1
Anillos (rings)	Patamban	Paracho	1	1
Aretes (earrings)	Nahuatzen	do	1	1
Bagas (burden ropes)	Paracho	do	2	2
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	Nahuatzen	Nahuatzen	1	1
Caldo (broth)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	La Asarea	La Asarea	1	6
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Purépero	Purépero	2	
		Paracho	2	
Cebollos (onions)	Paracho	do	2	2
Cerezas (cherries)	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	2
Cestas (baskets)	Pandicuaro	Zacapu	2	2
Chabacanos (apricots)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	1
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	Nahuatzen	Nahuatzen	1	1
Changungas	Tierra caliente	Uruapan	1	1
Chiles (peppers)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	9
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Pátzcuaro (?)	Pátzcuaro	3	
Col (cabbage)[1]				
Coliflor (cauliflower)[1]				
Dulces (candy)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Duraznos (peaches)	Pichataro	do	1	20
	Cherán	Cherán	6	
	Pichataro	Pichataro	8	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	
	Cheranástico	Cheranástico	2	
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
Fibra de palmas (palm leaves)	Tierra caliente (1 woman, maybe all, carried it up)	Cherán	2	7
		Paracho	1	
		Pátzcuaro	1	
		Barsi	3	
	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	
	San Gerónimo	San Gerónimo	2	
Frijoles (beans)	Carapan	Carapan	2	8
	Tirindiro	Tirindiro	1	
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Tangancicuaro	Tangancicuaro	1	
Guitarras (guitars)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Habas (beans or broad-beans)	Cañada	Cañada	2	3
		Carapan	1	
Helotes (cooked green corn)	Paracho	Paracho	1	3
	Cheranastico	Cheranástico	1	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Higos (figs)	Cañada	Paracho	1	2
		Cañada	1	
Huaraches (woven sandals)	Purépero	Purépero	1	1
Jicamas (root)	(?)	Paracho	1	1
Lechuga (lettuce)[1]				
Limas (sweet lemons)	Chilchota	Chilchota	3	3
Limonas (lemons)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	5
	Chilchota (?)	Chilchota	3	
	Tierra caliente	Guanajuato	1	
	Guanajuato	Purépero	1	
	Huanasto	Huanasto	1	
	Patamban	Patamban	3	
Loza (pottery)	do	Nurió	1	9
	Quiroga	Zacapu	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	
	Quiroga	Tzintzuntzan	1	
Manta	Nahuatzen	Nahuatzen	1	1
Mandils (aprons)	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Manzanas (apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	2	18
	do	Pichataro	13	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	1	
Manzanas-chatas (crab apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	1	4
	Uruapan	Uruapan	3	
Mustacillos (?) (beads)	Guadalajara	do	1	1
Muebles (furniture)	Paracho	do	2	2
Naranjas (oranges)	(?)	Paracho	1	5
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
	Limon	Limon (?)	1	
	Chilchota	Chilchota	2	
Nueces (nuts)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	
Pan (bread)	Tanaco	Tanaco	2	6
Pan dulce	Cherán	Cherán	4	
Papas (patatas) (potatoes)	Nahuatzen	Paracho		1

[1] No data.

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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*—Continued

Products	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	Arantepacua	Arantepacua	3	3
Peras (pears)	Pichataro Cherán	do Cherán	4 4	18
Pescado seco (dried fish)[1]	Pichataro do	Pichataro Cherán	9 1	
Platanos (bananas)	Tierra caliente	Paracho Urupan	1 4	5
Queso (cheese)[1]				
Rebozos	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Serapes	do	do	2	2
Sigras (large, lemonlike citrus fruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Silantro seeds	Cañada	Cañada	1	2
Sombreros (flat-top, white hats)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	Paracho Pátzcuaro Paracho (?) Nahuatzen (?) Cherán (?) Morelia (?) Cherán (?)	Paracho Pátzcuaro Paracho do Cherán Paracho do	1 1 5 1 1 1 1	1 10
Toronja (grapefruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota		2
Tunas (prickly pears)	Tanaco	Tanaco	3	4
Uakinikin (a long nut)	Purépero	Purépero	1	1
Uikunu (yellow fruit?)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	2
Tela (cloth)	Los Reyes Cimotlan	Paracho Cimotlan	1 1	2
Violin	Paracho	Paracho	2	1
Yerbas (herbs)	do	do	1	2
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Zapatos (shoes, orange; also white)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	

[1] No date.

interviewed. The number of vendors and the articles sold, by classes, are as follows:

Articles:	Number of vendors
Fruits	52
Vegetables	26
Prepared food (including bread)	12
Wearing apparel	21
Baskets and pottery	15
Furniture	2
Ornaments and musical instruments	3
Palm fiber for hats	7
Total	138

Most vendors not interviewed were engaged in the sale of fruits or vegetables, mostly vegetables.

Another example of an unimportant market is given by Rendón for San Juan Parangaricutiro. The main articles sold were small quantities of tomatoes, chile, jicamas, onions, cabbage, silantro, garlic, limes, oranges, guavas, cherimoyas, peanuts, and sugarcane. Two persons sold candies from Zamora, two booths sold sweetpotatoes, one each sold pottery and shoes,

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Agua fresca (sweet water)	1	4	2	1		
Aguas gaseosas (pop)		3	8	3		1
Aje (pigment)					2	
Ajo (garlic)						6
Aguacates (avocados)	1			1		
Anillos (rings)	1					
Aretes; collares (earrings; necklaces)	1	1				3
Atole (maize gruel)					2	2
Ayates (nets)				2	2	3
Bagas (burden ropes)	2					
Bates para lavar ropa (washtray)				1		
Bateas (wooden bowls)		1	1			
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	1				2	
Borrega (mutton)		3		3		
Cacahuates (peanuts)		4	5		9	2
Cal (lime)					2	
Caldo (broth)	1					
Calabacitos (small squash)					3	
Calabaso cocido (cooked squash)		4	5	14	12	1
Calzes (calxes)					1	
Camas (beds)	1			1	7	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	4	8		2		1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	2	2				
Caña (sugarcane)			3	1		
Canastas (flat baskets)				1		1
Carne de puerco cocido (cooked pork)		1	1	2		3
Carne seco (dried beef)		1		6	12	6
Cebollos (onions)	2	15	11	12	18	15
Cerezas (cherries)	2		1	5	1	
Cerezas secas (dried cherries)			1		2	1
Cestas (baskets)	2	3	1	4		
Chabacanos (apricots)	1					
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	1					
Changungas (a fruit)	1					
Chayotes			3	1	7	
Chayotes cocido (cooked chayotes)		3		4		
Cherimoyas (a fruit)					4	
Chicahuites (harvest baskets)				1	3	
Chicharos (peas)		4	3	4		
Chicharos cocidos (cooked peas)				1		
Chiles (peppers)	9	53	32	15		
Chiles, large wide, red				7		
Chiles, large long, red				15		
Chiles, small, red				20		21
Chiles, verdes (green)				8	25	18
Chile, negros (black)				2	5	7
Cintas (belts)						1
Ciruelas (plums)		2				
Cocos (coconuts)				3	1	
Col (cabbage)		14	10	2	6	7
Coliflor (cauliflower)		1			2	
Corbatas (neckties)			1			
Cucharas (spoons)		1		2	1	
Cracklings					1	
Custard						1
Dibujos y arte, flores			1			
Doughnuts				1		
Dulces (candy)	1	6	4	7	4	2
Dulces de membrillos (fruit paste)		1				
Duraznos (peaches)	20	22	1	3		
Escobas de palma (brushes of palm)	1					
Escobas de paja verde (brushes of green straw)						1
Espinaca (spinach)			1			
Fajas (sashes)		2	2	2	1	3
Fibra de palma (palm leaves for hats)	7	5		1	11	
Floreras (flowerpots)						1
Flores (flowers)					2	
Flores de papel (paper flowers)						2
Frijoles (beans)	8	13		6	24	
Gorditos (fried maize cakes)					1	
Granadas (pomegranates)		6		31	30	2
Guayas					1	2
Guitarras (guitars)	1					
Habas (broadbeans)	3	1		1	4	
Habas verdes (green broadbeans)					1	
Helotes (green corn on cob)	3	1	4	6	2	
Higos (figs)	2					
Hoja de betabel (chard)		3				
Hoja de limones (lemon leaves)		2				
Hoja de naranja (orange leaves)		1		2		
Huaraches (woven sandals)	1	1	4	1		
Ixtle (maguey halters)		11				
Jalatina (jelly)				1		
Jicamas (a turnipike root)	3			3	8	
Jitomates (tomatoes)					6	
Juegos de naipes (card games)				5		
Juguetes (playthings, e.g. dolls)		5	2		2	

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*—Continued

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Pegaton de loza (pottery figurines)		3	6	13	1	
Lana (wool)					1	
Lechuga (lettuce)		1				
Limas y limones (lemons and limes)	8	17	7	16	12	7
Loquata				1		
Loza (pottery)	9	1		64	8	2
Macata (maguey fiber string)			1			
Mandilla (aprons)	4					
Mantas (blankets)	1					
Manzanas (apples)	22	37	5	16	2	
Maize (corn)	6		1		2	
Macetas (flowerpots)					1	
Madroño berries						1
Mamey (a fruit)					1	
Mascaras (masks)		2	1			
Masa (maize dough)		1				
Mazorca (maize ears)				1		
Medias (stockings)						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and notions)		1	10	4	8	1
Mollineros (chocolate beaters)				1		
Morales (bags)				1		
Mostaciller (beads)	1					
Muebles (furniture)	2					
Naranjas (oranges)	8	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream)		1	1	1	2	2
Nueces (nuts)	3					
Orange plum				1		
Palma tejida (hat braid)[1]					1	
Pan (bread)	6	26	25	29	25	17
Pan de huevo (cake)						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey)			10			
Pan dulce (cookies)				1	1	
Papas (potatoes)	1	5	6	2	5	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	3					
Pelaqueros (barbers)				4		
Peras (pears)	16	14				
Pescado (fish)		12	5	1	12	6
Petates (mats)		1		2	4	1
Platanos (bananas)[2]	5	4	1	12	3	3
Plumas (pens)				3		
Pulque					1	
Quesos (cheese)	1	17	9	3	9	3
Rebozos (shawls)	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets)		1				
Serapes (blankets)	3	4	3	1	7	6
Servilletas (napkins)					1	
Sierras (a fruit)	1					
Silantro seruillo (seed for flavoring)	3	5	1	4	4	
Silles (chairs)				3		
Sombreros (hats)	1	3	1	1	3	2
Sopladores (fire fans)		1				
Sweaters						1
Tamales		10		20		1
Tejocotes (wild crab apples)	6	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing)	3			3		3
Tela de lana (wool yardage)			7			
Tenequipiste		1		2		10
Tomates (small black tomatoes)	10	26	24	12	6	
Toronja (grapefruit)	3					
Tortillas					3	3
Tortilla baskets					3	1
Tuna (prickly pears)	4		8		4	1
Uakimikin (nut)	1					
Vicina (vinegar)	1					
Vaho (candles)			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs)	1				1	
Yellowbird		1		1		
Yuca			1			
Zanahorias (carrots)		1	2			1
Zapatos (shoes)	1	3	6	3	9	7

[1] Plants of Santa Ursula.

[2] An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurúndas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

438 The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market
443 on Sunday which is not notably different from
a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as
462 this is the market-town for La Cañada, prob-

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438 ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans.
443 Rendón, who collected the data, observes that
462 there is a fairly clear sex division in market activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—*Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota*

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Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	5
Ripe tomatoes	8	0
Green chile	0	3
Dry chile	7	7
Cabbage	3	4
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	8
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit	6	5
Peanuts	8	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	0	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	4
Regular tamales (kurindas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Soaproot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	4
Pitch pine	2	0
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

511 The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

511 riage, and to a lesser extent with birth and death. A very significant consumption of goods occurs in connection with religious activities, particularly in relation to the *mayordomías* Less important, perhaps, is consumption in connection with governmental activities. All of these, nevertheless, are subordinate in importance to consumption by family groups.

The major product consumed by the family is maize. In the vast majority of cases most of, if not all, the maize consumed is produced by the family. The same is true of a number of supplementary items in the diet such as fruit, cabbage, and other vegetables. On the other hand, beans, meat, cheese, and fish, important constituents of the diet, are usually purchased. Maize consumption is about one-half liter a day per person (averaging the consumption of all ages). Much greater quan-

511 tities may be consumed in connection with any festal occasion. Consumption of any other items will depend upon the amount of money available.

The major food consumption of the family has already been analyzed (Beals and Hatcher, 1943). In monetary terms it has been shown that great differences exist. Food expenditures vary from 11.6 to 17.8 centavos a day per person. In general, a very poor family with its own maize supply will spend 5 to 10 centavos in chiles a week, 3 to 5 centavos in cheese every 3 or 4 days, 1 or 2 centavos in sugar or brown sugar daily, and perhaps occasionally 5 to 8 centavos in beans. Unless the family is quite poverty-stricken, about 2 centavos a day is spent in having the maize ground in a *nixtamal* mill. Among families in slightly better circumstances, about a peso a week is

[text continues on top of p. 85a]

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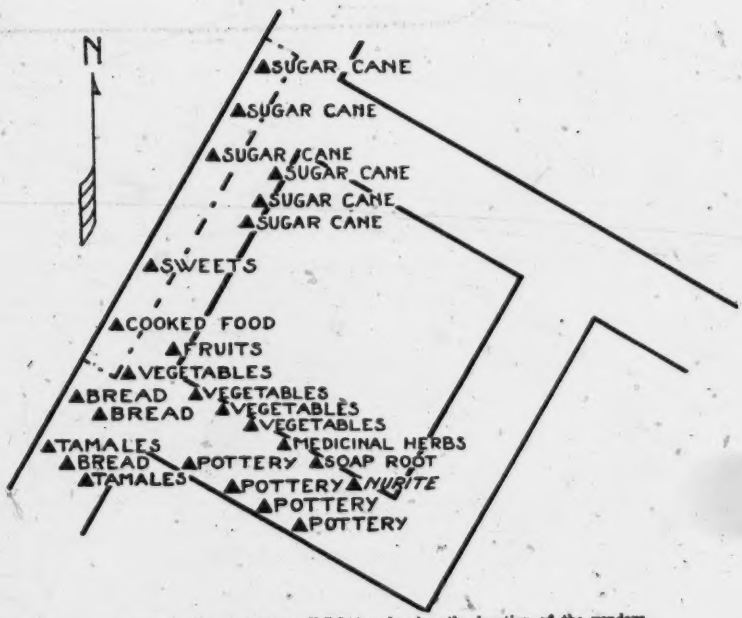

FIGURE 11.—Market at Chilchota, showing the location of the vendors.

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511 spent on meat. Families not regarded as poor might spend as little as 60 centavos a day on food for a family of six (two adults and four children). Checked in several ways, although obviously the quantitative data are inadequate, it appears that most prosperous (but not wealthy) families with sufficient land to produce all their own maize may spend less than 1 peso a day. It is estimated by some that this amount also includes the cost of all clothing and some maintenance of buildings but would not include special expenses, such as replacing animals, giving fiestas, holding funerals, etc. Frankly, this seems hard to believe.[25]

An approach to consumption (in terms of peso values), based on such quantitative data as it was possible to collect, indicates a much higher consumption rate for the normal Cherán family. Taking, for convenience, a family of five, the following seems a reasonably close approximation of consumption and expenditure:

	Per day	*Per year*
Home-produced goods consumed:		
Maize, 2½ liters daily	$0.15	$54.75
Vegetables and fruit	.10	36.50
Firewood	.08	29.20
Total value		$120.45
Goods requiring cash expenditure:		
Expenditures at store and butcher shop	$1.00	$365.00
Man's clothing (a rough estimate of minimum requirements for work clothing plus some "dress" clothing)		27.00
Woman's clothing (one typical woman's outfit of Tarascan type clothing, plus a couple of cotton dresses a year)		60.00
Clothing for 3 small children		15.00
Total cash expenditure a year		467.00
Total value of goods consumed a year		$587.45

In addition to the above ordinary expendi-

[25] In Mestizo Chilchota, Repdón collected the following data: For a family of two adults and four children, 6 to 22 years, food expenditures were said to be 75 centavos to 1 peso daily, mostly for meat, the remainder for beans, lard, pitch pine, chiles, tomatoes, salt, lime, and other things. The maize consumed is grown. Another family of four adults and one child of 5 years spent about a peso a day. Another family of four adults and three children, 8 to 14 years, spent a peso to a peso and a half daily. In all cases the major expenditure was said to be for meat, with beans coming second. All grew their own maize. Unlike those in Cherán, all these families consumed coffee once and sometimes twice a day.

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511 tures, there will also be less frequent ones. In the life time of the average family, a house and kitchen will have to be bought or built. By usual Cherán standards, this will mean a capital expenditure of $170 to $450. Animals must be replaced from time to time, an item difficult to estimate, but probably involving capital expenditures of around $200 every 10 years as a minimum.

Periodic expenditures will also include a blanket every few years at about $20, reroofing of house and kitchen every 10 years or so at a cost of about $40, an occasional *mayordomía*, and the expenses of weddings, births, and deaths. Finally, there are taxes on property and contributions to the church. All these are impossible to estimate accurately with the available data. A *mayordomía*, for example, may vary from an outlay of perhaps $15 or $20 for [79b] Mass, candles, and ornaments for the altar in the house to a cash expenditure of about $500 for the *mayordomía* of Nochebuena plus extensive use of maize and butchering of animals etc. belonging to the *mayordomo*. Weddings likewise may vary enormously according to economic resources, but may run up as high as $500 in cash outlay. In addition, there are the innumerable occasions when one must participate in weddings, roofing or house-moving fiestas, etc., each of which involves more or less expensive gifts aside from possible contributions of labor.

The above factors suggest that a Cherán family of five in about average circumstances makes a total outlay on consumption goods of not less than $500 a year if such capital expenditures as housing are allowed for. This does not include the value of home-produced foods. Many families unquestionably have a much smaller cash outlay than the amount suggested, but, equally certainly, some families spend more. Furthermore, these estimates assume that the family has inherited all the land it needs and is not making any expenditures for land purchases.

The preceding considerations suggest that insufficient attention has been paid to the quantity of exports and the movement of money in Cherán economy. Such data are difficult but not impossible to secure, although a considerable margin of error must be expected.

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511 The motivations of consumption appear
181 several. Primary is the need of food, shelter, and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case
[626] the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

556 In general, wealthy people do not display
511 their wealth ostentatiously except through undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

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556 Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more
511 violent revolutionary days are close enough
that people conceal their wealth rather than
[669] display it. That this was not always the case
is evidenced by the considerable number of
ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy
before the revolution. Today wealthy men live
modestly. Their table differs primarily in
quantity rather than in quality from that of
the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless
they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their
wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule,
than do other women, and on special occasions
they display more and better jewelry. There
[357] are few servants in Cherán, and their place is
taken by dependent relatives or orphans who
are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a moro dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

435 The values of the major commodities and
services in Cherán are expressed in monetary
terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions
are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

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435 exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure [177] of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Purépero, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have [465] paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.[26] The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

435 In general, the coming of the highway is
178 bringing higher prices for local products.
494

[26] It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

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[p.876]

178 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods
435 and products. Although little evidence is yet
visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada,
494 where the highway has been in use longer, it
was said that the price of chickens had risen
from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding
rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .24
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00–3.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Raiz de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)[1]	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

556 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and
agricultural land. As has been indicated pre-
423 viously, all lands capable of permanent cultiva-
tion are privately owned, the remainder belong-
ing to the community and being open to the use
of all community members. One informant
mentioned a possible exception to this state-
ment, saying that the one large land holding of
prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the
Government and offered for sale to Cherán
residents. The informant believed some lands
in this holding were still unsold, but no further
information was secured. In any case, the
incident does not alter the fundamental pattern
of Cherán land holding.

In terms of individual wealth, the basic
556 Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico.
422 Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle
loom less important, partly because they are
not owned in large numbers, partly because the
revolutionary period taught the people of
Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of
wealth. The man who owns sufficient land,
however, has an essentially inalienable resource
by which any losses of less stable types of

556
422

property may be made up. Even silver is less safe, for someone may find the buried hoard and steal it. In addition, it is not productive. He who harvests from 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is wealthy; while the man who harvests from 8 to 15 *cargas* may regard himself as a typical Cherán citizen.

Houses and buildings are also a form of wealth. The traditional type of house is owned apart from the land and is frequently bought and sold apart from the land. This is not true, of course, of stone or adobe buildings. Except for the somewhat greater difficulty of moving

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[p.88b]

556 them, houses are essentially portable property
422 like furniture, tools, or cattle.

Little exists in the way of incorporeal prop-
424 erty in Cherán. Perhaps the most important
556 instances are the possession of knowledge of dances or of the texts for the dialogue in such performances as the *pastorela*. Theoretically anyone might pick up this knowledge, but there seems a tacit understanding that this should not be done without the permission of the owner. Such knowledge is valuable, as such persons are paid by the *mayordomos* to teach the performers.

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435

TABLE 9.—Prices in *Chorán stores in winter of 1940*

Commodity	Amount spent or quantity usually purchased	Unit upon which price is based	Price of commodity in store— A	B	C	D
Salt	1¢ kilo	Kilo	$0.15	$0.14	$0.14	$0.14
Maize	1-10 liters	Liter	.08	.08	.08½	.08
Beans	½-1 liter	do	.18-.20	.22	.22	
Sugar	1¢ kilo	½ kilo	.36	.38	.38	.38
Chocolate		Cake	.05			
Rice	2¢-6¢	Kilo	.36	.38	.35-.38	.38
Lard	2¢, ½ kilo	do	1.60	1.60	1.65	1.65
Cookies	1¢-4¢			[1].01-.05		
Cocoa	1¢-4¢	Kilo	2.80			
Coffee (milled)	1¢-4¢	Ounce	.01			
Soap	Cake-6¢		.03-.20	.03-.20	.03-.15	
Brown sugar	1¢, ½ kilo	Kilo	.36	.35	.38	
Spaghetti	2¢-4¢	do	.60			
Cigarettes	[2]Package	Package	.07-.12	.07-.10	.07-.14	
Lime	[3]1¢-4¢					
Candles	2¢-6¢	Each	.01-.15	.05-.10	.05-.10	
Pacific lights			.09	.08	.08	
Chiles	[3]1¢-4¢					
Canned chiles	[3]1¢-4¢					
Vegetable oil	[3]1¢-4¢					
Olive oil	[3]1¢-4¢					
Cigarettes	[3]1¢-4¢					
Wax matches	5¢, box	Box	.01-.05		.05-.05	
Small dried fish	[3]1¢-4¢					
Soda pop		Bottle	[4].05	.05	.05	
Orange drink		do	.10	.10	.10	
"Spool" thread:						
White			.05	.05	.05	
Colored			.05			
Small fine, colored				.05		
Ball thread				[5].01-.05	[5].01-.05	
Cards (mounted)				.09-.05	.01-.10	
Ropes		Kilo		.90		
Hats:						
Children's				.30	.35	
Men's				1.60	1.55	
Nails	[3]1¢-4¢	Kilo		.70		
India ink		2 ounces		.05		
Aguardiente	Glass	Glass				.05-.10
Pomades				15.00	15.00-20.00	
Rice pans					5.50	
Brooms				.10		
Ribbons:						
1-inch		Piece			1.00	
2-inch		do			2.00	
Cloth (unbleached muslin):						
No. 60		Meter		.30	.35	
No. 80		do		.35	.30	
No. 80		do		.40	.35	
No. 70		do		.45	.40	
No. 80		do		.55	.45	
No. 90		do		.60	.50	
No. 100		do		.65	.60	
Indian Head				.30		
Bonda				.65		
Arrelde				.70-.90		
Gauzal (for shirts)				.60		
Tulle				.50		
Tocas (for shirts)				.35		
Flat silk				1.40		

[1] Depending on type and quantity.
[2] Price per weight not ascertained.
[3] Quantity not ascertained.
[4] Quantity not ascertained; probably 1 per centavo from opened can.
[5] Depending on size.

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556 Other types of incorporeal property possibly
424 are the knowledge of the herb gatherers, mid-
wives, and witches. However, there is no sense of property in Cherán concerning this knowledge, and the idea of buying or selling it was not encountered. Such knowledge seems not to be differently regarded from the knowledge of how to farm or to care for animals or make bread.

421 A unique type of property right is the owner-
ship of certain images of saints and of *mayor-*
778 *domías*. Two cases were encountered. One is
the ownership of the *mayordomía* of the Three
556 Kings (*Los Tres Reyes*), January 6. Several men were instrumental in starting this *mayordomía*, formerly celebrated only by the dance of the Europeans (*danza de los Europeos*). Not only did these men put on the first *mayordomía*, they put up funds, aided by contributions, to secure a fine set of images for the *mayordomía*. In subsequent years they decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year. As one of them said to me, "It looks like this *mayordomía* is going to be a good business." However, he spoke in figurative terms, for, so far as could be learned, the "owners" of the *mayordomía* expected to receive only spiritual rewards and perhaps community approbation.

The second case is the ownership of a miraculous saint. The owners found the saint, erected a chapel, and receive contributions from worshippers. The owners claim that all gifts go to clothe the saint properly and care for the chapel, a statement that is open to doubt although there is no evidence to the contrary.

The distribution of wealth in Cherán appears
556 to be relatively equitable. Certainly there are no really wealthy men in Cherán and there are relatively few impoverished individuals. So long as wealth is measured in land and most families in Cherán have a reasonable amount of land, this condition will continue. It is true that people in Cherán talk a great deal about *los ricos* (the rich men). In practice, almost no one can readily identify the rich men. Partly, of course, this is because rich men, in order to avoid envy, are careful not to flaunt their wealth. But it also is an indication that really wealthy men are probably scarce, if not absent. One of the regular assistants, Pedro Chávez, talked constantly about

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556 the rich. Repeated efforts to pin him down resulted in the identification of not a single individual as a *rico* and the assertion that anyone who harvested 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is a rich man. As this means a cash income from this source of around $300 to $600 or $700 a year, the standard is not high, although probably wheat, cattle, and other sources add to such income. It is worth observing that almost no storekeepers are classed as wealthy—they usually do not have much land.

The inheritance of property in Cherán is
428 normally from parent to children. Should an individual die without formal disposition of his property, the municipal officials would endeavor (subject to whatever influences might be brought to bear on them) to divide the property equally among children without regard to sex. Normally, however, the heirs would make the division, and it would merely be submitted to the *municipio* for approval. In this way inequalities often creep in through domination of one heir by another and the desire to avoid a fight.

It is quite common in Cherán for the property to be disposed of by the owner before death by making a will or, more commonly, by making a statement of intention to a reliable and trusted friend before witnesses. Such decisions will be respected and enforced by the *municipio*.

Property owned by women will ordinarily go to their children. However, should a couple be childless, the spouse does not inherit. There are numerous cases in Cherán of well-to-do couples where the bulk of the property is owned by the wife. Although the husband uses and administers the property, he has no rights in it unless it is formally made over to him by his wife during her life time. Similarly, a widow does not inherit except in special cases. This, again, involves a will or making over of the property during the life of the owner. Usually such an act is taken by a man only when his sons are rebellious and unfilial.

There are frequent cases where men do not leave property equally to all children or where they leave it to some other relative. In rare cases, there may have been some assignment of property to children before death. Then the child, usually the youngest, who has cared for the parent in old age, receives all the remaining

428 property, a form of ultimogeniture. Such cases are understood and usually cause no friction. Other instances sometimes give rise to bitter feelings. Cases were recorded where children had broken away from parental authority and had become established through their own efforts. Sometimes the elderly persons were cared for by a niece or nephew, or even by some person not related at all, who received all the property. Resentment is generally felt by the children, even though they may have well deserved such treatment.

If properties are small, the daughters are sometimes slighted. If a lot, for example, is too small to divide and there are a son and daughter, the son will get the lot. On the other hand, if the lot is large, it will be divided between them. Often, however, the brother will take advantage of his sister, who, to avoid a quarrel, will accept an unfair division but will lose no chance of getting even. An example that came to attention was a division of a lot in which the brother took the part containing most of the fruit trees. When the brother went on a 3-day [593] trip during pear season, his sister and her husband cut all the pears and sold them. The brother hesitated to do anything about it because it would have brought out the unfairness of the original transaction.

Frequently, the division of personal and movable property is unfair. Children who are away from home are apt to get nothing. However, their land rights are usually more or less respected. Even so, on their return, they may appeal to the *municipio*, which will force the other heirs to make a proper settlement.

Various adjustments are made to meet special 428 situations. Often an expert in property values 423 is called in to make the division. For example, a man with two children may have left a lot and a piece of farm land too small to divide. The expert decides the value of each and the one receiving the least valuable parcel is recompensed through sale of personal property. Where a lot cannot be divided, a piece of land may be sold from the estate to buy a lot for one of the children.

Conflicts also arise from transactions entered 428 into by the owner before death without inform- 425 ing the heirs. For example, Agustín Rangel's father bought a house from his own father.

425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

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181 with the larger national economy. Some of the
556 deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

[text continues on top of p.91b]

THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in
128 several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an admin-
632 istrative unit, smaller than the usual county in
634 the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

[text continues on middle of p. 91b]

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[p.91b]

181 poor indeed if there should be a maize shortage.
556 Even in normal times, the man who has to buy maize is pitied, even though he has plenty of money.

Although further analysis might be desirable, it also seems that the emphasis on nonproductive expenditures is higher in Cherán than in our own culture. The outlay in cash and goods involved in religious festivals, weddings, and similar events, seems much higher proportionately. Men often forego material advantage also for the spiritual rewards of offices connected with the church, an aspect which has not yet been discussed but which will be described later in detail. It seems doubtful if the motivations in these cases correspond entirely to those of the "conspicuous expenditures" of our own society.

THE COMMUNITY

632 the population live in the *cabecera*. Subordi-
634 nate to the *cabecera* ordinarily are a number of *tenencias*, villages of several hundred to more than a thousand population, and rancherias or other small units. All these subordinate units are administered from the *cabecera* through local, appointed delegates, the *jefes de tenencia*. Theoretically the residents in the *tenencias* and other units play an equal part with the inhabitants of the *cabecera*; in practice, government is controlled from the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the usual pattern in that the *municipio* consists of the *cabecera* and one small rancheria. Cherán, the town, is thus about twice as large as most Tarascan *cabeceras*, although the *municipio* has about the same population as others. Formerly the situation was somewhat different, with the *tenencia* of Cheranástico forming part of the *municipio*. As the result of circumstances to be related later, the people of Cheranástico withdrew from the *municipio* of Cherán and now form part of the *municipio* of Paracho. Had the population of Cheranástico been sufficiently large, it might even have become a separate *municipio*. The withdrawal of Cheranástico emphasizes the fact that *cabeceras* and *tenencias* have their respective boundaries within the larger limits of the *municipio*.

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632 The general situation of the *municipio* has
634 already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
423 daries, although there are usually disputes with
632 neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[476] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000.
[161] Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished.
361 A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

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863 sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

A larger subdivision than the block is
633 furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps
103 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúkutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúkutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keíku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalákua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Paricutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

The *barrios* show very few differences.
633 Paricutin is less populated, has larger lots, and
184 is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest,
[231] the dogs of Paricutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely
633 on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.[27]

[27] On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

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THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in barrio—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18–20 (17–20 for *barrio* III)	29	16	63	88	193
21–40	24	13	55	35	127
41–50	17	15	62	52	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	12	26	15	60
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
Unmarried	2	6	2	0	11
[212] Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	73	47	124	63	307
[463] Laborer	6	5	119	133	265
Merchant (traders and store-keepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker	.....	2	.....	1	3
Mason	1	.....	3	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2	.....	.....	3
Musician	1	1	2	.....	4
Maestro	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Shoemaker	.....	1	6	1	8
Tilemaker	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 Additional incomplete but interesting data
217 on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 84).

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162 the municipal records, which probably are rela-
217 tively complete and moderately accurate. The data have been worked up into tables 11 and 12 by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, one of the collaborators in the study.

TABLE 11.—*Births in Chevín, 1936-39*[1]

Year and month of birth	Total births	Boys	Girls	Percentage of boys	Percentage of girls
1936					
January	9	6	3	1.7	0.9
February	16	7	9	2.0	2.5
March	9	4	5	1.1	1.4
April	10	6	4	1.7	1.1
May	8	5	3	.9	.8
June	15	11	4	3.2	1.1
July	23	11	12	3.2	3.4
August	21	12	9	3.4	2.5
September	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
October	9	2	7	.6	2.0
November	11	7	4	2.0	1.1
December	6	3	3	.9	.8
1937					
January	2	2	1	.6	.3
February					
March	16	6	10	1.7	2.8
April	12	7	5	2.0	1.4
May	9	4	5	1.1	1.4
June	20	13	6	3.7	1.7
July	18	9	9	2.6	2.6
August	13	6	7	1.7	2.0
September	10	4	6	1.1	1.7
October	10	4	6	1.1	1.7
November	13	7	6	2.0	1.7
December	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
1938					
January	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
February	11	4	7	1.1	2.0
March	6	3	3	.9	.9
April	21	14	7	4.0	2.0
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.4
June	3	2	1	.6	.3
July	11	5	6	1.4	1.7
August	10	7	3	2.0	.9
September	10	4	6	1.1	1.7
October	12	5	7	1.4	2.0
November	12	7	5	2.0	1.4
December	18	7	11	2.0	3.2
1939					
January	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
February	10	5	5	1.4	1.4
March	10	4	6	1.1	1.7
April	16	11	5	3.2	1.4
May	16	10	6	2.9	1.7
June	16	11	5	3.2	1.4
July	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
August	16	11	5	3.2	1.4
September	10	4	6	1.1	1.7
October	10	4	6	1.1	1.7
November	17	7	10	2.0	2.9
December	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
Total	469	247	222	100.0	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

163 Birth records are probably correct for all live
[69] births. There is some possibility that many stillbirths were not reported either in the birth statistics or the death statistics. Although a fine is levied against persons known to have buried a still-born child without registering the fact in the *municipio*, the fine is nominal, and municipal authorities believe that probably the majority of stillbirths are not reported.

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163 For the years 1936–39, inclusive, there were 690 registered births in Cherán. The sex ratio was very nearly 1:1, with 347 male births and 343 female births. The distribution is shown in table 11. It is of interest that great excess of female births occurred in 1936, reaching a peak in June of that year, while a considerable excess of male births occurred in 1939, also reaching a peak in June.

TABLE 12.—*Marriages in Cherán, 1937–39*[1]

585
582

Age of married person	Married men		Married women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
13			3	2.0
14	1	0.7	23	15.4
15	2	1.3	49	32.9
16	12	8.1	26	17.4
17	8	5.4	9	6.0
18	32	21.5	6	4.0
19	12	8.1	2	1.3
20	15	10.1	3	2.0
21	5	3.4		
22	10	6.7		
23	5	3.4	2	1.3
24			2	1.3
25	9	6.0	5	3.4
26	5	3.4	1	.7
27	1	.7		
28	5	3.4	3	2.0
30	3	2.0	2	1.3
31	1	.7		
32	2	1.3		
35	4	2.7	2	1.3
37	2	1.3	1	.7
38	1	.7		
39			1	.7
40	4	2.7	2	1.3
45	3	2.0	3	2.0
47	1	.7		
48			1	.7
53	1	.7		
55	1	.7	1	.7
60	2	1.3	2	1.3
80	1	.7		
82	1	.7		
Total	149	100.0	149	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

Data on the 149 marriages for 1937, 1938, and 1939 are shown in table 12. The age data are subject to the same probable inaccuracy in age estimates as is the case with the data on adult men. However, inasmuch as many Cherán residents are today sensitive about the early age of marriages and it is known that the ages given for young persons about to be married are often exaggerated, the data underscore the early age of marriage. In round numbers, 2 percent of girls married were only 13, 15 percent were 14, 32 percent were 15, 17 percent were 16, and 6 percent were 17. Only 2 percent of girls married were aged 20. It is significant that no marriages were recorded for girls aged 21 or 22. In all probability all, or nearly all, marriages recorded after this age were remarriages.

582 The earliest age recorded for married males
585 is 14, this age group comprising 0.7 percent of the total male marriages. However, there is reason to believe that the age of males is falsified at marriage more than that of females. Most marriages, according to the statistics, take place at 16 or after; 8 percent of males marry at the age of 16. Five percent were married at 17, 21 percent at 18, 8 percent at 19, and 10 percent at 20. None were married at age 24, but 6 percent were married at 25. Some marriages listed at this age are probably remarriages, and certainly few first marriages take place after 25. The emphasis placed upon marriage as a normal state is indicated by the considerable age of some persons married. Two women and two men are shown as married at 60, while one man is shown as married at 80 and another at 82.

No particular season of marriage preference is evident if marriage frequencies are analyzed by months, despite assertions that most marriages take place in the winter after harvest. Evidently marriages take place when people have resources, regardless of the time of year. The fluctuations from year to year probably could be accounted for in terms of variable economic conditions. It must be remembered that the month of marriage reported is the time of the civil registry and church wedding. Probably the majority of marriages are consummated before these events.

In addition to the statistical data, even earlier marriages are believed to take place. One girl, whose age was alleged by several people independently to be only 15, had four children. Gossip told of another case of a girl of 10 years who was "half married," that is, the groom's parents did not yet permit him to sleep with his wife. But at the age of 14 the girl was said to have had two children. Before the Tarascans are censured for the practice of such early marriages, it should be born in mind that Bishop Quiroga, who had so much influence on the Tarascans, in his ordinances authorized the marriage of boys over 14 and girls over 12 (Arriaga, 1938).

Data on family composition and fertility
163 were obtained by interviews with 53 families
842 where the wife was 47 years of age or older and had not borne children recently (table 13).

[text continues on p. 97b]

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842
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TABLE 13.—*Fertility of Cherán women*[1]

Number of births per woman	Number of women	Living children per woman	Number of women	Deceased children per woman	Number of women	Male births per woman	Number of women	Female births per woman	Number of women	Male children living per woman	Number of women	Female children living	Number of women
1	1	0	2	0	4	1	9	1	13	1	17	1	18
2	4	1	15	1	14	2	20	2	1	2	15	2	15
3	6	2	7	2	12	3	10	3	17	3	6	3	9
4	9	3	16	3	9	4	6	4	8	4	1	4	1
5	10	4	8	4	8	5	6	5	2	5	1	5	0
6	10	5	8	5	3	6	1	6	1				
7	4	6	0	6	3	7	4	7	0				
8	3	7	1	7	2	8	0	8	0				
9	4			8	1								
10	0												
11	1												
(Average) 5.2 per woman		(Average) 2.7 per woman											

[1] Based on interviews with 81 women past child-bearing age. In the data on male and female births, the sex of 2 children was not remembered.

TABLE 14.—*Deaths by age groups in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Age in years	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Under 1 year	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1		1	2	0	1	3	4	1	1		2	2	4	8	10	
1—9		1	1		1	2	1	1		2	2	1	1	8	8	1			8	8	9	8	10	
10—19		1		1	1																	2	2	
20—29		1		2	4	1	2			2				1	1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1
30—39				1	2	1		1	1	1	1	1	5		2		2		3			2	1	5
40—49							1		1	1	1	1	1		1				3	3		1		
50—59																			1	1		1		
60—69																			1			1		
70—79	1	1	1	2				1			2	1	1		1	1			1			4	1	1
80—89																						2		
90 +			1			1											1	1	1			2		
Total	3	6	6	8	8	7	5	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	3	2	17	12	18	20	26

Age in years	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Totals 1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Under 1 year	1	6	4		1	2	3		5	4		3	1	6		1	3	3	3		8	40	33	12	93
1—9	2	2	8										1	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	15	56	18	18	107
10—19				1	1			1	1	2	1	1									3	6	4	1	15
20—29	1	1		1					2		1										30	7	8	2	47
30—39				1	2	1	2	1	1	1	3		2								13	14	9	2	38
40—49	5			2			1	1					1							1	8	9	9	3	29
50—59																					3	9	9	3	18
60—69				1					2	1	1										0	4	9	4	18
70—79		1	1	1	1		3		1	1			1		1		2				7	9	10	4	30
80—89					3										1	1			1	1	2	4	3	4	13
90 +							2	2												1	0	6	6	2	14
Total	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	3	9	5	90	147	105	53	395

TABLE 15.—*Deaths according to sex in 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Sex	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Male	1	3	4	4	3	3	4	2	2	3	2	3	5	4	6	5	1	3	1	7	5	8	12	12
Female	2	3	2	4	5	4	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	7	6	2	0	0	1	10	7	8	17	14
Total	3	6	6	8	8	7	5	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	3	2	17	12	16	29	26

Sex	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Totals 1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Male	5	3	6	8	7	1	6	7	8	2	4	5	1	4	5	1	3	3	3	3	33	99	56	23	151
Female	5	2	5	7	2	1	2	2	2	9	1	2	2	6	1	3	2	0	6	2	57	48	47	30	182
Total	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	9	3	10	6	4	5	3	9	5	90	147	105	53	395

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TABLE 16.—*Causes of death in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*

Cause of death	1936												1938												1939												1940												Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Palmonía (pneumonia)	1		2	1	1	1	1		1		1	2	1	3	2	2		1	1	1		1	2					2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1			1	2	1	1	1		11	14	11	6	42
Difteria (diphtheria)	1																																											1	0	0	0	1
Decrepitud (senility)	1		2			1			1			1				1			1				2			1	1					2		1			1					1	1	6	4	6	2	18
Fiebre (fever)		2		1	1	1				1	2	1		1						1				1	1		1		1									2					3		9	3	8	2	22
Tos ferina (whooping cough)		1												1	4	3		1		6	7	11	10	16	2	1	2	1																1	50	7		57
Bilis (bile)				1		2			1			1		3	1			1		1		2	2	1	2	1	2	2		2		2	3	2					2	2	1	3	3	2	8	11	15	12	47
Herida (wounds)				1		1							4					1		6	1				1								1	1		1									2	12	4	0	18
Disinteria (dysentery)		1		1	1		2	1			1		2	1			1			1				2						1	4	1		1	3	1		1	1	1		2	3	7	7	10	9	33
Paludismo (malaria)		2	1	1																																								4	0	0	0	4
Bronquitis (bronchitis)			1		1	1																	2		1		1														2			3	2	2	5	12
Viruela (smallpox)																					3	2	6	4	1	1	2										1							0	15	4	1	20
Parto (childbirth)					1									1	1					1					1			1									1								1	3	2	1	7
Accidental (accidents)																							1					1	2										1							1	4	1	6
Gripa								1		1																		4	2												1				2	0	6	1	9
Congestión alcohólico (alcoholism)					1																1		2				1				1			1									1	2	3	3	1	8
Tifo (typhus)					1																																							1		0	1	2
Reumatismo (rheumatism)					1																							1																1		1	1	3
Cardíaco (heart trouble)										1																1						1		3		2	1	2		1	1			1		8	4	13
Cólico (colic)												1	1																					1		1								1	1	2		4
Envenenado (poisoning)							1																																					1				1
Estrañimiento (intestinal obstruction)										1																																		1				1
Apoplejía (apoplexy)							1																																					1				1
Enfermedad (disease)													1																																1			1
Dolor (pain)														1																															1			1
Arma de fuego (shooting)															2																														3			3
Erisipela (erysipelas)															1			1															1											2	1			3
Desconocido (unknown)																1																												1				1
Tumor (tumor)																							1									1												1	1			2
Quemadura (burns)																							1		1																			1	1			2
Tuberculosis (tuberculosis)																								1																				1				1
Aborto (abortion)																								1							1													1	1			2
Neumonía fulminante (fulminating pneumonia)																												2																	2			2
Cáncer (cancer)																												1																	1			1
Vómito (vomiting)																															1														1			1
Hinchazón (swelling)																																	1												1			1
Alferecía (epilepsy)																																	1												1			1
Ahorcado (hanging)																																	1												1			1
Diarrea (diarrhea)																																											1					1
Deposición (colitis etc.)																																									1						1	1
Sarampión (measles)																																					1										1	1
Purgación (gonorrhea)																																					1										1	1

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TABLE 17.—*Death causes by summation groups of causes in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*

MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Cause of death	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
1. Accidents, injury, firearms				1	9	1	2						4		3			1		6	1	1	4		2	1		1	2				1	1	1	1			1		1	1	3			4	20	10	1	35
2. Pulmonary diseases	2		3	1	2	2	1		1		1	2	1	3	2	2		1	1	1			2	3	1		1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1			4	2	1	1	3			15	16	13	11	55
3. Intestinal diseases		1		1	1	1	1					1	1										1					1			2	5	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	1		2	4	6	2	15	12	35
a. Bills				1		2						1		3	1			1		1		2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2		2		2	3	2				2	2	1	3	3	2	4	11	18	13	46
4. Fevers		4	1	2	3		1	2		3	3	1	2	2			1			2	1		2	1	1		2	7	2	1	1		2	1						1		3		20	11	17	4	52
5. Heart										1																1			1				3		2		2			1	1		1	1	0	7	5	13
6. Whooping cough		1							1					1	4	3				6	7	11	10	16	2		3	1																2	58	6	0	66
7. Infectious disease					1								1	1	1	1		2			3	2	6	4	1	1	2						3	1				2				1		1	21	8	3	33
8. Unknown														1																														0	1	0	0	1
9. Old age	1		2			1			1			1			1					1			2				1	1				2		1				1					1	6	4	8	3	18
10. Childbirth					1										1					1				1	1			1			1						1								1	3	3	1	8
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	2	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	8	60	147	103	53	363

163 The data again are not entirely reliable because
842 of a tendency not to count deceased children until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938,
165 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

The table of deaths by causes (table 16)
165 should be considered primarily of interest in
753 showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities.
[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[858] [28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

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[p.96a]

165 Possibly (although not necessarily) of more
753 significance is the summary in table 17. This summation was prepared in the belief that the general class of cause was perhaps more accurately known; in other words, diphtheria as a cause of death very likely is an incorrect diagnosis, but very possibly a pulmonary disease was involved. Particular attention is called to category 3a, *bilis*. It is not at all certain that an intestinal disease is involved. *Bilis* is the catch-all of Cherán medicine. Whenever one is "under the weather," he is apt to say he has *bilis*, and very possibly the concept is a receptacle for whatever beliefs of supernatural disease causation still exist in Cherán. The problem will be elaborated on in the discussion of disease and curing.

Knowledge of emigration is necessary to
167 understand the Cherán population situation. Virtually all the emigration has been to the United States; relatively few persons appear to have emigrated either to other parts of Mexico or to other Tarascan towns. Impressionistically, it would appear that a very considerable portion of the Cherán population has been in the United States. Probably very few families either have not been in the United States or do not have some fairly close relative who is or has been in this country. Too small a sample was taken for statistical data on this point to be valid, but of 28 males interviewed specifically with reference to emigration, 25 had been in the United States. Discussion of the motivations, character, and personal significance of this migration will be given later.

Although many Cherán residents have emigrated, few persons have immigrated. A tanner from Aranza and a butcher from Chilchota, two tilemakers, two school teachers, the secretary, and the tax collector are the only persons known to have settled in the town in recent years. Of these, only the first two regard themselves as permanent residents. Most outsiders are treated as citizens, and there is no bar to purchase of land by outsiders. However, if land is for sale, owners are expected to offer it first to local residents.

If the Cherán population continues to increase to the point that land becomes scarce, it will be interesting to observe whether an emigration pattern again develops. The present

167 war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

565 Class or caste stratification is almost unknown in Cherán. There still remains much
556 of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. There is much talk of rich and poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informent put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by
[555] their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

565 The most influential group at present in Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

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[p.99a]

565 and speak better." As a matter of fact, the leader of this group is relatively poor.

The informant who was most class-conscious admitted in casual conversation that the divisions existing in the town were essentially the result of individual likes and dislikes and personal ambitions. In this unguarded conversation, he admitted that class and ideological differences were of very little importance.

To the outside observer, however, the situation is not so simple. Even though class distinctions are of little significance, nevertheless persons with little or no land who work as laborers or sharecroppers receive much less respect in conversation. It must be admitted, however, that so far as our information and observations went, they are never disparaged to their face. In addition, there are two men who seem to be pariahs to whom no one pays attention. They work as professional water carriers and porters for the most part and seem very poverty-stricken, sometimes begging at

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565 houses for food. Little could be learned about
554 them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

565 The nearest approach to class groupings is
571 that persons seem to associate mostly with indi-
185 duals who are their own age mates and of the same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[text continues on p. 100a]

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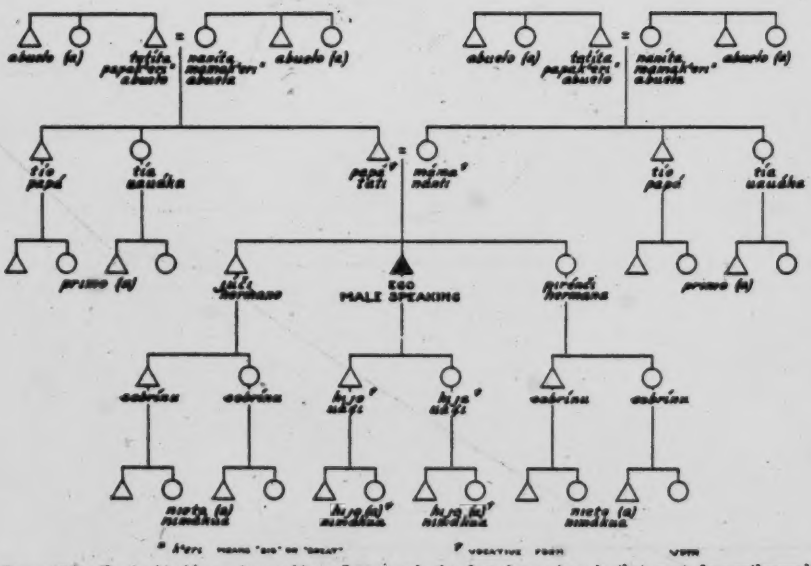

FIGURE 12.—Cherán kinship, male speaking. In general, the first form given is that most frequently used except where the form is vocative.

[p. 99c]

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565 once he understood the words, in classifying
571 the people he knew in these categories. The
185 second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The [184] few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (‡). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).

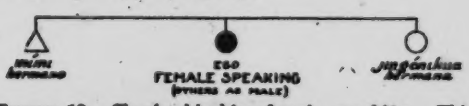

FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[29] is extended to the brothers and

[29] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

601 sisters of grandparents, but the other grandparent terms appear to be confined to the actual grandparents. Of some interest in the descending generation is the fact that ego's own grandchildren are called by the same terms as ego's children in Spanish discourse, while the children of nephews and nieces are called by the Spanish grandchild terms. In Tarascan discourse, however, ego's grandchildren and the grandchildren of ego's brothers and sisters are all called by the same term regardless of sex.

In the affinal terms, survival of a Tarascan term for sister-in-law (woman speaking) may be noted. Puzzling (and possibly incorrect) is the reappearance of the term for brother (man speaking) in the term for daughter-in-law. The parents of a child's spouse are referred to as *compadre* and *comadre;* in this connection it should be observed that they actually become *compadres* and *comadres* as a part of the wedding ceremony, along with most of the other close relatives of the spouse. The terms *páli* and *máli* applied to brothers and sisters of a child's spouse are simply terms of respect or appreciation which may be applied to one's own children or to a completely unrelated person.

Two terms not appearing in the charts should be mentioned. Tarámba refers to the daughter-in-law of a third person, that is, of neither the person speaking nor the person addressed. Similarly tarámpiri refers to father-in-law of a third person. In Spanish discourse, first cousins (children of parents' brothers and sisters) are sometimes referred to as primo(a) hermano(a).

In addressing or speaking of any person be-
601 yond the range of the charts, usually the terms
602 tio(a) and primo(a) would be used, depending upon age. All persons with whom kinship obligations are recognized would be so called, even though neither person could remember the degree of relationship or trace the connection. In general, an individual regards the cousins of his uncles and aunts as pretty remote relatives, although he will call them tio(a) and their children primo(a) and usually will be able to trace the relationship. It would be unlikely for the children of such distantly related cousins to maintain the kinship address, even though of the same family name. How-

[text continues on page 101 b].

[p.101a]

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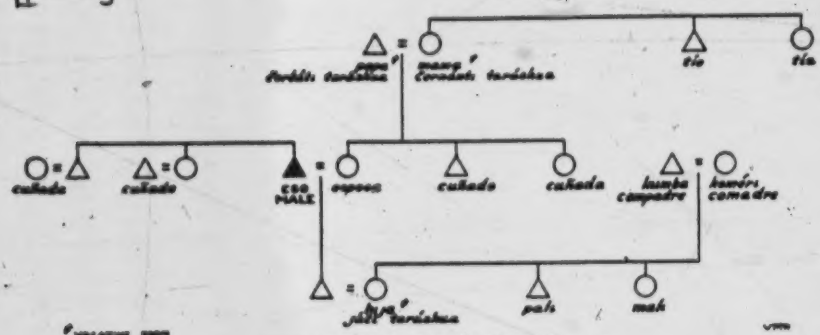

FIGURE 14.—Affinal relatives, male speaking.

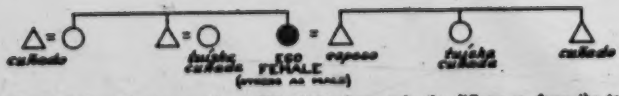

FIGURE 15.—Affinal relatives, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all affinal relatives not shown, the female uses the male terms.

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Sierra Tarascans

[p.101b]

601 ever, should the parents happen to have been
close friends, they might continue to call each
602 other primo(a) and continue to observe the
appropriate behavior.

The major kinship obligation is to attend at certain functions and to assist with labor under certain circumstances. All close relatives must be greeted by relationship terms when encountered on the street or in the house, but this greeting may not be given to persons who still have reciprocal obligations such as distant cousins.

Parent-child behavior.—Parents are expected
593 to look after the material needs of children, provide the necessary education, seek the proper godparents for them, and aid them to have a proper wedding. Children are expected to be respectful and to aid parents in their old age. If they do not conform to expectations, they may be disinherited.

Behavior of siblings.—The ideal pattern of Cherán evidently expects siblings to be close friends and to help one another. To a certain degree this behavior exists. Only for brother or sister would a man give monetary aid or give free labor at any other time than a house moving. Nevertheless, numerous cases were

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[p. 101c]

593 encountered of bitter quarrels between siblings, usually over inherited property or property transactions. In some cases this extended to refusal to assist in traditional ways in which the aid even of remote relatives is expected.

Avuncular-nepotic relationships.—Data on 604 behaviors in this category are inadequately documented. Evidently boys often have close relationships with their uncles. This relationship is evidenced most clearly in the fact that a boy often tells an uncle when he has "stolen" a girl and may take his fiance to live in his uncle's house, while the uncle first breaks the news to the boy's father. In general, boys seem to turn to their uncles in crisis rather than to their fathers. There likewise seem close relations between girls and their aunts and uncles. Cases are known where a niece rather than a child has cared for old people (and in some cases inherited the property). Comfortably situated families with few children may care for a niece from a poor family with many children, feeding the child well and often buying new clothing. In return, the child will help, running errands and doing housework. In at least one case, the niece really took the initiative. Invited to spend the day,

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[p.102a]

604 she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

General behaviors.—All more distant rela-
602 tives are expected to take part in any "labor."
476 This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for
[554] prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obliga-
574 tions are apparent is when a family returns to
602 the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

608 Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

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608 may be entered into in some cases without children being involved. In many parts of Mexico, both Indian and Mestizo, the *compadrazgo* is an extremely important aspect of social relationships and it has taken on many special localized forms. As yet, the only adequate study of the institution is that made by Spicer for the Arizona Yaqui.[30]

The following account of the *compadrazgo* was written by one of the Tarascan assistants, Pedro Chávez. Additions to the original Chávez manuscript are in parentheses.

The *compadrazgo* is very common among the Tarascans and is highly respected. All *compadres* and *comadres*, when they meet on the street, must salute [576] each other with the phrase "*Buenos dias compadre*" (good-day) or "*Buenos dias comadre*," or its equivalent in Tarascan "nájeranku kumbáo (or koméri)." This obligation is especially strong between *comadres* or *compadres de pila*, as are called the *compadres* of baptism of a child. In this case it is obligatory to shake hands in sign of a certain mutual respect the two maintain. (These obligations endure for life, even though the child may have died long since.)

Classes of *compadres:* Among the *compadres* exist the following classes:

1. *Compadres* of baptism.
2. *Compadres* of confirmation.
3. *Compadres* of the crown (*corona*) or circumcision.
4. *Compadres* of marriage.

The degree of mutual respect and appreciation between *compadres* is approximately in the order in which they are given. (It should be noted that there are really two classes of *compadres* of marriage. There are the godparents of the bride and groom, usually a married couple, and the relatives of the bride and groom who become *compadres* as described below.)

Duties: The main duties are those of *compadres* of 608 baptism. Immediately after the act of baptism (in 851 which the infant is carried to church and the small fee paid by the godparents), they say to each other "*comadre*" or "*compadre*" or "koméri" and "kumbá," which are the same as the Spanish. This is the first duty and the first occasion it is said. From this arises the duty to care for the godchild, for example, to treat it as nearly like a son as one's resources permit. The godparents have the duty of giving the godchild some kind of clothing, such as a hat, shirt, or trousers, whenever they can afford to do so. This can be done as often as the godfather wishes. The father of the boy or girl has the duty of educating the child, telling him that he has the obligation to speak to the godparents with the words "pagrinitu" or "magrinitu." (If the godchild dies before the age of 10, the godfather must provide the burial clothing.)

[30] Spicer, 1940, p. 31 ff.

608 The *compadres* both have the duty of visiting one another when one of them is sick or has encountered some difficulty and, if it is possible, help him in some form. When one of the *compadres* has a duty (that is, a wedding, funeral, *mayordomía*, house roofing, house moving, or fiesta duty), it is the duty of the other to accompany him as many days as may be necessary. (The same mutual obligation exists between godparents and godchildren.)

When a godson kidnaps a girl with intention of marrying her, it is the duty of the father of the youth, before all else, to go to the house of the godfather of the youth, that is his (the father's) *compadre* and give him the news so that they may present themselves together in the house of the bride. This is a duty of the godfather. This duty (the father) has toward the three godfathers, of baptism, confirmation, and crown.

The duties of the marriage *compadres* are limited solely to accompanying each other when one has some obligation (such as wedding, *mayordomía*, etc.), the moving or termination of a house, and the duty of saluting each other with the name of "*compadre*."

Method of selecting *compadres*. In selecting the *compadres* some of the following characteristics are taken into consideration:

1. When a family wishes to have *compadres*, in general if it is rich it endeavors to find *compadres* in the same category.

2. If the family is poor, it tries to have a *compadre* in its same category, as it has been seen that sometimes when a poor person seeks a rich man as *compadre*, the latter accepts but afterwards he is ashamed to say "*compadre*" to the other who is somewhat poor. For this reason the latter (rich *compadres*) are not common.

3. Many times they (the parents) try to find a *compadre* who knows how to read. They say this is
[212] with the object that the infant will also be intelligent and know how to read. This is a belief among many, but it is not universal.

4. On other occasions efforts are made to find a *compadre* who is distinguished as a valiant person, in the sense of having bravery or, better, to be bold to fight when occasion offers—this, in general, indicates what among us is meant when a person is called "valiant"—with the object that the child will grow up and may be equally valiant as his godfather.

5. There are also cases in which a godfather is selected because he has done a favor on some past occasion or because of hope to receive some favor in the future. In general, this is the method of selecting a godfather. All usually try to find their *compadre* in an equal (social) category with these exceptions already noted.

608 The marriage *compadres:* In order to recognize one another as *compadres* of marriage, it is necessary to
585 perform a certain act or ceremony in the moments when the last act of the marriage is about to terminate. This act takes place in the house or the kitchen (usually the latter) of the bridegroom. Present are the t'árepiti diosv uandari (marriage manager), the parents

608 of the bride and groom together with all their brothers,
585 sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the
[516] bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre.*" One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari ka auándaʌu anápueskari ka uéke diósʌ éskakʌ no méni ambé arijperoka. Na čúskuskiá kumba." Meantime the t'ʌrépiti is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

608 To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished,
[782] she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.[21]

In some parts of Mexico—for example,
[171] among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

[21] In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Charán.

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[p.104a]

608 parents and *compadres* are taken seriously in Cherán, it is obvious from the description given above that the *compadrazgo* obligations are nearly as important as those of kinship, if not more so. Scarcely a person in Cherán does not have at least 10 or 15 *compadres*. Most people have 20 or 25 or more. Don Luís Velasquez, the oldest of the marriage arrangers, who also says prayers at funerals, stated that he had more than 100 *compadres* of baptism alone. When it is considered that usually one acquires most of his *compadres* through weddings, the total number possessed by Don Luís must be enormous. He declined even to make a guess at the number of *compadres* he had of all classes. The obligations of *compadres* of baptism are as great or greater than those of relatives, with the exception of the immediate family (parent–child and possibly sibling obligations), while those of other classes are at least equal to those of cousins.

Some use of the *compadrazgo* is made by the church on special occasions. When a new image is blessed in church, for example, people are invited to become godparents of the image. They kneel behind the image when the priest blesses it. For this they are expected to pay from 1 to 5 pesos. In such cases the participants do not call each other *compadres*, nor do they have any relationship with the owner of the image in case it is a household saint.

GOVERNMENT

632 The governmental system of Cherán on the surface and in its organization is not obviously different from that of any other Michoacán *municipio*. In its functioning, however, it possesses many unconventional features. Even elections, ostentatiously conducted according to legal forms, may actually be conducted very differently beneath the surface.

The major governmental agency is the *ayuntamiento* of five persons and five alternates or *suplentes*. These serve a term of 2 years and are alternated in office, two being elected one year and three the next. Elections are made by *barrio*. Formerly Cheranástico elected one of the five; since this *tenencia* has become associated with Paracho, I could not discover what device was used to elect the fifth member. Whether the situation is still not resolved or whether there was a purposeful vagueness about

632 procedures I could not discover. One of the members of the *ayuntamiento* automatically serves as mayor, the office rotating from one *barrio* to another each year.

In addition to the *ayuntamiento*, there are a secretary and a treasurer, both chosen by the *ayuntamiento;* a *síndico*, who is one of the members of the *ayuntamiento;* an elected judge and *suplente* and a secretary of the court.

Certain other duties are performed by [624] *comisionados*, that is, persons commissioned by the *ayuntamiento* or by the mayor. These include the 4 *barrio* chiefs and the 45 block chiefs. *Comisionados* may also be named for special duties in connection with fiestas or public works.

In addition to the above officials, there are other groups with special duties. The representative of the people, *representante del pueblo*, and two assistants are named by the town. The representative is confirmed in office by the Governor of the State and stays in office until deposed. His main duties are looking after the public lands. Finally, there is the *reserva*, headed by the *jefe de defensa*. The [625] *reserva* is a group of armed men, 11 in number, authorized by the State military authorities, [662] and, at the time of the study, headed by the real political boss of the town.

The nature of these offices will now be described in more detail.

Ayuntamiento.—Five *proprietarios* and five *suplentes* make up the group, serving 2 years. Those from odd-numbered *barrios* are elected one year, those from even-numbered *barrios* the next year. Cheranástico was classed as an odd-numbered *barrio;* what is done now is not clear. One of the members of the group serves as mayor, the other as *síndico*. The remaining members participate in policy decisions and in the naming of certain officials. Otherwise they have few duties. The *suplentes* apparently sometimes participate in discussion, but they have no real function except in case of the death or absence of their *proprietario*. Members of the *ayuntamiento* receive no pay. Normally they meet once a week to discuss municipal affairs.

Mayor or Presidente Municipal.—In years the odd-numbered *barrios* elect, if the mayor is to come from *barrio* I, the *síndico* comes from

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[p.105a]

632 *barrio* III. Cheranástico, when classed as *barrio* V, apparently never filled either office. Similarly, if the even-numbered *barrios* elect, the mayor will be from *barrio* II, the *síndico* from *barrio* IV. The following 2-year period the situation will be reversed. Although the mayor is elected for 2 years to the *ayuntamiento*, he serves only 1 year as mayor. The second year he is merely an ordinary *munícipe* or *regidor*, that is, an ordinary member of the *ayuntamiento*.

The mayor has the most important duties in the government, for upon his ability and initiative depends most of the success of an administration. It is he who initiates most activities, the *síndico* who carries them out. Not only does the mayor preside at town meetings or *juntas* and meetings of the *ayuntamiento*, but he settles minor disputes and levies fines of less than 1 peso, orders temporary imprisonment, supervises and orders most municipal expenditures, appoints most of the *comisionados*, and sees that public works are initiated. The mayor alone of all the officials must be present daily in the *municipio*. If not present, he must have his *suplente* present. (In 1940, the mayor rarely was in the *municipio*, leaving administration to the *suplente*. If anything of crucial importance arose, however, the mayor would be called in.)

632 As a minor judicial official, the mayor settles
693 many small cases involving thefts, drunkenness, minor assault, rape, debt, or fraud. In some cases, brief jail sentences are imposed; in others, fines are assessed, all fines below a peso going into the pocket of the mayor as his only salary. The mayor also gives orders about minor improvements, such as cleaning the plaza or painting the benches. In case expenditures are involved, he may advance money out of his pocket for supplies or labor, later getting a receipt which he presents to the treasurer for payment.

Síndico.—The *síndico* supervises most public
632 works and may initiate minor work. He is in charge of streets and the repair or reconstruction of bridges, and sees that many undertakings ordered by the mayor are carried out. With the help of a *veedor*, he oversees community affairs, such as the adequacy of the water supply and clandestine illegal activities.

632 He is in charge of the slaughterhouse; the collection of proper taxes and prevention of "black market" slaughtering are his responsibility. He supervises all questions of inheritance and the properties connected therewith, seeing that the heirs receive their due share of property. In cases of quarrels over inheritance, wounds [693] inflicted with knives or pistols, and murders, the *síndico* makes the initial investigations and prepares the papers for submission of the cases to the judge. The *síndico* receives no pay.

Secretary.—The secretary is named by the 632 mayor with the approval of the *ayuntamiento* 217 without a fixed term being set. His duties are to make all classes of documents and to maintain the municipal archives. These include the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. The secretary is paid $1.50 a day. He may augment this sum by preparing private documents for a fee. The office is fairly new; in the childhood of fairly young men there was no secretary. The present incumbent is not a native of the town.

632 *Veedor.*—The veedor is named by the *síndico* with the approval of the mayor. He is supposed to see that the water supply is functioning properly and to report any illegal acts. Apparently he receives no pay.

Treasurer.—The treasurer receives all the 632 town funds from various sources, including 651 fines above 1 peso, taxes, assessments, and funds from State and Federal sources. He is responsible for the collection of the small tax on vendors at the markets. He pays all bills of the *municipio* and must keep detailed accounts which are inspected by State officials. The office of treasurer is also new. His pay is 25 percent of the income. There is no term to his office.

Judge.—The judge and his *suplente* are 693 usually elected every 2 years but if the office is 632 satisfactorily filled, the election may not be held for 3 or 4 years. The judge hears all cases certified to him by the *síndico*. He may order brief imprisonment or fines, which are paid to the treasurer, but all serious cases are referred to the district court at Uruapan after a preliminary hearing. This is particularly true of murder cases or serious crimes. The judge reviews all cases of inheritance in which quarrels arise, and all land sales must be authorized

632 before the judge. In such cases he may dis-
693 cover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was
[685] sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10
[691] percent of the value, and all costs of the litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid $1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

625 *Police.*—Two (later three) men were em-
632 ployed as police in 1940-41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and
632 classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most impor-
624 tant are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

632 The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The
625 town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to
[431] those who do serve. There is no obligation, nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

632 *Comisionados* may also be named if funds are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

796 There are many *comisionados* in connection with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro
[535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

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632 represented in the fiesta. Each major traditional occupation is required to hire a band, and
796 the *comisionados* must raise the money by taking up a collection or by paying out of their own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados* is named to take up another collection to hire music for the celebration of the Octava. Voluntary service is also given by the bee hunters. The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often put in many days of labor.

One final type of *comisionado* should be men-
632 tioned, the men named to do communal labor.
651 Probably every eligible man has to put in 2 or 3 days a year on such work. This may be for work assigned to a *barrio*, or it may be some community-wide program such as cutting poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or nights of service a year to the community, if it be taken into account that about half the adult males are exempt for reason of age or service such as office holding, school teaching, store keeping, etc. However, the work is probably very unevenly distributed, for there is no systematic method of assignment. A person who raises many objections or who is not in proper economic condition may evade many commissions. For example, no right-minded mayor would commission a poverty-stricken man to bring out a moro. Consequently, persons who are conscientious and do not complain are apt to receive many more commissions than others.

Reserva.—The *reserva* consists of 11 men
632 armed by the Government (State or Federal?)
625 with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained by the real political boss of the town, Moisés Valencia. Although all were agreed that the 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed to have any idea of the mechanism of choice. In all probability the group was chosen in the same way Valencia was chosen political boss, through aggressiveness in defense of town interests and personal popularity. Even a town the size of Cherán does not need formal elective machinery at times in order to express popular will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections. During the disturbed period in Michoacán during the installation of President Camacho, the reserve received instructions from the military

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632 district commander to arrest all strangers and
625 send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The represent-
632 ative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

632 The collection of funds for use of the forest
651 lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood
632 for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without secur-
313 ing a permit from the forestry service. (As indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to
[474] concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representante* is rea-
632 sonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

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632 forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter.

Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

It was evidently felt that the *representante*
632 would be involved in boundary disputes if they
578 affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *tenencia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

632 In addition to the function of the *barrio* or
621 *cuartel* as an administrative device as described above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

632 The major duty performed by the *barrio* is
621 the maintenance of the water system. Each
312 *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

[767] Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government.
653 Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*, but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

377 This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
632 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
653 tending a power line to the town and supplying
621 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

991 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

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632 officials could have had no basis for selection.
666 Actually, the *suplente* in *barrio* II was one of
662 the reactionary members of the community, leader of the ačes. He was chosen solely to stop his constant criticism of the administration.

The election was held on December 1, 1940. In theory, the first Sunday of December is the usual day. A commission, named by the mayor 15 days before, conducted the elections. Two ballot boxes were placed at opposite ends of the *corredor* in front of the *municipio*, one for each *barrio*. Only 45 votes were cast in *barrio* II and only 25 in *barrio* IV. The result of the election was to select the official PRM ticket in *barrio* II and the "opposition" ticket in *barrio* IV.

The procedure resulted in the mayor for the succeeding year, the successful candidate for *barrio* II, being elected by the majority of the 45 votes cast in that *barrio*. The mayor-elect promptly got very drunk and paraded from saloon to saloon for 2 or 3 days, shouting, "*Yo y Avila Camacho*—I and Avila Camacho." (Camacho was about to be installed as President of the Republic.) Murmurs of protest about the new mayor began to be heard on every side, becoming louder and louder. By the end of the month rumors of violence at the installation of the new *ayuntamiento* on January 1 were heard on every side. Loudest to complain were those who had attended neither the nominating *junta* nor the elections.

On January 1 very few people attended the installation of the new officers. The new officials went at the head, the new mayor in the middle, on his right the new *síndico*, and on his left the judge. The mayor carried a *bandera*, a round disk with the national colors in three vertical stripes, while his two companions carried ribbons hanging down from the *bandera*. Behind the new officials came the *reserva*, then a relatively small group of males. At the rear came the band. The procession made a circuit about the plaza and streets of the central part of town. *Cohetes* were fired off as the procession started and at each corner where it changed direction.

On the return to the *municipio*, the new mayor made a speech, received with a scattering of handclaps. The *jefe político*, Moisés Valencia, made another speech, urging cooperation

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632 with the new officials and the betterment of the
666 town. He stressed especially fixing up the
662 plaza and planting trees. His remarks drew more handclaps than did those of the mayor. This concluded a remarkably tame and peaceful affair.

On the surface, all the rumors had come to nothing and an uninformed visitor might have thought the talk had been nothing else. But the mayor who was inducted at this ceremony was not the elected mayor. In fact, he had not even been a candidate. The same was true of the *suplente* for the *síndico*. Obviously, explanation is called for.

Actually, the matter was simple. The talk and complaints had resulted in action. Apparently no one, on sober thought, wanted the elected mayor. So the *ayuntamiento* picked out someone they thought would be satisfactory and installed him as mayor. The choice seemed actually an excellent one. The new mayor was one of the best-educated men in town, a sober, honest, and conscientious man, fairly prosperous but not rich. None of the investigators found any objection or any tendency to question the action. According to the retiring mayor, one man, an *Almazanista* (that is, a follower of Almazán, the defeated presidential candidate) with little following had raised some objections. But the retiring mayor pointed out that the objector had never bothered to come to the nominating *junta* or to vote, although the mayor had personally invited him to do so and had asked him to make a house-to-house visit to all his followers, urging their attendance. Legality was to be maintained, however, and the State authorities received proper election returns certifying the election of the men installed.

Did this represent corruption and the breakdown of democratic methods as would be the interpretation of legalistic minds deeply steeped in the proprieties of parliamentary procedure? None of the staff of the investigation in Cherán felt it was. The persons finally inducted into office were capable men. They seemed highly acceptable to the bulk of the population, whereas the duly elected candidates were not. Rather, it seems that a truly democratic result had been obtained for a people who are unfamiliar with and distrustful of parliamentary procedures.

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632 Persons who are shocked at the procedures
662 at Cherán should seriously contemplate the
666 difficulties in carrying out a formal election
212 with written ballots with a population which is very largely illiterate. In this case economic limitations and lack of imagination prevented carrying out the system used in national elections where the candidates each select a color and separate ballots are printed in the different colors. The voter then asks for his ballot by color and drops it into the ballot box. Not secret, and lending itself to ballot box stuffing, the method is at least an attempt to deal with the problem of an illiterate electorate. In a town such as Cherán the method followed in the election described seems equally efficacious—as long as the officials are responsive to public opinion.

632 That unconventionalities are frequent in elec-
665 tions is further illustrated by the presidential
666 elections earlier in the same year. Many months before the election a group of Almazán followers organized and began an active campaign in the town. The followers of Camacho (the PRM group) remained inactive. At the end of 2 or 3 months a PRM delegation waited on the Almazán followers and pointed out that there had been no interference with their campaign but that nevertheless the bulk of the town favored Camacho. The facts were apparently indisputable, and when the PRM group stressed the fact that further campaigning could only result in creating divisions and dissensions in the town, the Almazán group ceased its campaign. At the election, Cherán cast a unanimous ballot for Camacho.

185 Two things of interest emerge from this
666 account. The first is the power of the argument against disunity in the community. Particularly in the Indian community, unity is prized almost above all else. Sophisticated in some ways as Cherán is, this argument is still one of the most potent that can be made. The second point of interest is the bearing this sequence of events has on interpretation of the national election returns in Mexico. What happened in Cherán probably happened in hundreds of other towns in Mexico and helps partly to explain the one-sided results usually reported in Mexican elections.

665 In relation to external politics, most Cherán
666 inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

Some interest is also awakened by the dis-
484 covery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to
666 ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

Just as the economy of Cherán in general is
632 partly a money economy, the governmental
651 system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle
[422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

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632 fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. In-
651 come from this source averages $5 or $6 weekly.

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

It should be noted that real estate taxes in
[642] Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed $300 a month. At other times it may be as low as $125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about $1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher,
[123] but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

632 Expenditures against income are as follows:
652

	Per month
Two policemen at $0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20
[651] pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

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632 ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the
652 general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The functioning of government in Cherán is
467 often affected by unofficial organizations and
665 informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanas*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise ~~violent~~ disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

The development of this informal organiza-
661 tion grew out of another and earlier organiza-
579 tion that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940–41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

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661 confidential talks, and even then it is doubtful
579 whether all the details were abstracted from unwilling witnesses. The story as learned does not seem to call for all the secrecy involved, and this gives weight to the suspicion that the truth of the underlying factors was not secured and that these factors are more operative today than anyone would admit.

At the height of the agrarian movement in Michoacán, the control of the *municipio* was secured by a group of some 30 men calling themselves "agrarians (*agraristas*)." Everyone seemed agreed that there was no genuine agrarian problem in Cherán and that the members of the group had no desire for land but only for power. Perpetuating themselves in office, members of this group at first were tolerated but gradually became more and more overbearing in their attitude. When people finally began to show signs of discontent, the "agrarians" asked the State authorities for aid on the grounds that the people were rebellious. As a result, a detachment of soldiers was stationed in Cherán under the command of a lieutenant to enforce order and the authority of the municipal officials. The young lieutenant apparently soon saw that his troops were perpetuating an illegal and unpopular group in power and tried to get his superiors to make a real investigation, but with no success. The tyranny of the ruling group now became unbearable.

The climax came when a drunken member of the group began firing his revolver on the main streets and threatening people. One of the soldiers endeavored to arrest the man and was shot and killed. The lieutenant now succeeded in having the situation thoroughly investigated, and as a result the detachment of soldiers was withdrawn. The following day occurred the *zafarrancho*. Some 10 to 12 of the "agrarians" were killed and the rest fled the town. In 1940, they were still living in exile in nearby towns.

664 For a time following this, Cherán was
665 governed by a *presidente militar*, an appointed
467 army officer. Technically, this was true in 1940, but the commander rarely even visited the town and all troops had been removed some time before. The present "progressive" government has effectively been in power since the affair. This is also the group which has

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467 organized the local branch of the CTM, no
665 doubt a factor in securing the withdrawal of
664 the always unpopular military garrison.

The leader of the progressive group is a man
159 who has not held any official office in the town,
665 Moisés Valenzuela, commander of the *reserva*. An orphan as a child, Valenzuela was aided by a woman he calls his aunt. According to Valenzuela's own story, he left Cherán at 16 and tried to go to the United States. Refused admission for some reason, he fell into bad company and became involved in smuggling liquor across the border during prohibition. Eventually the activities of the group extended to narcotics, Valenzuela was caught and held about 18 months in a Texas jail, after which he was deported. He then entered an army school, learned to read and write and received some further education, eventually becoming some sort of officer. Returning to Cherán during the time of the agrarians, he organized and led the resistance to them, and quite informally arrived in the position of being, as one informant put it, "head man" of Cherán. Locally he is regarded as an influential person over an area extending as far as the State capital, Morelia.

So far as evidence could be found, Valenzuela is an honest man, well-liked in the town. He talked several times of the necessity of going away and earning some money. According to his story, he did not mind giving most of his time for the town, but the time had come when he should look after his wife and children better than he was able to do in Cherán. Certainly he did not live in a pretentious house, and his customary clothing was overalls. His dress, of course, could be assumed for political reasons, but when he made trips to Morelia or Uruapan on community or private business, he certainly dressed little better. It is, of course, quite possible that persons with a different view of Valenzuela were afraid to talk freely. He himself deprecated his position and seemed somewhat amused that the townspeople accorded him as much respect as they did. His own story of his arrest and jail sentence in the United States was told with a somewhat rueful and artless good humor. On the many occasions he was seen with others, he always seemed ready to listen to other points of view and to advance his own without any attempt at domina-

665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him
159 as the leader of a bloody riot.

As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

An entirely different type of organization is
474 the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed
[578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still
474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás-
159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically
[195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

The organization of the cooperative would
474 give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest
313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

Two things were said to be holding up the
474 completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

A number of other organizations of a relig-
575 ious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the
578 Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the
668 Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[22]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about
[186] conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
578 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these
626 never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

Another case illustrates the handling of
695 minor offenses. A woman was brought before
685 the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[22] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

695 charge with equal vigor. Finally the acting
mayor ordered that she be locked up, and,
685 despite voluble protests against injustice, the
woman was conveyed forcibly to the jail. The
whole procedure seemed very high-handed, but
when the woman was out of earshot, the acting
mayor turned to me mildly and remarked that
he would not have acted that way on the man's
word alone but there had been two witnesses
and there was no doubt of the woman's guilt.
He was trying to frighten the woman into a
confession and restitution of the blanket, with
which he would be content to dismiss the case.

Several drunks on the morning of October 3
689 created a commotion. Two got into a fight
and were locked up. The rest were not
molested.

On another day, two women were noticed in
the jail. One said the other had thrown a
gourd at her head. The second accused the
first of stealing something from her lot. They
were both thrown in jail to cool off.

A little girl was "horsing around"—to use
627 the phrase of Augustín Rangel—near one of
the street-corner vendors. The woman told
her to go away, but the girl's mother did not
interfere. In the mother's absence the girl
broke some pottery. The two women began to
quarrel and finally went to the mayor's office.
After discussion, the woman with the pottery
was advised to be more careful of her goods
when there were children around.

Three men walked down the street, in various stages of drunkenness. Two began to quarrel and the drunkest of the three picked up a rock and threatened one of the men. The third man interposed himself, talked soothingly, eventually got the rock away from the drunken man, and they continued their walk.

One drunken man kept saying to another "You are rich and can do everything you want and I have nothing." The second man ignored this. After a while the first man said, "I don't care if you are rich, you —— —— ——," and then began commenting on the man's mother. The second man said, "Take back what you said about my mother." The first man said, "Never." Then they began to fight. Nothing was done about this.

681 The cases given above represent conflicts
which resulted in no official punishment. Con-

681 flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

[683] October 9. A man knocked down a child and hurt her head. He was placed in jail overnight.

681 689 October 12. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail (no term indicated).

October 15. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 16. A drunken man broke onto a house. He was placed in jail until the eighteenth.

October 22. A woman was "disobedient" (probably disorderly conduct of some sort). She was placed in jail overnight.

681 [684] [183] November 3. A man raped a young woman, his second offense. He was placed in jail until the 10th. It should be observed that according to Cherán ideas a properly brought up girl whose parents looked after her as they should would never have been in a situation where rape would be possible.

[685] December 3. A man "abused confidence" by trying to register a piece of land as his own which actually belonged to his mother-in-law. He was put in jail overnight.

The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

579 Despite the fact that Cherán has a bad reputation in other towns for violence, there seem to be relatively few serious fights. Drunks often fall to fisticuffs, usually ineffective, but knife fights are rare and the use of firearms is even more unusual. In ordinary times there is probably not more than one killing a year. However, a very serious affair occurred shortly before the close of the study.

At a wedding the new priest appeared after the drinking was well under way. He reproved the people soundly for their excessive drinking and urged them to go home. One of the men, who was already very drunk, took the priest's words to heart and started home. Crossing the bridge to the *barrio* of Parícutin, he was shot from ambush and killed. That night the *ronda* went from house to house asking for certain persons, but up to the time the study closed

579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of
796 four types. Central to the system are those church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

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583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

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796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the ačes. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The ačes are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the ačes. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the ačes have any real control.

THE CHURCH

346 The physical aspect of the Church is represented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is reverenced [788] to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

Maintenance of the structures still used by 794 the church organization and the priest depends 358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the kéŋi, an official of the *cabildo* or ačes, as a residence.

The church building has obviously undergone 346 a number of major alterations in its history. 358 Originally the church did not front on the

346 plaza but upon an atrium facing the opposite
358 direction. The change of entrance probably was made more than 50 years ago. At about that time the walls of the church were raised considerably and a row of windows placed near the top of the walls. During the revolution the roof was destroyed when the town was burned and was replaced sometime during the 1920's.

The cost of these changes and repairs, as indicated, is borne by voluntary contributions. The labor is paid for and there is no voluntary labor for the upkeep of church structures and property, although there is considerable voluntary work in connection with the ceremonials and the care of the altars and images. In the case of small improvements, the priest asks for donations of some 10 centavos, usually making an announcement from the pulpit. For larger and more extensive repairs or improvements, *comisionados* are named by the priest who go from house to house soliciting larger contributions.

A new idea was introduced, however, by the
358 priest who left Cherán in 1940, an idea which has had interesting economic repercussions. With the completion of the reroofing of the church, many other necessary improvements still remained. With some funds at his disposal, the priest succeeded in rebuilding the pulpit. The priest then announced an inaugural ceremony and issued invitations to become godparents of the pulpit. The invitations were written or printed and stated that the persons were being invited as honorable persons who led good lives. Acceptance involved a payment of not less than 1 peso nor more than 2 pesos. Practically all those invited accepted the invitation. The priest had prepared a large quantity
454 of pottery banks in the shape of pigs, made of
358 the attractive Black ware of Quiroga and Santa Fe. At the inauguration, the priest announced that additional improvements were being planned and that each person should take one of the banks and put a 20-centavo piece in it every 15 or 30 days. Moreover, the person who first
[554] "fattened" his pig, that is, filled it with 20-centavo pieces, would be put in a position of especial sanctity. With this incentive, many people filled their banks rapidly in order to be the first and even those who did it more slowly

454 accumulated a substantial contribution without
358 feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

This procedure would have amounted to little
454 more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A regular part of the pottery stocks brought to
[323] Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made
[532] not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.[33]

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The priest, of course, is appointed by the
793 Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

[177] [33] The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat nonplussed by the devious, even fantastic, route by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

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793 branches, and large numbers came to visit him. Despite these efforts, a new priest arrived some 2 weeks after the departure of the old priest.

The household and assistants of the priest vary somewhat. The mother of the old priest served as his housekeeper, and there were several servants. The old priest relied primarily on the *cabildo* or ačes for his aides in church. The new priest brought a household whose exact composition I did not learn. In addition, he brought a sacristan and one or two other assistants, who took over several of the functions of the *cabildo*. In general, the new
793 priest adopted a much more aggressive atti-
578 tude. Not only did he immediately get into a bitter quarrel with the *cabildo* (to be described later), but he interfered with customs on every hand, wore his priestly dress in public and permitted people to kneel in public and kiss his hand, and mixed in political matters. Considerable numbers of Cherán residents resented his attitude bitterly, including many of the devout members of the community.

The support of the priest is based on volun-
793 tary contributions, but in Cherán the priest is aggressive. Formerly, the *cabildo* kept the priest informed as to the amounts of harvest, and the priest, often personally, at other times through one of his assistants, directly asked for "alms." The amount suggested is the traditional tenth; in some cases people give him this amount, but many give less. The payments are mostly in kind, usually wheat or corn, which is brought to the priest's residence and placed by him in a storehouse in charge of the kéɣi. It was reported that the priest normally sells corn and wheat to needy local residents at about 1 peso a bushel below the market price. The facts in the case at the time of inquiry were somewhat obscured by the quarrel with the *cabildo*.

The functions of the priest in Cherán are numerous. Not only does he say the obligatory Masses, but he also celebrates special Masses in connection with every fiesta and *mayordomía*. All weddings are also celebrated with special Masses. He also arranges for such special events as visits of the Bishop for confirmation.

The Bishop paid one visit to Cherán during the time of the study. The priest appointed four *comisionados* in each *barrio* to gather con-

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793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

Another activity, about which little is known, 575 is in connection with the various societies. As 794 indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

There can be little doubt that Cherán is a 794 strongly Catholic community. During the 578 height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden 798 to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 who were opposed to Church domination in 578 political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

794 these men illustrates the situation clearly, par-
578 ticularly as it came to a head in 1940. That the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

793 The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is
578 entering into political matters and speaks from the pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended,
794 he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.

This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.

I believe that this priest is very disruptive (*muy divisionista*) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

578 Some of the minority faction in the town who are inclined to be anticlerical are un-
177 doubtedly affected by their experiences in the United States. A former mayor was very out-
793 spoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

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FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT

527 624 The fiesta of the patron saint, San Francisco, is held for 4 days, beginning the first Sunday after October 4. Usually after the Fiesta of San Luís in Nahuatzen August 25, *comisionados* are named by the mayor (on August 20 in 1940) and are notified by formal letters delivered by the police. Only persons out of town or those providing very good reasons may refuse to accept the post. The major duties are distributed by *barrio*, and for each *barrio* a head commissioner is named who selects a group of from 5 to 15 assistants. The duties in 1940 were distributed as follows: *Barrios* II and III each had to provide a band, *barrio* I provided the fireworks or *castillo*, and *barrio* IV provided the wax (*la cera*). The *barrio* IV duty really meant that it paid for the Mass and for the special candles burned. These duties are rotated so that in the course of 4 years, for example, each *barrio* will have provided the fireworks. The commissioners collect a sum varying from 80 centavos to perhaps a little more than a *peso* from each householder in the *barrio*, which they may use for their expenses. [686] Anyone refusing to pay may be thrown in jail. The costs are not entirely equal for the different *barrios*, and, owing to the discrepancy in size of the different *barrios*, the individual contributions demanded also vary. The commissioners seem to have complete responsibility for collecting and expending funds, but if expenses are greater than the amount collected, the commissioners must make up the sum out of their own pockets.

In addition to the commissioners named for the above purposes, young men are commissioned for each *barrio* who have to provide poles and posts and reconstruct the bull ring or *toril*. Finally, four commissioners are named for the moros or dancers connected with this fiesta. Each commissioner has to find a dancer, provide him with his costume, and feed and look after the dancer throughout the fiesta. The duties of the commissioners will now be discussed in more detail as they functioned in 1940.

The commissioners for the *barrios* in 1940 were Mateo Ocampo, *barrio* I, fireworks; Florentín Rafaél, *barrio* II, music; Fernando

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527 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero,
624 *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates were that the main *castillo* would cost
[389] $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 The commissioners for the music functioned
624 similarly. Their task was more onerous, for
533 the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to
624 help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
533 sioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 One commissioner for the moros is named
624 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and
535 does not collect money, paying the entire expense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing
[558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 The four commissioners for the bull ring are
624 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None
358 of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3
541 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are
[427] friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not, it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the
[534] chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

527 during September. Each *barrio* piled its logs somewhere in the *barrio* as they were accumulated and took them to the bull ring only when the number was complete.[35]

527 On September 27 lengthy discussions took place concerning the erection of a grandstand
417 for spectators. This is usually done, but there appear to be no set arrangements. In the discussion, it developed that one year the seats had collapsed because the posts were not well set and no cross bracing was employed. One person was hurt; the only reason more were not hurt was that the entire stand went over as a unit instead of one end collapsing. It was agreed that cross bracing should be used (but it was not).

It was finally decided to persuade individuals to take responsibility for putting up the seats. There was some difficulty about this, as the persons approached were suspicious that they would be taxed so heavily that any profits from admission charges would be wiped out. When told that the *municipio* would not tax the concession, the builders at first refused to believe it and kept asking to be told in advance what the tax would be. Moisés Valencia, the town "boss," finally had to persuade them. Intense activity now started on the part of the builder (one man finally undertook the task of erecting all the stands) and his assistants, collecting materials and hauling them to the bull ring behind the church. Boards were borrowed from some dealers in town for making the actual seats, but logs had to be cut and hauled for the framework.

[347] On September 28 carpenters began erecting the first stand or booth on the plaza. Several wooden booths were erected in the following days, mostly for selling soft drinks or ice cream.

527 On October 1 the transportable parts of the *castillo* or fireworks were brought in two lots. Rockets were fired off upon their arrival. The fireworks maker and an assistant set up shop in part of the old chapel used by the tilemakers. Later, when the pole for the big *castillo* or set piece was brought in, part of the operations

[35] About 3 weeks before the fiesta a great deal of activity began in painting, plastering, and furbishing up houses, especially those on the plaza and on nearby streets. This went on right up to the time of the fiesta. The mayor took some part in suggesting improvements, but most of the householders made them on their own initiative.

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527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day
527 before, including three women with "a little
443 religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

Some street cleaning began on this day.
527 Trash was burned in the streets and the streets
364 were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

527 October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day.
796 Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members
[574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the 796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass. [793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be [443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A [265] gambling game was set up. The booths for [275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on [548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of [443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round [529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com- 527 missioners and their assistants went to the 533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
389 various volunteers working under the direction of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by
[686] any means. The fireworks maker is always held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The
527 first band appeared and began to play about
533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner.
[541] About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

527 town and were waiting both for the proper
533 time and for the last finishing touches to be put
[541] on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

527 The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This
541 was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The moros followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the moros departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
527 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden
541 to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

The procedures described above were re-
527 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory
541 this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

While the market continued to some extent
527 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some
443 people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

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527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

While all the occupations in the town are 527 represented in the fiesta, only the more impor- 463 tant ones take official part. These are the *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants 624 and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey 527 gatherers take the two images of their patron 237 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
-237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

527 The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on
543 Saturday, but the main events take place on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make
[436] quantities of miniature breads about an inch and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday,
543 Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their wares carry them about the plaza, giving a
198 special high-pitched cry used on no other occasion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Aríjeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

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527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
198 of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

Often a group of young men will ask per-
527 mission of the municipal authorities to collect
541 the "*pisos de plaza,*" that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
527 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who
796 pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

The Octava occurs a week after Easter
527 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday
443 only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
541 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

7% latter are given to the girl by her relatives. Her father and mother present her with 1 bag and 1 cloth, but the rest, as many as 20 of each, are presented by her grandparents and cousins. At the top of the cross and at the end of each arm are fastened small sprays of green palm. On Palm Sunday this cross is carried by the boy.

The girl carries a stick, usually of oak, about 7% 2 yards high. Hung to this is every kind of fruit, especially tropical fruits, all provided by 482 the boy. These may include a bunch of bananas, some coconuts, and perhaps a watermelon. Or the girl may carry a watermelon, together with some honeycombs, on her back. Often she can scarcely carry the load.

There is much competition between the [621] *barrios* in this regard (the only hint of *barrio* competition secured). Each looks to see which girl is most laden with things, which girl has been able to make the largest balls of pinole and decorate them best, and which has the most grandparents and cousins (and hence the most bags and tortilla cloths).

On the afternoon of Palm Sunday all go to 7% the little rise in the road toward Nahuatzen (the road to the hot country) beyond the bridge at the edge of the town, and from there all go together to the church. The boy and girl from each *barrio* have their companions, all relatives. Those relatives of the girl who have given a bag or a cloth and those relatives of the boy who have given a honeycomb for the girl to carry are adorned with the *gorditos*. The four boys together will have hired musicians, and many others come to see and hear. About 4 o'clock they all reach the church; they go inside for a moment and then return home, where they divide the things among the relatives who have helped them or accompanied them. There is no special ceremony in the church on this day.

During Holy Week a Mass is held every day in the church. The Tenebrae are also represented. All the candles are put out. Sulfur is burned and bombs are exploded to represent the lightning. Then the candles are relighted with an ordinary wax match.

Thursday the image of Christ is placed in a cage of bars. It is guarded by a number of persons representing the Jews, who are dressed in common-colored women's dresses and hats

796 of *catucho* (a word I have not identified) and are carrying spears.

On Friday, the three times that Christ falls with the cross are represented with a cross and the image of Jesus of Nazareth. The cross is very large, but it is made of light materials, so it weighs little. The figure carrying the cross is put on a table, and it is manipulated from beneath the table to make it fall slowly and rise again. While the figure falls, the Jews pretend to beat it and mistreat it.

The Crucifixion is represented at a *velorio*. Three crosses, one bearing a crucified Christ, are placed upright in a corner of the church. The Jews pretend to beat the figure and injure it with their lances. Later in the same service the figure is lowered from the cross and placed in a special box. This represents the Holy Sepulcher and is guarded by the Jews.

On Saturday morning, 12 boys are placed in a corner near the altar. One of these washes the feet of the others. This act (obviously out of place in the chronology of events) is the only representation of the Twelve Apostles.

Some 20 years ago a somewhat more elaborate representation was given which included the portrayal of the garden of Gethsemane. Persons representing Pilate, Herod, and the Jews went about the plaza asking for Jesus. One, representing Judas, went up to a Christ image surrounded by branches and kissed the image. Jesus now answered, and the whole group fell down. Then they tore down the branches and took the image prisoner. Judas went around showing people the money he had received. On two occasions in the past the apocryphal incident of Veronica was also represented in connection with the three falls of Christ. After one of the falls, a girl pretended to wipe the face of the image with her handkerchief.

The activities in connection with Easter week are carried on by the persons attached to the church and the various societies. Nurukáta, laurel, is brought from the mountains in large quantities and is used to decorate the church during the week. After it has been "sanctified" it is taken home and kept in the [278] houses. It may later be used for medicinal purposes. A special food for Easter week is

[p.129a]

A special food for Easter week is
796 tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
[262] boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *cohetes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

342 Although most private fiestas are described
574 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

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342 always assisted by various relatives, who also
574 put pressure on him to hold the event. For the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband
[602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes
[335] are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the
[602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of čurípo, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob-
[533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

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[p.130a]

342 and are served. While all this is going on, a
574 few women start dancing.

Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuelgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuelgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuelgas*. Single *cuelgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

[273] The host, on the occasion observed, drank very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

A few data collected on fiestas from other
796 towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colchas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of
[443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the
[439] occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a
788 distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and
796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way
[785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that
[755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20,
796 that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

786 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very [793] drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities [272] of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The 438 principal item in the market is pottery, and it 323 is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

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438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
7% tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
7% *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

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796 and ceremonies. The ceremonies of the saints
776 are sometimes called *mayordomías* as they are elsewhere in Mexico, although the term *cargo* is more common in Cherán. The elaborateness and expense of the ceremonies vary considerably. Some are virtually community functions or minor fiestas but held at the expense of the *carguero* or *mayordomo*. Others have very little expense attached to them. In many cases dance groups are associated with the *mayordomía*.

So far as could be learned, six of the saints and accompanying *mayordomías* "belong" to the *cabildo*. Four others are associated with particular professions (this is also true of some of the saints of the *cabildo*) and are "managed" by principals (*principales*). Another is managed by a group of principals but is not associated with a profession, while the final saint identified is owned by a private family. The saints belonging to the *cabildo* are San Isidro (of the farmers), San José (of the forest workers), Santa Inéz (of the cattle raisers), Santa Nieves or the Virgin of Snows, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the Santo Niño or the Child Christ. Saints belonging to professions are San Antonio (of the *arrieros* or muleteers), San Rafael (of the merchants), San Anselmo (of the honey gatherers, with two separate images and ceremonies), and Santa Cecilia (of the musicians). Independent of any profession is the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings or Tres Reyes. The privately owned saint has no *mayordomía* properly speaking and is usually spoken of simply as the Miraculous Saint.

The *cabildo* is also known as the "ačes,"
796 meaning principal persons or things. In
794 Spanish the *cabildo* is also known as the *principales*. The group consists of men who have occupied the offices of *colector* and *prioste* associated with the church. In the past the *cabildo* looked after many things connected with the church, including the collection and care of the tithes or gifts to the priest, cared for the saints in the church and the ornaments and decorations of the church, and brought the priests to Cherán during the period when religious functions were prohibited. Members also had charge of the *mayordomías* mentioned above, and considered the saints their property.

796 They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.
794 The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about $250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, [578] however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortíz, a noted conservative. Ortíz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described about the *cabildo*, Ortíz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

796 same duties, but the *colector* is the superior of
794 the two. Their duties are to select and supervise the kéɨ and the matters of the church. The day-to-day expenses involved they must pay out of their own pockets (despite the charges against the *cabildo* to be reviewed later, no one denied this expenditure by the *priosto* and *colector*). The two officers receive the gifts of maize and wheat made to the church and give them to the priest, who in turn entrusts them to the kéɨ.

The kéɨ is selected by the *colector*. For 1 year he lives in a house on the church grounds (probably formerly in the hospital before it fell to ruins), cares for the church property and the stores of the priest, rings the church bells every noon, runs errands for the *colector*, and does any odd jobs he may be assigned. After 1 year he does not become a member of the *cabildo* but retires to private life.

During his year of office, the *colector* has to provide the kéɨ with the maize he needs for his family and some money for minor expenses. Usually the kéɨ is a man who has a grown son or a brother to look after his affairs for the year. Among the public outside of the church group it is not regarded as a great thing to be a kéɨ. The church group, on the other hand, make a good deal of the individual. Moreover, it is believed that the service is rendered to God and will bring recompense in the future life. The offices of kéɨ, *priosto*, and *colector* change each year on December 8. The main ceremonies circle about the change of kéɨ.

At one time the kéɨ began in the month of November to visit the *carguseros* of the saints belonging to the *cabildo* every Saturday early in the morning, accompanied by musicians. The *carguseros* served *pozole*. By December 8, the kéɨ had visited all the saints, saying farewell to them. On this date a large lantern was suspended from a pole outside the house of the kéɨ and remained until the ceremonies of changing the kéɨ were concluded.

For the change of office, both the old kéɨ and the new provide themselves with "old men" or *viejos*. These are men dressed in an overcoat and with a cane. They carry a little bell adorned with flowers, wear a small hat, and a
[532] wooden *viejo* mask (a wooden mask carved to represent an old man with a long white beard).

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796 794 These are the speakers for the two kéηi. Each kéηi (in conjunction with the new and retiring *prioste*s) has a band of music. Both the old and the new *prioste* invite friends and relatives to their houses for a meal. The *cabildo* goes to both places.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon both parties go to the house occupied by the kéηi in the church grounds, still sometimes called the hospital despite the assertion of many that the kéηi never lived in the hospital. The new kéηi brings with him all the things he needs to set up housekeeping: new brooms, dishes, a *carga* of maize, the head of a beef, ax, metate, mats and clothes, all carried on burros. Arriving at the house, he finds all in disorder. The house is full of trash, the fireplace has been taken down, and everything has been left in the worst condition possible. The old kéηi carries away everything he has used. Even old brooms and broken pots are saved through the year to be carried away at this time.

The two *viejos* or old men now begin to argue. The *viejo* representing the incoming kéηi makes a long speech, criticising the administration of the outgoing kéηi. The other *viejo* then responds, defending the outgoing kéηi and explaining all the good things he has done. The two argue for some time. The music then plays a tune. First one and then the other dances; they endeavor to outdo one another, both in their ridiculous manner of dancing and in making jokes. Each is accompanied by a woman dressed as an old woman in a very much embroidered blouse and wearing a hat. Then the new officials inspect all the patio of the hospital; the new kéηi enters the kitchen and takes possession. The old kéηi goes out through the *zaguan* or gate with his belongings. The old kéηi goes to the house of the old *prioste* with his friends and they drink until night. The new kéηi and his *prioste* do the same in the hospital after the celebration of Mass.

Sometime during these events the *cabildo* elects the new *colector*. This official takes office on the 1st of January when he goes to church to celebrate the Circumcision. The new *colector* and his wife receive the benediction at the Mass. The wife of the *colector* carries with her an outfit of clothing for the Christ Child. After Mass the two go to the house of the new

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796 794 [535] kéɣi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[38]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuɣánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 794 793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[38] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

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578 other group, although he was one of the few
793 active supporters of Almazán in the previous
794 presidential election. In the opinion of the best informants there had existed no movement against the *cabildo* until Guerrero undertook his campaign, although obviously the roots of the charges and bad feeling were already present.

At the *junta* between 75 and 100 persons were present. Guerrero spoke, charging the *cabildo* with demanding gifts from the *carguerosi*, stealing from the church, driving out the previous priest, and being very drunken. The last charge was what many believed to have convinced the new priest so that he turned against the *cabildo*. An arrangement was reached in which the assignment of *mayordomías* would be taken from the *cabildo* and persons wishing to "take a saint" would ask it of the priest.

At the first *junta* everyone agreed with the charges. A second *junta* was called. In the meantime the *prioste*, one Magdaleno Guerrero (no relation to David) went to the Bishop in Zamora and secured a letter (which I saw) categorically stating that neither he nor anyone else had attempted to have the former priest removed. This letter was presented at the second *junta* by the *representante del pueblo*, who defended the *cabildo*. (The *cabildo* did not attend. Magdaleno Guerrero said for a while they were afraid they might be killed.) This made the people less bitter, but they still agreed to abolish the *cabildo*.

With regard to the other charges, the *prioste* asserted that all the work of the *cabildo* was voluntary, while his own expenses as *prioste* amounted to between $100 and $200 for the year. Among his duties was to pay for Masses on December 8 and December 25. Following the latter Mass, the *cabildo* met at the house of the *prioste* who served food. To this assembly came people who wished to ask for a saint. They brought presents of cigarettes, while the wives brought bread. These presents, the *prioste* asserted, were voluntary and were not demanded. The names of the persons were put down on lists in the order applications were received and each *mayordomía* was awarded to the person whose name headed the list.

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578 794 793 With regard to the charge of drunkeness, the *prioste* asserted that this had been true "in the time of our grandfathers" but it was not true today. What gave color to the charge, he said, was that people brought them many bottles of *charanda*. These the *cabildo* sold in the stores and returned the empty bottles to the donors.

It was quite evident that the *prioste* was filled with bitterness over the situation. The dance of the *pastorela*, he felt, was especially the dance of the *cabildo* and the *prioste* and one which gave much pleasure to the people, and now they would lose it. (Even our most anti-Church informants agreed that the dance was the best given in Cherán, partly because it was unaccompanied by the drunkenness and rowdiness associated with other dances.) The *prioste* also said that the *cabildo* was accepting the will of the people and was neither speaking nor making propaganda with anyone. After all, he pointed out, the *cabildo* gained, and especially the *prioste* and *colector* gained because they now did not have to spend their money. However, he had gone to the church and taken out the large candles and some small ones left by his wife. This, he said, was custom, for the old *prioste* always took the remains of the candles and the new *prioste* provided others. The priest had asked why he removed the candles and the *prioste* had explained the situation. The priest then asked if he was not disposed to leave the candles, but he refused. After this the *prioste* scarcely left the house, and never went either to the plaza or the church, partly because of fear, partly because in church he would have to see those who had thrown him out of office and this "caused him anger which it is better not to have before the Lord."

The *prioste* suggested that the leader of the opposition was an ambitious man who was furthering some devious and as yet undisclosed project to further his own interests. He also said the *cabildo* had made no move to seek a new *prioste* or kéɲi, which they ordinarily did by August. He also said he had no idea whether the priest would appoint new officials to take the place of the *cabildo* or go on naming people to perform their duties from day to day as he was doing. Incidentally, he pointed out

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578 that never before had the church been closed
793 when the priest left town.
794 In addition to the above accounts, which seem reasonably correct as far as they go, there were floods of rumors and stories. At one time I was told authoritatively by several people that my landlord had been named the new chief of the *cabildo*. When I asked him about it, he was completely surprised and it finally appeared that no new *cabildo* was to be named.

With regard to the story told by the *prioste* of taking his candles from the church, a much more lurid version was circulated. One woman's account of the quarrel was as follows:

> When the new priest came he asked one of the *cabildo* to bring him maize from the storehouse. The *cabildo* had taken all the maize from the storehouse but the man pretended not to know this. He went to the storehouse and returned, saying, "Father, there is no maize." "What has happened to it? There is supposed to be maize." The priest gave the man money to buy maize for that day. Next day the priest made inquiries. People told him the *cabildo* had stolen the maize. He called the *cabildo* together and accused them. They denied the theft. The priest said, "Do you want me to bring witnesses?" They conferred and said, "No. We took the maize." The father began to scold them, and they said, "What right have you to scold us? We collected the maize and we have a right to live." The priest became angry and told them they could no longer serve in the church. They went away. For 2 or 3 days they did nothing. Then they came in a body and began stripping the church of all the altar cloths, vases, and decorations. The priest interrupted them. They said, "These things are ours; we bought them. If we cannot serve here, we will take these away." They argued. The priest said, "These things belong to the community." But he realized it was not becoming for him to argue in this way and kept still. When they finished, he said, "Now have you everything belonging to you?" They thought and said, "Everything but the saints." At this the priest flew into a rage and said, "The saints belong to the community. Now take the other things and leave the church and do not let me ever see your faces again."

This is a very interesting tale, but it contains very little truth. The major fact which seems correct as compared with the *prioste's* tale is that the *cabildo* did actually remove all the vases, altar cloths, and other things they had bought.

One man, regarded as a fairly reliable source of information, stated that the *cabildo* had received the alms given at church but had

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578 formerly given them all to the priest. In recent
794 years, he stated, the *cabildo* members began
793 taking half for themselves. When the new priest came, people decided they no longer wished the *cabildo* and spoke to the priest. He abolished the *cabildo* and barred the members from the church so that alms would now be given directly to the priest.

Still another man, one who probably gave the best-informed statement, which gained weight because he was both an anti-Church and anti-*cabildo* man on general principles, pointed out some of the history of the affair. According to this informant, when the priests were forbidden to function in the church, the *cabildo* was responsible for bringing priests to town secretly and helping them to hold services in private houses. This involved very considerable expenses. (There seems little reason to doubt these statements, which were verified in other connections.) In the meantime, inasmuch as people believed it necessary to take seeds, i.e., maize and wheat, to the church, they continued their gifts, which were received and stored by the *cabildo*. This informant believed, however, that the quantities were probably less than usual inasmuch as there was no one to urge them. Out of this fact probably rose the real basis of the quarrel. When it began to appear that there was small likelihood of a resident priest returning, the *cabildo* began selling the accumulated grain, utilizing the profits to defray the considerable expenses of smuggling priests into the town. For the people it was difficult to tell whether the expenses claimed were correct or not. When a priest finally was reestablished in Cherán, the *cabildo* presented him with an account of their transactions. Many believed that this account was incorrect and that the *cabildo* had been guilty of defalcation. It was then that the idea began that the *cabildo* should be done away with. However, it is unlikely the *cabildo* received any profits after the return of the priests. The priest made an investigation of the affair and as a result the *cabildo* tried to force him to leave the town. (This last accusation seems adequately disposed of by the letter from the Bishop mentioned above.) When the new priest arrived in 1940, he announced his inten-

578 tion of reopening the investigation and stated
793 that, as the *cabildo* would probably try to get
794 rid of him, too, he had better get rid of the *cabildo* right away.

An aspect of the situation which had not been resolved at the termination of the study was the effect of the change upon the *mayordomías* formerly in the charge of the *cabildo*. It was the belief of many, including the priest, that applicants for a *mayordomía* would simply apply to him. The priest was quoted as saying that he had no intention of interfering with the local customs. None of the *cargueros* consulted seemed ever to have thought of the possibility of the change effecting the operation of the system. The *cabildo* nevertheless has a proprietary interest in the saints and there were some indications that the *cabildo* was willing to suppress some of the customs. The *uanánčes* did not perform the *pastorela* in 1940. The *prioste* refused to put up anything for the dance, or even participate when a cousin offered to pay all the expenses. The parents of all but one of the *uanánčes* also apparently welcomed the excuse for avoiding the expenses involved. The *cabildo* also attempted to forbid the *carguero* of the Holy Child to sponsor the performance of the *negrito* dance (described below) although this was a traditional duty of the *carguero*. As he was one of those who attacked the *cabildo* and claimed to have been forced to make heavy contributions in order to get the *mayordomía*, he sought the permission of the priest and held the dance despite the *cabildo's* objections.

The progressive element in the town was of the opinion that the demotion of the *cabildo* would mean the early disappearance of the *mayordomías*. However, this overlooked the several *mayordomías* which functioned outside the *cabildo* system, and it is doubtful if the disappearance of the *mayordomías* will be particularly accelerated by this change. There is some possibility of this, of course, and one of the curious features of the situation is that a priest who apparently is conservative and who does not wish to interfere with the local customs should have been responsible for this attack upon them and for alienating the most conservative Church group from his support.

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MAYORDOMÍAS

796 *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

For the most part the *mayordomías* are 782 undertaken to secure some future good or to 79% give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. 788 Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

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788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. More than any other it may be undertaken for [594] motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto.*"

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*troje.*" Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

796 The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* 535 (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assist- 796 ants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

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796 mented that the *carguero* did not seem to wish to give even cigarettes. To which Pedro Chávez, our progressive and anti-Church assistant, replied sagely that this was because the *cabildo* had been abolished.

On the evening of December 24, candles are burned at night before the image in the house of the *carguero*, and he, his family and relatives, and the dancers and their relatives sit up with the image but do not participate in other activities of the *mayordomo*. The *vanánčes* are also present. All are given food by the *mayordomo* in the late afternoon before dark. About midnight the image is taken to visit the image of the Child Christ in church and a Mass is held at the expense of the *carguero*, who also provides special candles for the occasion. The image in the church is put in a reclining position in a crib where it remains until January 1.

After the Mass, whch does not end until nearly morning, the men go home, but return at an early hour to the house of the *carguero* for breakfast. The women remain in the *carguero's* house, assisting in preparing the meals for the dancers. After breakfast the men either return home or accompany the *carguero* as he cares for the dancers who now go out to dance in various houses. The dancers perform
796 the days of the 25th, 26th, and 27th. During
535 this time food is provided for them and many people assist in the food preparations. The dancers provide their own costumes for this affair, but the music, a band of wind instruments, is hired by the *carguero*. At the houses where the dancers perform they are given gifts of fruits and things that children would like (because it is a fiesta of the Child Christ).

In addition to the *negrito* and *pastorela* dances connected with the December 25 events, three other groups of dancers sometimes appear, the *mélebris*. Neither they nor the *pastorela* are connected with the *mayordomía*. They are discussed in connection with the dances.

796 The expenses of this *mayordomía* are between $500 and $700. Music is hired for a week (for part of the practice as well as for the dancing), an expense of about $200. One or two beeves usually are killed and about three fattened pigs. As much as 15 *fanegas* of maize may be consumed. Quantities of bread are also purchased, and *charanda* forms a considerable

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796 item of expense also. A midnight Mass and candles are paid for, as well as the dance instructor. Special foods are also prepared at this time, for example, *mole de pepita de calabaza molida*, mole of ground squash seeds, a very rich food prepared only on this occasion (see recipes, p. 53).

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA NIEVES

[776] Santa Nieves, or the Virgin de las Nieves (Virgin of the Snows), was evidently once the Virgin associated with the hospital. The *carguero* in 1940, as was the case with the *carguero* of the Child Christ, had taken the post "for pleasure."

The *carguero* receives the saint August 5. He takes it to his home and places it in a specially prepared place. On the day of the saint, August 5, he is supposed to arrange a dance, the caballita uarárica, dance of the little horses, and to provide a band. This was not done in 1940 because of the quarrel over the *cabildo*. The dancers perform on this one day only, visiting the houses of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass in church to which he takes the image of the saint. The image is left in church for the new *carguero*.

MAYORDOMÍA OF GUADALUPE

The *mayordomía* of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12 is also a fiesta of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* gives food to his relatives in his house and they help him to decorate the church. The image of the Virgin is taken to church for the Mass and is left there for the new *carguero*. A long Mass is held. In 1940 there were three priests and the cost was $60. Eighteen large candles were provided, each with bows of red, green, and white made out of tin (because of a shortage, four candles had paper ornaments). The candles are carried to church in procession by the helpers (relatives) of the *carguero*. Behind is carried the Virgin's image, followed by the *carguero* and his wife. A dance is supposed to be held, but it was omitted in 1940.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ISIDRO

The *mayordomía* of San Isidro is also connected with the *cabildo*. The date of the *mayordomía* is May 15. Information of this *mayordomía* was obtained from the *carguero's*

796 wife, who was very suspicious and possibly ignorant. Consequently it is not wholly satisfactory.

[776] The saint is the patron of those who cultivate the ground with oxen, but there is no evidence that only cultivators assume this *mayordomía*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass and probably for candles. Usually the relatives of the *carguero* and his wife are invited to eat at the house, but this is not obligatory and may be omitted if the *carguero* cannot afford it (the *carguero* in 1940 was obviously very poor). If the relatives are invited, the wife's female relatives aid in preparing the food. The saint's image is taken to church before the Mass and remains in church until the fiesta of Corpus, when it is removed by the new *carguero*. The *carguero* in 1940 had taken the saint because of a vow, but the wife said she did not know what the vow was. [i.e., San Isidro.—Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN JOSÉ

[776] San José is a patron of the shake makers and the plank makers. The *carguero* is usually of one of these occupations. He begins his service on the saint's day, March 19. At the fiesta of Corpus he takes the image to church and pays for candles. He also provides meals for the commissioners and musicians of the woodworkers at the fiesta (for the entire fiesta according to one informant, but this contradicts other information given in connection with the Corpus fiesta). In the following year on March 19 the *carguero* pays for a Mass, candles, and *cohetes*, taking the saint's image to the church where it is left for the new *carguero*. On the 19th, if the *carguero* wishes, he may invite his relatives to the house for food and have music, but this it not obligatory.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA INÉZ

[776] Santa Inéz, also a saint of the *cabildo*, is regarded as one of the virgins. She is patron of cattle and pigs. Formerly there were cows belonging to this saint, but they were lost. About 15 years ago a cow was presented to the saint. Now she possesses two cows, two bulls, and two young steers. The *carguero* looks after these animals. He may use the milk from the cows, but he is not supposed to sell any of the cattle.

The saint's image in this case was kept with
796 special elegance in a large case with glass on
778 the front and sides. Inside the box were small images of a cow, a steer, and a pig on the left side. The box stood on a table decorated with paper flowers and supporting an incense burner, a basket of copal gum, and a candle. The table in turn rested on a mat on the floor. The wall behind the box was decorated with colored papers and chains and paper cut-outs.

The new *carguero* receives the image of the
796 saint on April 21. On Corpus the image is taken to church (and probably candles are burned). At the end of the year, on the following April 21, the relatives of the *carguero* visit him. He has musicians and food for them. The saint's image is taken to church for a Mass paid for by the *carguero* (probably with candles). Some *cargueros*, when they receive the image, give it a new outfit of clothing. The image is large and one of the best-
[778] dressed in Cherán. The dress is white with a blue cape. A gilt crown is on the head and a necklace of the red glass beads prized by Tarascan women is about the neck. The altar is decorated with many flowers and aromatic herbs. [i.e., Santa Inéz - Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN RAFAEL

The *mayordomía* of San Rafael is not connected with the *cabildo*. The saint is patron of the merchants, and apparently the *mayordomía* is administered by a principal or principals selected by the merchants. The principals decide who shall receive the *mayordomía* and pay an occasional visit to the *carguero's* house to see that all is kept in proper order. This seems to be the regular arrangement for all the independent saints connected with *mayordomías*, although specific information is lacking for some of them.

As patron of the merchants, the image of
[778] San Rafael carries a fish under the left arm
[776] and in his right hand bears a staff (actually a shepherd's crook). About his neck is a necklace of sea sheels. In front of the altar are hung other sea shells and miniature fire fans, clay fruits, etc. The house and altar are well decorated with paper flowers and colored papers. Before the altar are candles and an incense burner. The merchants visit the

796 saint's image and burn a candle before setting out on a journey.

The new *carguero* takes charge of the image the day before Corpus. He goes to the house of the old *carguero*, secures the image, and takes it to church. There it remains in a "box" during the week-long festivities of Corpus. On Monday afternoon of Corpus the musicians of the merchants come to the house of the *carguero* and make it their headquarters during the fiesta until Saturday noon. The musicians, the commissioners, and whatever people attach themselves to the group, breakfast and dine at the house of the *carguero* during the fiesta. If he cannot afford this, the commissioners provide the meals, three or four cooperating in providing each meal. The musicians of this group also greet the honey gatherers when they return from their stay in the woods collecting honeycombs for the fiesta (on Friday, according to the *carguero;* Tuesday, according to all others).

The day of the saint is October 24. The *carguero* pays for a Mass (and presumably candles). In 1940 the Mass was delayed because the priest was too busy and was out of town frequently.

The *carguero* ordinarily is a merchant, but in 1940 he was a fireworks maker. Because he traveled from town to town, the principals had decided he could qualify as *carguero* when he asked for the *mayordomía*. The *carguero* sought the responsibility "for pleasure" and not because of any vow. Incidentally, he is a [191] native of Pichataro and speaks very little Spanish. His wife speaks even less. Perhaps because of this origin they were much the most open and cordial of the *cargueros*.[37]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ANTONIO

[776] San Antonio is patron of the muleteers, the *arrieros*. The new *carguero* receives the image on June 13, the day of the saint, and takes it to

[37] Those desiring the *mayordomía* of San Rafael apply to the principal. The holder of this office in 1940 had occupied it for 18 years, although he had several times tried to resign. Occasionally he calls meetings of the merchants to discuss some expense relative to the saint, such as new garments or altar table. Sometimes money is collected in the meeting in advance for such expenditures. On other occasions the principal spends money out of his pocket and takes up a collection at the meeting to reimburse himself. According to this principal, the new *carguero* goes to the priest during Corpus for benediction. Probably this is true of the other *mayordomías* but the point was not investigated.

796 his house. On Corpus he carries the image to church and spends money for candles. If he wishes he may have a fiesta with music and food at his house, but this is not obligatory.

A few notes on the history of San Antonio, obtained from one of the principals, are of interest. The original image was burned at the time the town was destroyed during the revolution. For a number of years the *mayordomía* was in abeyance. About a dozen years before the study, a young man in the house, a traveler, expressed an interest in having the saint. The principal borrowed a saint from somewhere, and they kept it in the house. The muleteers talked a good deal about the matter, but did nothing. Finally the principal placed an order for a new image. A principal of the old image of the saint, which had been destroyed, assisted, as he knew about such things, and solicited alms from the muleteers. In about 2 years they got the new image of the saint and then informed the priest. He came to the house to see it and commended them. Then he said they should seek godfathers for the image and have it blessed. This was done, and thus the *mayordomía* was revived. The old principal, the informant, and one other who had recently died had been the principals ever since. Persons wishing the *mayordomía* had to ask them for it. If more than one person asked, they were given it in order.

Although San Antonio is the patron of the muleteers, they do not visit the image before going on journeys. Persons not muleteers may also receive this *mayordomía*. In fact, the principal who served as informant is a mason who interested himself in the saint because of the youth living in his house (possibly his son, although he carefully avoided any suggestion of relationship).

[782] Some persons not muleteers also make vows to the saint. The same informant cited the case of a man named Antonio who made a vow to take the *mayordomía* when there was an epidemic killing many pigs in Cherán. None of Don Antonio's pigs died. He sought the *mayordomía* and received it. Ever since, he fattens and kills a pig every year, sells the lard, and buys something for the saint with the proceeds.

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THE MAYORDOMÍAS OF SAN ANSELMO

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There are two *mayordomías* of San Anselmo, each with its saint's image. Both belong to the honey gatherers, the *panaleros*, and there is a certain amount of cooperation between the two *cargueros*. For example, they share the cost of the Mass on the saint's day. One of the *mayordomías* is always in *barrio* III or IV, the upper *barrios*, while the second is always in the lower *barrios*, that is, I and II. It is said that only honey gatherers can receive the *mayordomías*. Although honey gatherers apparently are not numerous, there are a good many men who occasionally follow the occupation. As it is highly dangerous, the aid of the saint is felt important and there usually are numerous persons willing to accept the *mayordomía*, especially as it is not a very expensive one.

The new *carguero* receives the saint at the church 8 days after the fiesta of Corpus. The new *carguero* presents the saint with a hat, blanket, palm fiber raincoat, and other miniature items. As the saint's image is small, everything connected with it is small. On April 22 the two *cargueros* jointly pay for a Mass, but it is said not to be such an important Mass as for other saints. The Mass follows that of Santa Inéz on April 21; it is said that as the *mayordomías* of this saint follow after Santa Inez, one should not spend as much as is spent for Santa Inéz. San Anselmo is more humble. The giving of a fiesta in the house on the saint's day is optional with the *carguero*.

Eight days before Corpus both images of the saint are taken to the mountains when the honey gatherers go out to seek honeycombs for the fiesta. The two images are taken to different places, and the men from the different *barrios* accompany the associated saint's image. The *carguero* supplies large quantities of *charanda* on this occasion. The men get drunk and dance every afternoon to guitar music. On Tuesday of Corpus the images are taken to church and left there until taken by the new *cargueros*.

The choice of the new *cargueros* is made by the priest from lists provided by the principals. According to the *carguero* for the two lower *barrios* in 1940, four principals named by the

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796 honey gatherers determine the list of candidates for the *mayordomía* at a meeting before Corpus. For the upper two *barrios*, only one principal was mentioned. In this case the principal was interviewed and asserted that all candidates for the *mayordomía* applied to him. The real *carguero* in the lower *barrios* in 1940 was the 4-year-old son of the household, according to his father. The *mayordomía* was sought because the boy was not growing normally. [755]

On some occasions the principals of the lower *barrios* have some expenses. For example, one year the box in which the saint's image is taken to the mountains was partly burned through an accident. The principals ordered a new box at their expense.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE THREE KINGS

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings, Los Treyes Reyes, is celebrated on January 6, the new *carguero* taking the images the following day. The *mayordomía* is relatively new, and the present images were secured in 1940. The previous images were small and provisional. The *carguero* in 1940 had held the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child the previous year. In both cases the *mayordomía* was sought to aid the health of a sickly child. In addition, the parents had vowed the child to perform in the dance of the *viejos* every year. [755]

It is obvious that the *carguero* in 1940 was well-to-do to be able to take two *mayordomías* on 2 successive years. Moreover, he introduced an innovation by taking over all the expenses of the dancers who perform in connection with the Day of the Kings. Previously the dance group had been entirely independent of the *mayordomía*, raising their own money for expenses and music.

The expenses of the *carguero* in 1940 were secured in some detail. They are as follows: 796 435

Musicians	$ 70.00
1 pig butchered (estimate)	25.00
1 ox butchered (estimate)	60.00
22 *fanegas* of maize at 3.75 to 4.00	80.00
40 sugar canes and 40 oranges for dancers	2.00
Bread for all (about 200 guests) at end of dance; three breakfasts for dancers	10.00

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3 liters milk daily 25 tablets chocolate daily 3 or 4 centavos of bread each daily Three breakfasts for musicians	15.00
2 kilos of sugar	.70
3 bottles alcohol (estimate)	3.00
Coffee for musicians (estimate)	1.00
Total	$266.70

Ordinarily the new *carguero* seeks the *mayordomía* from the principals. The *carguero* in 1940 had some doubts as to what would be done because of the insistence of their priest that *mayordomías* should in future be asked of him. On the other hand, the principals had no doubt that the *mayordomía* was their special property.

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings was definitely a new departure in Cherán. The dance group apparently had performed for many years.

According to the three principals, whom by good luck it was possible to interview together, until a few years ago only a group of dancers performed on the Day of Kings. The dancers were not organized but each year a group of volunteer performers got together informally. There were images of the Three Kings in church, but none were taken to private houses. One time the three principals were talking about the dance when "God sent them the idea" of creating a *mayordomía*. From some 15 or 18 others they collected some money. The principals, however, put in a good deal more than the others. Then they started with the three small images which one of them had in his house, in the meantime ordering the new images. One of the principals received the *mayordomía* first. The *carguero* in 1940 was the third and those for the following 2 years had already been appointed.

With regard to the position of the priest, the principals remarked that the saints belonged to them and neither the *cabildo* nor the priest nor anyone else had anything to say about the images. However, the priest, according to the principals, accepted this situation, for he had no cause to be angry with them.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA CECILIA

Very few data were collected concerning this *mayordomía* which was not discovered until

796 shortly before the close of the study. (It is quite probable that two or three *mayordomías* exist in Cherán which were not discovered at all; no one in the town appears to know all of them.) Santa Cecilia is patroness of the [776] musicians, and the *carguero* is always a musician. In 1940 no one wished to "take the saint," so the image remained in the same house, a nephew of the former *carguero* who lived in the house taking the responsibility. The musicians all gather at the house of the *carguero* and play all day. (This is how the *mayordomía* was discovered; however, no outsiders were invited in, despite the most obvious hints.)

THE MIRACULOUS HOLY CHILD

776 This saint, El Milagroso Santo Niño, is not
796 properly to be included among the *mayordomías*, as it is the property of a single family and does not circulate among other households. According to the story told by the owners, the saint was found by the man of the family some 18 years before, while he was cutting wheat below the town. Tiring, he sat down, and while picking idly at the dirt with his sickle he uncovered the image. He had the image fixed up (at present it looks entirely like the other saint's images with respect to the technique and painting). With the aid of others, a chapel was then built for the saint in the yard of the house. When the image was found it was only about 30 cm. high. It is claimed that it has grown steadily until it is now between 70 and 80 cm.

The saint first became known as a miraculous saint when a man from the ranchos (a group of small Mestizo settlements on the boundaries of Cherán in the mountains) cut his foot while alone in the woods. As he was bleeding to death, he recalled the saint, of which he had heard, and vowed to take it to his rancho accompanied by dancers. The bleeding stopped and he recovered.

Keeping his vow, the Mestizo brought dancers to Cherán and took the saint to the rancho. There other miracles occurred. For example, a child who could not walk and who was dumb had the crown of the saint put on him; he now walks and talks very well.

As a result of these experiences, the people

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[p.143a]

from the ranchos came every year with dancers. They spent 3 days in Cherán, dancing in the church and in the municipal building. Then they took the saint to the ranchos and it often was kept there many months. In 1940 the owners decided not to let the saint go any more because they wished to have it with them "as we have lost much time with it."

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Material collected from other towns suggests that other types of *mayordomía* organization exist. In Angáhuan, Rendón found an elaborate hierarchy of officials, evidently corresponding to the *cabildo* and the associated organization at Cherán. In Angáhuan, according to Rendón, the officials are ranked as follows: *Alcalde, regidor*, kámbiti, petájpe and biskál, *mayores*, kiéɲi, anyítakua.

In addition, there is a group of elderly men, corresponding to the Cherán *cabildo*, who are known as *tarénpenya*. These are men who have served the above offices or part of them.

The *alcalde* and *regidor* correspond to the *prioste-colector* positions in Cherán apparently. The *alcalde* is in charge of the church for 1 year. During this time he has to hold six fiestas. The first is at New Year's, when he receives his post and when he must provide food and *aguardiente*. The second is carnival, when he is aided in the expenses by the *"cabildo"* (it is not clear from Rendón's notes whether this means the same as it does in Cherán). The third is the day of the Holy Cross when he must pay for two bands and there is the dance of the moors and soldiers. The *alcalde* provides food for the dancers. The latter dance in the houses of various functionaries. The fourth fiesta is Corpus, at which time all the members of the different occupations take miniatures of their products and dance with them before the church and also perform their offices. The fifth fiesta is that of Santiago (the patron saint), when there is music, dancers, and also bull riding. For this fiesta the *alcalde* pays for the Masses and gives food to the dancers. The final fiesta is the day on which the *alcalde* is chosen by the elders.

The *regidor* is the helper of the *alcalde* and aids him in every way possible. The relatives of the *alcalde* also assist him with food.

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796 The duties of the kámbiti are to pay the ex-
794 penses of the Holy Week festivities and to deco-
rate the front of the main altar with fruits from the hot country, such as bananas, watermelons, mameys, coconuts, mangoes, and sugarcane. The fruits are suspended in small nets or are perforated and hung from strings. The ceremony is called uirímutakúa, which means "to adorn the front of something."

On Holy Saturday the young people of the town divide in two groups and go through the town, the girls carrying an image of Mary Magdalene, the men one of Saint Joseph. At strategic points the two groups meet and have races with the images. Certain young girls also place themselves at the door of the church during Holy Week and offer the refreshments known as čarápes to all comers. These girls must change the flowers on the altars during the ensuing year and are known as CACAki jaʼirati. All these ceremonies are regulated by the kámbiti.

The petájpe gathers the young men at his house in February and feeds them *"esquite,"* of the type known as kanita takunji. At this
[312] time he announces the date for cleaning the spring from which the town gets its water. The day the spring is cleaned, the petájpe provides music and rice, beans, and pork for the helpers at his house. At the spring, many families go along and take picnic food, singing and enjoying themselves while the young men clean the spring. When the spring is cleaned, they carry *ollas* of water to their houses, using it as drinking water in preference to water from the pipes until it is gone.

There are no data on the office of biskál. Rendón's notes suggest that the offices of petájpe and biskál are the same.

To reach the office of *mayor*, one must give a fiesta to the patron saint and appear as a moro dancer. The moros dance on December 25 and 26 in the houses of the elders. On the 24th they worship in the church. *Mayores* must aid their superiors with firewood and their wives grind and carry water when the *alcalde* or kámbiti or petájpe hold a fiesta.

The kiéʼni has similar duties to the kéʼni of Cherán. He is entrusted with the care of the church and follows the orders of the *alcalde* in cleaning and adorning the structure. He

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796 has under his orders the anyítakuas or "*semaneros.*"

794 The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yurího.* This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorela* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos,* are associated with the *pastorelas.*

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

796 The dances performed at Cherán are all associated with some religious festival. Or-
535 ganization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo,* although the moros are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the moros, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (Moors) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the moro part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

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796 gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is
535 worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choregraphic description (and being unable to
[126] witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, turí'a, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or boys are sought, "alert people, good learners,
[883] who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the koroníče.

535 796 Usually the dancer picks one of his existing godmothers whom he likes. The godmother dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:

[435] [427]

Mask (rent)	$0.50
Ribbons (rent)	8.50
Suit (rent)	6.00
Shirt (purchase)	5.00
Shoes (purchase)	9.50
Necktie (rent)	.50
Total	$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

535 other (fig. 16). Occasionally each pair of
796 *negritos* will walk to the head of the line and back while the two recite their part of the *relato*.

535 The teaching of the *relato* and of the dance is done by a specialist hired for the occasion by
538 the *carguero*. The best-known specialist is Gregorio Castillo, although he was not hired in
796 1940. Castillo also teaches the dance of the *viejos*, *Europeos* or *Españoles*, as he prefers to call it, and was hired to teach the group in 1941. He had been teaching the dances for 28 years (in 1940). His *relatos* he wrote himself. He secured many *relatos* locally and also sent to Mexico City and Guadalajara for others, but he liked none of them. (But several people said they were very tired of Castillo's *relatos*, which have been the same for 20 years and which they felt were not very good anyway.) Castillo feels that the *negrito* dance is especially fine and that the *negritos* of Cherán are superior to any he has seen in other towns. The only time he admits having seen a better dance than that of Cherán was once when Aranza borrowed his *relato* and had especially elaborate costumes. Nahuatzen *negritos* have a better dress than those of Cherán, but they are no longer trained.

Castillo, perhaps because it is not in his field, believes the *pastorela* to be a very inferior performance. It is, he says, merely a lot of children dressed up prettily but knowing neither their lines nor their dance. The *negrito*, on the other hand, is a nice clear *relato*, all divided into acts, and the performers are old enough to learn their parts.

Castillo's *relatos* are, naturally, part of his stock in trade. While he was cooperative and willing to permit them to be copied, he would do so only at a price commensurate with their value to him. This price seemed more than they would be worth as documents, particularly

[Text continues on p. 1462]

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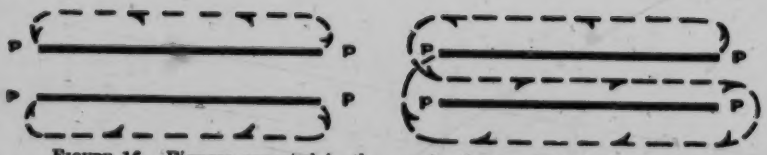

FIGURE 16.—Figures executed in the *negrito* dance. *P* indicates *pastores*.

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535 as it is evident that they contain much literary
538 echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived
796 from literary sources. As considerable portions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín Rangel, assistant on the project, who participated in both dances in 1940–41, it was felt the expense of securing the complete *relatos* was not warranted.

595 The following is the *relato* of Agustín
796 Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given,
539 but punctuation added):

First act: Music, followed by a song

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
Las Azuceñas puras y olorosas
Colores en su tallo vacilante,
Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
Se Abren, Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song

Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustin's part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
Divina criatura,
Te doy mi cariño . . .
(Second speaking part:)
Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
Y el sauce a la orrilla del torrente,
Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
Y asi los campos de verdor revistas
Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gusto y con amor a ofrecer passemos
Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(The following is sung as they pretend to make offerings):

Ante tus plantas postrado
Te ofrece aqui este negrito
Recibe me niño amado
Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
Con suelo y amor;
Escucha mi canto
Niño Salvador.
Benedice toditos,

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[p. 146 b]

535 Divino Creador.
539 Se van los negritos
796 Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand.
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou causest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by Agustín are the following (given in English):

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in Bethlehem.
I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle, a dog, and different playthings.)

535 The main part of the *relato* is recited by a
538 person known as *el letra* and another called
796 *el segundo*. These two stand at the head of the

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535 two files, except for the little girls at that end of
538 the lines. When the recitation begins, *el*
letra steps forward alone and recites his part,
796 returning to his place when finished. There is then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle. *El segundo* then does the same, followed by a *caminata*.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts about a month before December 25. For several evenings before the date they meet in the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The procedures beginning the night of December 24 are described as follows in an account written by Agustín Rangel:

The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the *carguero's* house. There were lots of people and about 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The *negritos* finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they were given supper and they sat around for a while. They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church. The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the *carguero's* house and the church, and third, when the Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed before going inside the church. There was a 12 a.m. Mass. The priest of the church came over to the *carguero's* house before the Holy Child left the house. The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a.m. Mass. [Note: There were several hundred persons in the
[373] procession, all with candles. The streets and houses were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even more light.]

December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner they went to church again to visit the Holy Child. Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house where they danced again. Then they went to the night Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio of the priest's house and danced before him. After they finished dancing, they danced in front of the municipal building before the mayor and officials. After they finished dancing there they went to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. They ate supper and every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.

December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten breakfast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's* house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced. After they finished there they went to Paricutin (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

[p.147b]

535 of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the
538 *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner, they danced and then went to the house of the new
796 *carguero* for the Holy Child where they danced until the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the *carguero's* house and then they went to the house of the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which they danced. From there they went to the priest's house where they danced in front of the priest. Then they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

535 A number of dance groups often appear at or before Christmas. Collectively they are known
796 as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly, they appeared about 10 days before Christmas Eve and then appeared every third night until December 24. Of recent years they have been forbidden because the various groups often arrived at the same house and then they would fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out but they went mainly to houses in their own *barrio* for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are the čúrikua anápu turíča or sakíč, "the negroes who go out at night." This group wears ordinary clothing but with the crown of the hat decorated with cut papers representing ribbons streaming out behind. Dancers of this group also wear paper ornaments on the front and back of their clothing. They have guitar and drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the t'aié aríriča, the dancing old men. The word "aii" also means a person who talks too much and who certainly does not speak the truth. This group dresses
[532] like old men; the members wear a long overcoat and a black wooden mask with the beard represented. The masks are similar to those worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the dancers are also dressed as women. They have five or six stringed instruments. No data were collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the apáčiča or the *salvajes* or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro savages). They paint their faces to resemble the negrito masks but wear no masks. Rooster

535 feathers are stuck in their hair, and they carry
796 bows and arrows. Their dance is purely leaping about. They form a circle, leap about, shout, and make gestures with their bows and arrows. They never speak but make a sort of buzzing noise and make signs with an arrow to indicate what they want. They have guitar and drum music.

The three groups are said to signify that when the Christ Child was born, there appeared a star and various persons had to follow the star, performing their dances in various places. The three dances represent those of the tribes of the Three Kings who went in search of the Child. The Apaches were the last and were the most savage.

The various groups (and more than one
535 group may appear for each dance) go about to
584 various houses where there are unmarried girls
796 or girls approaching marriageable age, and especially to houses where one of the boys has a sweetheart. Usually the girl is warned in advance (through the agency of some small boy) if she is to be visited. She prepares presents of balls of pinole and brown sugar, wrapped in maize husks, often elaborately painted. Sometimes some of these are made in the shape of a rooster or some animal. The girl gives these to the boy who has been courting her if she favors him, and the plain pinole balls to the others. They are also often given food. One of the surreptitious groups in 1940 at a well-to-do house were given coffee with *charanda* in it and boiled squash. When the dancers first enter the house yard, they shake hands with the girl. After eating, they dance a while. Then they say a word of thanks in Tarascan, shake hands with the girl again, and leave. "The idea," said unmarried Agustín, "is just to touch the girl's hand and see how neat her cooking and housework is." Obviously the dances are significant parts of the mating selection, for on almost no other occasion would a boy have a chance to see how a girl's house was run or have a chance to touch her hand openly.

According to one informant, a burlesque of the Mass is given by the dancers. This was not verified from any other source. It is the sort of thing which might sometimes have been done, but it seems foreign to the main purpose of the dances.

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THE PASTORELA

535 The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is also performed at Christmas time. The dance
7% is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are
857 the *uanánčes*, the four girls (six according to other accounts) who have taken incense and flowers to the church during the year and performed other services at the church. Generally they are about 10 years of age. Usually the girls have been vowed to the service by their parents as the result of illness or some other misfortune threatening the child. The time of the dance is sometimes called the fiesta of pajáču (meaning not secured).

The *uanánčes* invite a number of other girls to participate, 12 in all being needed. The girls invited by the *uanánčes* have no responsibilities other than dancing, but each of the *uanánčes* must feed the group for 1 day. The *uanánčes* also select adults to represent the parts of the devil and the hermit and also select the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of course, are borne by their parents) also have music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the *catrin*, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with straw hats adorned with artificial flowers (actually the style is not citified, but is rural Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not performed in 1940 and the actual dance could not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the performance. One of the songs collected (for
535 the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows
539 (spelling as given):
7%

A que noche tan eremoza
Ensillad mi buen caballo
Que en Belen nos conbida de Salvador
Muy lejos tierras bengo
Agozar de una pasiada
Con gusta y contento
A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
Saddle my good horse,
For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
To very distant lands I will arrive.
I will enjoy a journey,
With pleasure and content
To bring together my cattle.

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Usually the *pastorela* is given the night of December 24 and for 2 or 3 days afterward. The dancers perform first between the church and the municipal building. Then they visit the houses of the members of the *cabildo* and the various *cargueros*. At the houses they are usually given some fruit.

In 1940 considerable feeling was engendered by the collapse of the *pastorela*, which many believed to be the pleasantest of the various dances, the more moralistic because no one drank in connection with it. Don Inocencio, the father of the first *uanánče*, the šunánda or pári, wished to give the *pastorela* so that he could comply with the promise he had made when his daughter was sickly as a small child. He was somewhat incensed because the *prioste* had spoken to the other families first and told them they should not give the dance. When Don Inocencio visited the other parents he found them unwilling to go ahead and disgusted with the whole situation. Most extreme was Tomás Hernandez, who said he would not comply with the obligation, even though it should mean losing the 10 pesos he had advanced on behalf of the group to bring the band from Tanaco. Or, he added, he might be willing to bring the band, but he wouldn't give the dance; instead, he would give a big paránda or drinking party for the benefit of themselves and not for the town.

Don Inocencio expressed great distress at this attitude. He already had fattened two pigs and expressed himself frequently as willing to go ahead with the *pastorela* if others would help. He appealed to the staff of the investigation to speak to the mayor, asking him to compel the other families to comply with their obligation; or, failing that, for permission to take up a voluntary collection. Clearly, Don Inocencio felt that the families of the other *uanánčes* were taking advantage of the dismissal of the *cabildo* to avoid their just obligations.

This suspicion of Don Inocencio's was quite correct in some cases. One of the other family heads stated that the dismissal of the *cabildo* canceled the obligation. Although his daughter had become a *uanánče* in compliance with a vow, her father announced he would not help to give the *pastorela* even though others volun-

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tarily contributed to the expenses. One of the more cynical assistants in the investigation pointed out that the attitude was quite understandable, as the man owed a debt of $160 to a woman in the town, who was trying to force him to pay at least half of it.

The father of another of the *uanánčes* stated that with the dismissal of the *prioste* the custom of the *pastorela* had ended and that it was unnecessary to continue. Evidently he did not care for the custom and remarked, "To me it seems best that they dismissed the *prioste*."

Another case is of some interest. Although the girl was not a *uanánče*, her parents had made a vow that she should appear in the *pastorela*. The parents made an arrangement for her to participate in the *pastorela* of Cheranástico. The Cheranástico *pastorela* evidently is somewhat different from that of Cherán. The girl would wear a red dress, a silk handkerchief covering the lower part of her face, a man's hat, and shoes and would be known as a *rancherita*. She would dance opposite a small boy partner called a *ranchero* (rancher). The *pastorela* of Cheranástico is performed January 1.

DANCE OF THE *VIEJOS* OR *EUROPEOS*

The dance of the *viejos* or *Europeos* (old men or Europeans) appears in connection with the Three Kings, January 6. Previous to 1940 the dance had been given by a volunteer group. In the afternoons, as men lounged about the streets and talked after work, people would begin to mention that the time for the dance was approaching. Eventually a group would decide that they should organize the dance. They would collect money among themselves and others and hire musicians and a teacher. In 1940, however, the *carguero* of the Three Kings, announced that giving the dance was properly part of the *mayordomía* and undertook to organize the dancers, pay the teacher and musicians, and provide food for the dancers.

The group in 1940 consisted of 30 *viejos* (but not all of them appeared all the time), three kings, and five *pastorcitas* or shepherdesses. (There should have been only four shepherdesses; we were unable to learn the reason for the extra one. Possibly someone asked to participate after the four were chosen or there

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535 were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be
786 politic to ask five different families.) The *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men participated in this dance. They wore *vestido de catrín*, "city dress," including a long black overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden
[532] mask with black or golden beard, the features being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white, one rose-colored, and one black (one of the images of the Three Kings is also black). They also wore a long white wig surmounted by a crown, each one different; a long, intentionally ragged cape of colored material (really a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The kings merely sit or stand and do not dance. The shepherdesses are dressed in the same fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes. The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

[435]

Mask ($1.50 to 2.50, rent; $5, purchase)	$ 2.50
Hat	2.00
Overcoat	3.00
Pants and vest	2.50
Muffler	1.50
Jucarche (hat band?)	.50
Flowers	1.50
Shoes	$6.00–$10.00
Shirt	5.00
Necktie	.50
Total (with shoes, $25–$29)	$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

The local masks are expensive and are re-
[532] garded as inferior. Those from Sevina and Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better. The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior local products; good masks had been ordered from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recitation. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a shepherdess at each end (two at one end in 1940), with the three kings facing the files at

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[p.180b]

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one end. First spoke a *letra* (in 1940 Agustín Rangel, assistant in the study), who gave an introduction (see below), walking up and down between the files and describing the events of the birth of Christ and the Three Kings. Then all made a circuit (fig. 17). After this, everyone (except the Three Kings but including the shepherdesses) stepped between the lines in

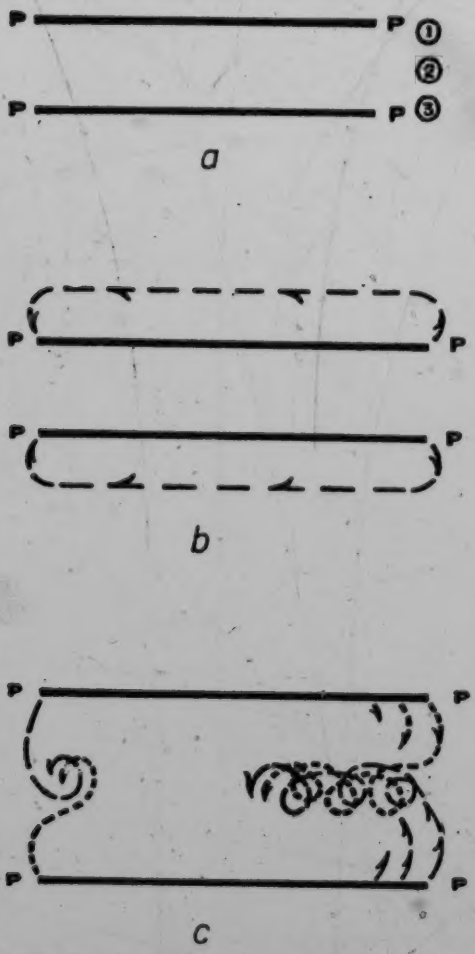

FIGURE 17.—Dance of the *Europeos*, showing various dance figures. *a*, Basic position at start of dance and in which all figures end. *b*, Circling movement. *c*, Movements of paired dancers, executed by each pair in turn, reversing the figure to return to their original position. *P* indicates the *pastores;* the numerals indicate the Three Kings.

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[p.151a]

535 796 pairs, speaking a *relato* referring to events that had happened in those days. Then they sang a song, making another circuit. After this, the Three Kings marched between the files to the opposite end, where they were met by one of the pairs, the shepherdesses first. The Kings returned to their position, followed by the pair of dancers. Each dancer then spoke a brief verse, telling what he had brought to the Christ Child. The Kings answered. The others sang without words during this event except while the dancers spoke. This was repeated for each pair of dancers.

A pair of dancers from each end of the line now passed down the files until they met one another. Each pair held hands and danced in a circle, then reversed to the original position. The pairs then returned to their position and were followed by the others until all had danced. The *letra* then spoke a closing piece, telling everyone they should be gay. After this, each pair in succession danced a *jarabe* between the files from one end to the other. If a dancer performed very well and with much spirit, the others cried out in a falsetto voice. Sometimes they did this anyway for pleasure.

535 539 796 The *relato* of the *letra* or leader in 1940 was that composed by Gregorio Castillo and went as follows (spelling and punctuation as given):

No duda, bien lo Sabeis
Mis respetables ancianos;
El 25 del mes,
De Diciembre en la locacion:
Bajo hay del alto cielo,
Han acer en esta suela
Nuestro Dios de predencia.
Al instante los pastores,
Sabidos del gran portento;
Salen preste en el momento,
A visitar el Señor.
Dejando el campo y ganado
Asi como sus cabañas;
Ven por bosques y montanas,
Y con crecido contento,
van a ver el nacimiento
Del Niño Jesus amado.
Cuando contaba ocho dias
De nacido el Niño Amado
Fue tambien cir convencido
El verdadero mezias.
Compañeros Veteranos,
Recordar el 6 de enero
Fiesta de la epiphania,
Fue de gloria el feliz dia;

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[p. 1516]

535 Del bellisimo lucero,
539 Fue la manifestacion,
Del Niño Dios y Señor;
796 Por eso con todo amor,
Vamos a su adoracion.

Canto: 1ª caminata

Salid presuros,
Las glorias cantandos;
Al Nino en sal sando
Cantos de amor.

1ª Relato

Tambien Los Reyes de Oriente,
Manchan en este momento;
De Dios Niño al Nacimiento,
A ver a mi portente.
Luz de vina los va guindo
Y van a la adoracion,
En tan feliz ocasion,
La gloria le van cantando.

Ofrecimiento—Canto

Pasad al monto,
Con gusto y amor,
Ofrecer al Niño,
Amor y consuelo.
Ofrece
Te veo en humildes pajitas,
Y me postre en el instante,
Yo te adoro Nino Amante,
Y te ofresco estas conchitas.
(Pide el baile al terminar los ofrecimientos de todos.)

Baile

Pues todos nos complacemos
Yavimos tu Nacimiento
Y Todos con gusto estamos
Porque felices seremos;—
Niño Dios, bello portento,
En grupo todos nos vamos;
Al terminar la Vecita;
Mas en nuestros corazones;
Todos Fidos te llevarnos;
Jamas, jamas nos olvides,
Hoy te dicen toditos,
Hasta el año Venidero
Mas todos con Alegria
Vimos ya tus Maravillas:
¡Oh! Ninito Salvador,
Permitanos gran Senor,
Que con gusta te bailemos.
Unos alegres cuadrillas;
En tan felices momentos
Adios digo companeros,
Toquen ya los instrumentos
Y los sones abajemos—

Despues del Canto

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[p. 152a]
Sierra Tarascam

Musica

535 Ya nos retiremos,
Del lugar Sagrado;
539 Llovando nos vamos,
!Oh! Jesus amado.
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TRANSLATION

Do not doubt it, well you know it,
My respectable ancients,
The 25th of the month
Of December in the location
There below the high heavens
Has been born on this earth
Our Lord who takes precedence.
Instantly the shepherds,
Knowing of the great portent,
Started quickly at that moment
To visit the Lord.
Leaving the fields and the cattle
As well as their cabins;
They went through woods and mountains,
And with growing contentment,
Went to see the birth
Of the beloved Child Jesus.
When eight days were counted
From the birth of the beloved Child,
Likewise were made neighborly
The true union [meaning unclear].
Veteran comrades,
Remember the sixth of January
Feast of the Epiphany,
That happy day was glorious.
From the beautiful morning star
Came the manifestation
Of the Child, God and Lord;
For this with all love
We go to adore Him.

1st walking interval. Song

Go forth hastily
Singing the glories;
To the Child raising
Songs of love.

1st relation

Also the Kings of the East
March at this moment;
Of God the Child at the birthplace
To see my portent.
Divine Light guided them
And they went to the adoration,
On such a happy occasion,
They went singing the glories.

Offering—Song

Pass to the amount [meaning unclear]
With pleasure and love,
Offer to the Child
Love and consolation.

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[p.152b]

The Offering

535 I see Thee on humble straw
And I prostrate myself instantly,
539 I adore Thee, loving Child,
And I offer Thee these little shells.
796 (The dance is asked for when the offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
Now we have seen your birth,
And all are pleased
Because we will be happy.
Child God, beautiful portent,
Together we all go
To put an end to the visit.
Moreover in our hearts
All faithful we carry Thee.
Never, never forget us,
Today all tell Thee,
Until the coming year,
But all with joy,
Now we have seen your marvels;
Oh, little Child Savior,
Permit us great Lord,
That with pleasure we dance for Thee
Some joyous quadrilles.
In such happy moments,
I say "farewell companions."
Let the instruments play
And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning not clear—possibly *abajeños* is meant, not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
From the Sacred place.
Weeping [?] we go,
Oh! beloved Jesus.

535 The style of delivery of these *relatos* was
538 highly declamatory and monotonous. The
796 words were spoken in a level tone without inflection or other interpretation of their meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual *relatos* was secured. One dancer said he was very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground. If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was going to the place of the Holy Child anyway. Another said that if he got tired walking, he would go on his knees to visit the Child, even though they were scratched. Yet another complained of his high squeaky voice, but even if his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

535 Child. The performer with the latter lines
796 was the only one who managed to make the
[538] crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in
[626] silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p. m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a. m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a. m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a. m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breafast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

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where we danced and were given oranges. We then went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Antonio, where we danced and were not given anything. From there we went to the store of Victoriano Turja where we danced and were given 1 liter of *aguardiente*. Then we left for the meat market of one of the *carguero*s of the Holy Kings [he means one of the principals], Don Ygnacio Duran, where we danced and recited the *relato*, the whole works, and were given oranges. From there we left for the house of [the *carguero* of] Santa Nieves, where we danced and were given money, 1 centavo apiece. From there we went to the house [of the *carguero* of] Our Lady of Guadalupe where we danced and were given limes. From there we came dancing what they call a *carnival* through the streets to the store of Don Hilario (Xhembe) where we were given sugarcane. Then we left for the *carguero's* house to eat supper. We were told to be early at his house the next morning.

January 8. The next morning we started to dance about 9 a.m. from the *carguero's* house. We went to the house of Rosalio [*representante* or representative of the town], where we danced and were given oranges. From there we went to the house of Crescencio Hernandez where they gave us a 50-centavo piece because she said [the mistress of the house] that they had not expected us to come and dance at the house. Then we went to a house on Galeana and Allende where we danced and where we were not given anything because he [the house owner] said he wasn't expecting us. Then we danced to one of the *carguero's* of the Holy Kings [meaning principal again] where we were given oranges. From there we went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Isidro where we danced and were given oranges. Then we went to [the *barrio* of] Paricutin to the place of the Virgin Inés; there we danced and were given oranges. Then from there we went to the house of the *carguero* of some saint near the barranca of Paricutin where we danced and were not given anything. Then we went to the house on the corner of Rayon and Comercio streets where we danced and were given oranges. Then we headed for the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner, we then went to the house of the Miraculous Holy Christ where we danced and were not given anything because we started to grab the oranges from the basket and the woman got sore and didn't give us anything. Then we left for the house of Don Jesús Velasquez (the main marriage manager), where we danced and were given oranges. He had invited us to go over to his house and dance. From there we went to Ricardo Queriapa where the saint of San Anselmo is. There we danced and were given oranges. But this time some of the *viejos* had separated and some of them had gone to the plaza. After we finished dancing at that lady's house we then danced at the store of Alberto Muñoz where we were not given anything. Then the Doctor invited us over to dance in front of his office. After we got through, the Doctor flipped a peso to see who would get it. One of the *viejos* got it and got drunk

535 7% with the peso. From the plaza we then went west over to the store of Don Emilio Rojas where we danced and were given a 50-centavo piece. From there we then came over to the house of Rafael Castillo, where we danced and were given two packages of cigarettes. From there we went over to the store of Benito Pahuamba, where we danced and were given a bottle of sherry. From there we went over to the *carguero's* house to eat supper, but before we ate we danced the whole works. Then we ate supper and after that they gave each of the *viejos* a loaf of white bread. But before, when we were dancing and reciting, the *carguero's* wife began to pass out sugarcane and oranges and then we went to eat. After supper we danced for a little while, up to about 11 p.m., and then we went home. We danced [this time] because that was the *combate* for this year's *mayordomía* for Don Aurelio. [The last sentence is obscure. Don Aurelio was the *carguero* for the succeeding year.]

Ordinarily the dancers appear again for 1 day at the time of Candelaria, February 2, reciting the same *relatos* but without the Three Kings. For 1941 one man had agreed to pay for the music and two others had agreed to provide food for the dancers, but for some reason the arrangement fell through. On the vespers of Candelaria, people burn pitch pine (ocote) in front of their lots.

OTHER DANCES

[857] On January 1 a group of children, 6 to 8 years old, dances in the day time. Six boys and six girls participate and are called taré sapíratiča, or the "little old men." They go to church very early in the morning and change the image of the Holy Child, which had been placed in a reclining position in a crib on December 25, placing it in a sitting position. After the Mass the children go to the house of the *colector*, where they breakfast and dance. They then go to the house of the kéṛi and dance. Later they go to some other houses to dance. At midday they eat at the house of the *colector* again. The dance is performed to music furnished by wind instruments. It apparently attracts little attention and often is not performed. A former *colector* stated the girls are the *uanánčes* for the ensuing year, but this fact seemed not to be generally known.

In connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves or the Virgin of the Snows, a group of girls performs a dance on August 5 for 1 day to music of wind instruments. The dance is

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535 known as the caballita uaŕiča dance of the
796 little horses. The figures of horses are made
[532] of withes from certain plants, with openings in the middle in which the girls stand. The head is made so it can move, and the dance consists mostly of the girls standing and moving the horses' heads in time to the music. Again, little attention is paid to the dance, and the *carguero* often does not arrange to have it performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges a dance known as the uáris. The dancers consist simply of unmarried girls and young women who dress in the traditional costume but perhaps with a few more ornaments than usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned of in other towns. The *pastorela* of Capacuaro was the most thoroughly studied, but the data remain superficial and unrelated to the ceremonial setting. The dancers are connected with the *carguero* for the December 25th ceremonies. A pole is erected in his patio with a large paper lantern suspended from the top (this is done by the kéŋi at Cherán, but use of this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage is erected at one end of the patio on which some of the *relatos* are given. The house is also decorated with paper flowers and pine boughs. A table altar on the porch has a *creche* with miniature figures. The dancers appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting 18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the *carguero's* house. Doubt of this statement seems indicated.

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535 The dancers consist of between 35 and 40
796 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of 8 to 12. In addition, there were two "hermits" or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and carried a whip, serving, among other functions, as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europeos*
[532] were dressed in white wooden masks with long blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

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796 "demons" were dressed in black, wearing a crown of feathers on the back of the head, with a black veil over most of the face. The devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*. Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers. Two small boys represented angels (one, Michael, with a sword), but the majority were dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes, and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

535 The performance begins with a long *relato* by the devils in which they talk about a journey
796 they are going to make, the curious things they are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a *ranchero* dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros* supervise the two files of children. Then there is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers give their crooks to friends or relatives and dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of children alone or occasionally with the hermits. The devils and the hermits, on the other hand, constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one another. Occasionally one or two of the devils will capture a hermit and force him to dance along with them. Also, from time to time the hermits use their whips to keep the children from crowding in too much on the dancers.

[522] The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One was seen "praying" before the church with his hands together but with both thumbs to his nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd with their whips or if they identified the offender, would pursue him with their whips—and sometimes used them if the stones had been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of the church before the saints' images, which are brought out of the church for this. Then the dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after which they dance. Then they go to various houses and dance. The householders give them fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts. Then they return to the house of the *carguero* to eat once more.

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[p. 155b]

Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

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At primarily Mestizo San Juan Parangaricutiro on January 7 a dance of *Europeos* was observed. The two main dancers were a man and woman in burlesque of *catrin-ranchero* costumes (the "woman" was a man dressed in women's clothes). The woman wore a straw hat with artificial flowers, a well-made white wooden mask of a European woman's face, a cloth enveloping all of the head not covered by the mask, a yellow waist, and a black *ranchera's* skirt with a beautifully embroidered yellow silk apron, gloves, and a handbag. In her hands she carried a narrow woman's sash. The man wore a white wig with ribbons, white mask with black beard and attractive features, a sweater, a moro dancer's cape (but worn a little lower than the moro dancer does, so the mirror was over the man's buttocks), and several women's aprons of silk or rayon hung from about his neck. About his legs from the knees down were wrapped numerous women's belts and about his ankles were copper bells. Over one shoulder he carried a stick with one end carved into a burro's head, adorned with ribbons and with a bell hung from the neck of the burro.

The other dancers were dressed somewhat like the male leader, except the cape was black with an opening like that of a serape although worn as a cape. The lining of the cape was in brilliant colors of silk or rayon. Ornamentation of the cape was done with colored sequins. Otherwise the costume was the same, but no stick was carried.

The dance music varied according to various aspects of the dance, changes being indicated by the male leader ringing his bell. The dancers formed in two files, with the male leader at the head of one file, the woman leader at the head of the other. When the music began, the dancers leaped in the air several times and shouted in a high voice. Then the files performed several circuits; the one headed by the male making its circuit first, followed by the other. Following the circuits the dancers performed a sort of *jarabe*, but remained in one place. From time to time they leaped high in the air (individually), shouting in a falsetto voice. As they came down they spread their capes wide and, with hair and aprons flying in

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535 all directions, they resembled some impossible
796 bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either sondado uaran or turi¢auarani. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed
[534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

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533 also play for some civic events, such as the installation of new officers, for which they receive no pay.

In addition to the organized bands, there are smaller and less well organized groups of musicians, mainly performers on stringed instruments such as violin, violincello, bass fiddle, and guitar, although a clarinetist may be included. Such groups meet and play together at one another's houses for their own pleasure. At times, however, they may be hired for *mayordomías* or household fiestas, especially if the sponsor cannot afford a full band. Such groups may also be asked to play at some public function. In 1940 one such group was asked by the mayor to play in the school in connection with the final oral examinations and closing exercises.

WITCHCRAFT

754 For many miles around, Cherán has the reputation of being the outstanding center for witchcraft among the Tarascans. As is often the case, however, it was extremely difficult to secure any information about witchcraft in the town. Enough was secured, however, and enough significant evasions encountered, to make it likely that the reputation is deserved. Even by the informants and assistants on the study, concealment was practiced, and at the very end of the study some data were obtained virtually by accident from Agustín, our United States born helper, which he obviously told with great reluctance.

Witches, sʌkuájpiri, are believed always to be women. In general, the name of witch is applied to all "women of the street," that is, women who live without men. Generally, these are either aged women without relatives or women, usually widows, who are believed to be prostitutes. No one would dare do anything against such women. Although these women may live in any part of the town, there is evidence that they are believed to live more in *barrio* I on the slopes of Santiákujákua, the hill on the northwest corner of the town. This hill is said to be full of witches and to be a very dangerous spot to go to at night. Passing along one of the uppermost streets on the hill one day, we were asked for a coin by an old woman. Agustín R. refused to let me give a coin and

754 hurried us away, obviously much shaken by the experience and firmly convinced the woman was a witch.

Despite the fact that several persons stated all witches are women, a story was collected that witchcraft was started in Cherán by a man who found a book. Most power, though, is said to be obtained by a witch who goes alone to the summit of Kukundikáta, a volcanic cone a mile or two southeast of town and about a thousand feet in height. Here the witch calls the devil, "Sir devil, I ask a favor." A strong wind is felt or the sound of a strong wind is heard and the devil appears before the petitioner. The would-be witch then makes a contract for 20 years, at the end of which time he loses his life. In the meantime the witch may teach others, however, who do not have a contract unless the witch makes a subsidiary agreement with them. In any case they are not as powerful as the witch who secures power directly from the devil. (Note again in this account the implication that the witches are male.)

Witches operate in several ways. The most common is to secure some very personal object, a comb, piece of hair, piece of clothing, or even sweat from a coin (which is why Agustín refused to let me give a coin, as mentioned above). A doll of wax or clay is made to resemble the person and dressed in similar clothes. The article obtained is used in making or clothing the doll. If hair of the victim has been obtained, for example, it is placed on the head of the doll. Pins are then stuck in the joints and, if it is desired to kill the victim, in each temple. The doll is then taken to one of several places, things are recited in Tarascan, candles are burned, and each time the pins are pushed in a little farther.

The places visited are a spot in the *barranca* separating Parícutin from the other *barrios* or two caves on the slope of Kukundikáta. It was undesirable to attempt to locate the spot in the *barranca*, but the two caves were visited. Neither showed signs of much use. In one candles had evidently been burned. The second had been visited fairly recently. Far in the back of the cave a small trench crossed the steeply sloping floor and the rocks about it had been well swept. In a corner were twigs from

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754 an oak tree and at one side two crossed branches of oak. A cigarette butt and some fragments of pitch pine, apparently dropped casually, were the only other evidence of use.

It was reported that a good deal of witchcraft had been stamped out and that the municipal government, acting on orders from Morelia, had posted two armed guards at night in the *barranca* and one on Kukundikáta with orders to shoot to kill anyone they found practicing witchcraft. It is necessary to kill the witch, because if the witch escapes the magic will turn against the person interfering. Any attempt at verification of this report from the municipal officials met with such skillful evasive action that there may be a modicum of truth in it.

Another way of bewitching is to carry objects at night to the house of the victim. Bones of dead persons were mentioned as one of the objects. Pedro Chávez had also seen a candle with many holes in it and cut in many places which was hidden close to the house of an intended victim. Candles are used because they are associated with the dead. Earth from the floor of the jail is also very useful in such matters, and certain flowers may also be deposited.

One of the ways of leaving things or of obtaining a personal object is for the witch to change into some animal. Witches may change into cats, owls, dogs, roosters, or burros. In this guise they may hide something by the house of the victim or may steal some personal object. If a strange cat, or even a neighbor's cat which has never come around before, should come into the kitchen and play and try to snatch personal things it is probably a witch in disguise. If such a cat is caught by the tail and held in the smoke of an oak fire it will soon talk and answer any question asked, such as the name of the witch, the person sending the witch, and so on. A friend of Agustín R. caught a witch cat in this way. He threatened to kill it if he saw it again. When he released the animal, it simply vanished.

The animals may also talk softly to the victim at night. A woman heard a voice outside saying, "Sleep, *Doña* ———, sleep." She went to a good witch and after a period of treatment was not bothered again. Owls will get in trees

754 outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

Little is known about curing techniques. In
754 the account secured, the good witch goes into
755 an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

In all probability an important reason for the
754 departure of the Rangel family from Cherán
[167] for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

754 magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

754 Data are too scanty to form any reliable
157 hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory
621 might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

Two other items should be added to this dis-
754 cussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

Although not considered witches, there are
791 women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

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WITCHCRAFT IN CAPACUARO

754 As is often the case, more specific details of witchcraft were secured in Capacuaro, which has no reputation for witchcraft, than in Cherán. In the course of a brief stay in Capacuaro, Rendón and Carrasco made the acquaintance of a delightful couple who openly admitted to being witches. The remaining members of the staff subsequently became fairly well acquainted with the couple. Their witchcraft seemed, on the whole, a relatively harmless and unmalicious variety, which may account for their willingness to admit to the practice. Per-
754 haps the most entertaining incident was when
832 the wife told Rendón under promise of secrecy that she had secured her husband through witchcraft and had been able to keep him only through the same means. The husband told Carrasco the same story about his wife!

The following are details, mostly collected by Rendón:

1. Method of winning the love of someone; of making a wife return to her husband; or of making a husband return to his wife; or causing someone who is impassioned without hope to obtain what he desires:

Secure five candles costing 5 centavos, three of paraffin and two of tallow. The practitioner must shut himself in a room without anyone seeing him, but if he has asked a witch to do the ceremony for him, he must be present. The candles are arranged in the following form:

•	tallow candle
• • •	paraffin candles
•	tallow candle

The paraffin candle in the center is known as the "Candle of the Heart." The candles must be in the center of the room and oriented to the cardinal directions.

Placing of the candles begins with the lower tallow candle. First the candle is turned between the fingers in a certain way, saying "so and so, come, come, come, come, come . . . " many times. Upon saying this the necessary number of times depends much of the success of the ceremony, but there are no rules; the witch simply feels when it has been enough. The candle is then lighted and put in position. The same is done with the other candles, but the order could not be given unless the investigator had hired the ceremony performed with serious purpose.

The center candle, the "Candle of the heart," is previously softened by exposure to the sunlight. Two fingers are then measured on the candle from the base

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754 "for your guardian angel, two fingers for the Holy
832 Spirit, and one finger for your name." At the point reached by the five fingers measurement, the candle is opened and a flower called the "flower of thought" is placed inside, and the wax is replaced carefully as though the candle had not been opened.

The center candle is now lighted at the butt end and placed in position upside down. Great care must be exercised, however, not to permit the candle to burn past the point where the flower is located. If it did, the bewitched person would die and the person performing the incantation would go to the inferno and suffer throughout eternity.

This ceremony may be performed in any position of the moon and by either day or night. Nevertheless, Wednesday is the best day, and night is the best time. The indispensable prerequisite is that no one see the ceremony except the person on whose behalf it is performed. Any other person, even though equally interested in the success of the procedure, would interfere with the result, while a hostile person who knew, could intercept the "labor" and even do injury to the witch.

Despite this prohibition in ordinary cases, there are some circumstances in which several witches or women "initiated in remedies," even though they did not know how to officiate, might perform this ceremony together. The informant, however, refused to tell how the ceremony was performed in this case or the object of the ceremony.

After the ceremony has been performed, the subject is observed for several days or a week. If no improvement in attitude is noticeable, the bewitchment continues in the following form:

Candles are burned again as described above. In addition, the witch procures a meter of black belting material, a small stamp of Saint Judas, a bit of red paper, "flowers of thought," dahlias or other red flowers, and a collection of as many kinds of flowers as can be found. The Saint Judas is wrapped carefully and thoroughly in the black belt. The bundle is then wrapped in the red paper and laid on a cross made of the miscellaneous flowers at the "head" of the candles with the saint's face down. On the bundle is placed the red flower and the "flowers of thought." Then the witch says, "Saint Judas, bring me so and so, for I have you there prisoner and if you do not hurry I will burn you." A "prayer" is then said in Tarascan which the informant refused to divulge. The witch remains in a kneeling position and recites seven credos until the "Candle of the Heart" reaches the point past which it must not burn. (In order to have the candles burn an equal amount, it is necessary to put out the others when they reach the same level.)

754 2. To make someone hate another person; to make a husband leave his wife or a wife leave her husband; to make children desert their parents or parents abandon their children; to make a person feel repulsion for others:

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754 The witch or the person who wishes to accomplish the result secures excrement of the person who is to be hated. The excrement is dried in the sun from 12 until 3, being careful not to expose it at other hours. When dry, the excrement is ground to a powder. Each day at sundown a little of the powder is burned and clothing of the person who is to hate the other is passed through the smoke. Thus a witch who wished another [832] woman's husband secured some of the woman's excrement and passed a pair of trousers and shirt of the man through the smoke. The very next day the man left his wife and came to live with the witch (and is now her husband). The deserted wife immediately went with another man and her first husband "danced with pleasure."

3. To make mischief so that something goes badly with a person—so that his animals will die, so his harvest will fail, so he will fall in jail, so he and all his family will weaken and catch diseases:

Take about a quarter-liter bottle of alcohol. Mix this with earth taken from a spot where there was a quarrel to the death, or where someone had an accident and died, or where there is a burial of a person who did not die in Christian fashion, or from the illegal grave of some recently born child whose parents did not notify the authorities and buried it surreptitiously. If no serious injury is to be caused it will be sufficient to take earth where there has been a quarrel and bloodshed, even though there was no death. This earth, after mixing with alcohol, is allowed to dry thoroughly and is kept in a bottle until it is needed. When the opportunity offers, a little of the earth is sprinkled on the back of the person it is desired to injure, at the same time saying in one's mind the kind of injury one wishes will occur.

4. To cause suppurating sores on the genitals of a person one hates:

Buy oil for lamps and let it burn several days before a holy image. Take what is left and mix it with a bit of earth recently stepped on by the person it is desired to injure, or put in the oil something of the victim, such as hair, fingernails, or some piece of used clothing, and burn the oil, saying "So and so, you must have sores on such and such a part of the body." In addition, if the person is a man, he must be given a glass of *aguardiente* in which an herb from the hot country has infused a number of days; and if the person is a woman, a *gorda* made from maize dough or nixtamal in which the same herb is mixed. (The informant refused to name the herb, claiming she identified it only by sight when the herb sellers came around.)

754 5. So that a man or woman will "become tame" and do what one wishes, including mak-
832 ing a husband permit his wife sexual relations with another man or a wife permit her husband

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754 sexual relations with another woman, and, in
832 addition, aiding the adulterers to meet:

Buy a new small pottery vessel (*olita*); it is best to buy it direct from the kiln to make sure it has not been used for anything else. Fill the vessel with holy water, first fastening a new 20 centavo piece to the bottom, inside, with campeche wax. Into the water put a large paraffin candle which has been cut into many small pieces. Each piece represents part of the strength (*fuerza*) of the individual while the holy water signifies that the strength is broken. In order that the results will be "good," put in a piece of cane from the mountains known as *otate del leon* and a very resinous splinter of pitch pine. Then cover the top of the vessel with a thick cap of campeche wax so that no air may enter. The vessel is then buried beneath the spot where the person to be bewitched sleeps, if this person is a spouse. If not, the vessel is buried in the patio of the house of the person.

6. To make a man lose his sexual vigor so that he will recover it only with the woman who has had the magic done:

[824] The witch must first seek a small grass known as *pito de toro* and place it in *aguardiente* to infuse. The man should drink a little of this *aguardiente* every day for 8 days. If he is not a drinking man, then it must be given in coffee or atole or in some other manner so that he will not be aware that he is being given something. After 8 days the woman spies on the man until he goes to urinate, which she must recover a bit of the moist earth or, if he has not urinated on the earth, place earth in the receptacle. The urine-moistened earth is placed inside a *chile ancho* of the largest size it is possible to secure. The *chile* is then sewed up with needle and thread so none of the earth can escape and placed below the spot where the man sleeps with someone, or, if he is unmarried, it is buried in his patio as close as possible to the place where he sleeps. With this, the man remains incapacitated from having sexual relations with any woman except the one who has performed the rite.

75 7. To make a person suffer so that he will be sad and feel sick, although it will be imagination and not in reality; so that he will feel he is going to die; so that everything is revolting; and so that he will be unable to find tranquillity at any moment because it will seem something is about to happen:

Make a small doll resembling the human figure out of campeche wax and clothing used by the person. It is important that the clothing used should not have been washed, but be soiled from wearing. When the doll is made, stick pins in it all along the part of the spinal column, one in the crown of the head, two in the temples, two in the throat on each side, two in the nape of the neck, two in the umbilicus, and seven on the

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754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 In addition to the above methods of bewitch-
892 ment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 Methods of prevention and cure against
751 witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured
755 by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

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754 refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft, Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too [831] scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches [763] disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

776 Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural outside of the various aspects 151 of Christianity and witchcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the mirí$_{\eta}$gua, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the mirí$_{\eta}$gua. The most common place about town for the mirí$_{\eta}$gua to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

776 without his being able to see who it was. Then
151 he became frightened and ran toward his house (as he thought), but instead he ran faster and faster in the opposite direction. Eventually he became terrorized and ran, falling and bumping into things, for it was getting increasingly darker, until he arrived at a place he did not recognize. He ran through many nettles which struck him like pack straps, drawing blood all over his body. Finally he found a cave and took refuge in it, where he struggled all night with something that tried to strangle him. He was found in the morning by a search party which had been hunting him all night. He was 17 when this occurred.

On another occasion a woman was found dead in a sand cave without any tracks except her own footprints. She showed all the signs of strangulation. Before her death this woman had told her relatives and friends that frequently she would think she was on her way home and would find herself in the *barranca*. She would sit down awhile and make the sign of the cross and pray. With this, things would become clear to her and she could retrace her road.

A youth returning from his field to his house, felt something pull him strongly toward the *barranca* as he crossed the bridge. He resisted, and then it seemed to him he was going toward home when suddenly he lost his footing and began to fall in space. As he fell he had the impression he was entering his house. He was found next day in the *barranca*, half dead, and was unable to speak for 8 days. He stammers still as the result of his fright.

Another story tells of a man who had attended a wedding in Paricutin. After the wedding the group went through the streets with the music, dancing and drinking. As they crossed the bridge to Paricutin the man said something was pulling at him. He began to gesticulate as if he was fighting something, but his friends, having drunk a great deal, paid no attention. He began to run but fell from the bridge. His body was found down the *barranca* (as the water evidently was high) after considerable search.

776 This spirit is known at Capacuaro as mirinyin, mirinchin, or miringin. The spirit appears

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776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 956 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, the image of one of the saints is taken to the 789 top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, 821 has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.

825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

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825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

A very clever man once went up on San
823 Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
821 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
263 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the
789 fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

In the preceding sections the culture of
128 Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

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789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

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842 no remedies are taken for barrenness. Others reported that women speak to the professional midwives, who give them herbal remedies, [278] anoint the abdomen with mountain lion grease, or give stew made of mountain lion meat. However, none of the midwives reported any such practices.

Despite these attitudes, belief exists that 847 pregnancy can be prevented or abortion caused. It is believed by some that only families of poor economic standing who already have two to four children attempt to use these methods. Others suggest absence of love in the home as a reason; some women carrying on illicit affairs are believed to practice abortion. A good many people seem to know of the existence of abortion and to have knowledge of the herbs used. Consequently attempted abortion probably is more frequent than people wish to admit. The [842] ideal of Cherán is the large family; people prefer not to talk about those who do not share the ideal and some refuse to talk about it. It is also said that the municipal officials are vigilant in punishing such cases, but as the penalty is [684] said to be a fine of $1.00 or $1.50 or a night in jail after recovery, this probably would not be a great deterrent even if the danger of detection were great.

847 Four plants are named as being taken to cause abortion. One, *artamisa*, taken with 278 plenty of salt, was mentioned by one of the midwives. Another admitted to using iris root for this purpose, although generally the midwives claim to be opposed to abortion. The two plants most used, however, are *ruda* and *gobernadorcillo*, KUASA. It is possible that these are the same plants; at least descriptions of their use appear to be the same. If they are effective (and local medical men are sharply contradictory in their opinions), many unintentional abortions are probably caused, for *ruda* is a regular remedy for stomach pains. It is not taken, except intentionally, when pregnancy has occurred, as the herb is widely known as producing abortion. The herb is also believed to be helpful to women who have been unable to have children.

Much the same accounts were given of [842] *gobernadorcillo*. To have children, the herb is cooked with a tablet of chocolate and taken just before the menstrual period is expected.

847 To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain
278 the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobernadorcillo* is
[844] also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

One midwife purges barren women with the
842 bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are
278 used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant
847 mothers are often fearful of this and sometimes will not go to curers when they are ill for fear they will be given a medicine which will cause abortion. A woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who was suffering fever and spitting blood refused to go to the curer for fear of being given abortive drugs. Drinking is believed to cause many abortions, and heavy work, such as lifting a log while helping to build a fence, is recognized as a possible cause of abortion. If the mother "likes something too much," for example, a horse or a kind of food, the child may be born prematurely, but apparently may live. Solar eclipses are likewise
[821] believed to cause early births. The midwife is sometimes called if abortion is feared. One midwife anoints the coccyx and abdomen with the white of an egg (which has been beaten on the ground) and also with lard and oil. Another midwife gives the flower of maize, tomato peel, a shoot of verbena, and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware. The potsherd is ground and the whole made into an infusion. This is taken twice and the coccyx and abdomen are rubbed with the white of an egg beaten on the ground.

Some people believe that the first child takes
843 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

843 sidered frequent symptoms also. Sometimes in the early months women are sick at their stomachs and vomit in the mornings.

Usually a midwife is sought early in pregnancy and pays frequent visits to the enceinte woman. The midwife massages the woman with lard or cooking oil "to make sure the foetus is in the right position" and generally keeps an eye on the patient's health. Sometimes the midwife locates the head of the child during the massage. A fee of 10 centavos is charged for each visit.

A pregnant woman should not do much work, should not lift heavy things, and should take frequent baths in cold water in the house. She continues to grind corn and carry water; young mothers, indeed, are encouraged to keep active by older women, who believe some exercise helps the mother. She does not cook tortillas if she can avoid it, because the fire might "cook" the foetus. Toward the end of pregnancy some women are "delicate" and eat very little. At Capacuaro this is customary in the last days of pregnancy. Otherwise there are no prenatal food taboos.

843 An eclipse during pregnancy may cause
821 something bad to happen to the child. To
[789] prevent the effects, a red belt is worn underneath the several belts worn by women who dress in traditional costume. If Mestizo costume is worn, red underwear is used. Women should do nothing during an eclipse. The
[144] occurrence of Mongoloid spot is reported. It is believed that this is caused by the woman carrying her coins in the customary fashion in her belt during pregnancy.

843 Women should not tie any animals during pregnancy, as this may cause the child to be strangled by the umbilical cord during birth. If the mother urinates where some animal has urinated, the child may be born with some part of the animal. Reports were given by midwives of children having been born with a pig face or a goat face and tail because the mother urinated where these animals had urinated. In the latter part of pregnancy a woman should always remove the lid from a vessel before lifting it from the fire; if she fails to observe this rule, the child may be born dumb. Clubfoot is caused by the mother not taking proper care of herself.

845 Wrong positions, especially breech presentations, may result from several causes. The mother may have moved around too much and worked too hard, hit a dog with her foot, put the "foot" of a stick of wood in the fire first, failed to remove the *comal* from the fire immediately after finishing the cooking of tortillas, eaten toasted tortillas, or eaten off the metate (the latter taboo was explained on the basis that the metate has only three legs). Children are born blind only because "God wills it."

Witches may interfere with pregnancy and make the child arrive dead. The preventive [789] remedy is to cook tomato peeling and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware together and drink the liquid.

843 Fathers are also under some restrictions during the period of pregnancy. Whenever a load of wood is brought to the house it must be untied immediately or the child may be strangled by the umbilical cord. Also, the father must not kill lizards or snakes during the pregnancy, or touch resin or turpentine, or they will enter into the child. Some say the father should not kill any kind of an animal, from a snail to an ox. If he does so, the animal will enter into the child through the mouth or nose and the child will be born dead. One midwife thought the father should not have relations with his wife after the third or fourth month of pregnancy for reasons of cleanliness, but some say difficult birth or wrong positions may result from continued intercourse. The father should not work on the day of birth.

844 No distinction is made between first and subsequent births. Midwives varied in their ideas as to the frequency of births. Some believed that women had children from 1 to 1½ years [842] apart, others said from 8 months to 3 years. One midwife explained that the number of children and the frequency of births were determined by something resembling links in the uterus. These could be counted by the midwife, who could tell how many children the woman would have and, by the spacing, what the interval between births would be. Some women might be capable of as many as 25 pregnancies.

All births are attended by midwives, who form a professional group, although without

844 organization. It is believed all the midwives in Cherán were interviewed by the staff. Most of them are elderly women past childbearing age. Some 4 or 5 years before the study, all of the midwives apparently had received instruction from a doctor called in by the priest. This is reflected to some extent in the methods used, particularly in some efforts at asepsis and the use of antiseptics. The following biographical data were secured from the midwives, the individuals being referred to by number.

No. 1. About 55 years of age; 4 years' experience. Formerly was a curer. No one in her family had been a midwife; she entered the profession "by accident" and "knew how" by the grace of the Holy Virgin.

No. 2. Age unknown, but has had 20 years' experience. Her mother was a midwife and urged her to become one also. She became a midwife because her small business was not enough to keep her alive. She had been married and had one daughter in 6 years of marriage, apparently taking up midwifery after loss of her husband.

No. 3. About 55 years of age, 4 years' experience. Learned by observing a grandmother who was a midwife. Other "grandparents" also tried to teach her. She believes, in addition, she possesses a special "virtue" for such work. Before becoming a midwife she was a curer, devoting herself especially to women who suffered abdominal pains from overwork, using massage. She still does curing, but since her husband died, 5 years before, has been a midwife. She likes the work. She says the Virgin of Monserrato is the patroness of the midwives.

No. 4. New to the profession. Has attended only two births; one of the patients accused her at the court of causing swelling of the organs because of inexperience and refused to pay her fee.

No. 5. Has been midwife 5 years. No further data.

No. 6. Has been a midwife 30 years. Was assistant to another midwife for a long time. One day a child was being born dead; the sub-
[845] ject took cotton and put a medicine she knew on the head of the mother and the child was born successfully. There was a quarrel, but finally
[578] the midwife, who was very old, began to teach

844 her; "but God gave me the power to know
[578] medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from $1.50 to $2.50. One midwife charges $2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being $1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the $1.50, according to the
[578] midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

According to some midwives, if there is time,
844 the midwife goes to church before the delivery,
782 saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a
844 prayer to her just before the delivery. Mid-
[751] wives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino,* considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed,
[782] a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

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844 Sometimes, when the pains first start, the patient is laid on a blanket which is then lifted by four persons, one at each corner. The mother is then turned around gently for 15 or 20 minutes. This is believed to hasten the birth and aid the child to get into the proper position. The midwife may also walk from one side to another, saying, "I am coming," to hurry the child.

Most midwives specify certain materials which should be provided by the family in advance. These things include scissors, cooking oil, lard, cotton, and silk thread. Parents provide clothing for the child; the midwife does not specify anything for the infant.

Some midwives, when the birth pains begin,
844 give the mother *gobernadorcillo* or possibly
278 other plants to accelerate the birth. In any case it is asserted that the same herbs believed to cause abortion are administered at this time, usually with sugar or brown sugar. One herb (unidentified) is called zihuapaxtle, a Nahua name. There is no use of wheat rust, however.
844 When the crown of the head of the child is visible, the midwife tries to hurry through the rest of the birth so that there will be less danger of the child being born dead.

It is said that many normal births take only about 15 minutes. This can hardly be counted from the time the first labor pains are felt but is possibly from the time the labor becomes intense. Many mothers in Cherán, however,
845 seem to have fairly difficult births. Cases of labor lasting as much as 6 or 7 hours are reported.

In case the labor is difficult and prolonged, remedies of various sorts are used. The helpers apply pressure to the abdomen. One midwife boils a bezoar, the calcareous secretion from the intestines of some ruminant, brought from the hot country, and has the patient drink the water. Another gives the mother hot chocolate made with water and sugar, and massages the abdomen. Another covers the patient with a blanket and has her breathe the fumes from sugar or some sweet thing burned in a brazier. One midwife stated that when the patient is very "dry," that is, there is no discharge of blood and no breaking of the amniotic membrane, a bit of *nopal* (prickly pear) leaf is roasted in

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases
821 of the moon determines the length of labor.
844 Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as
[144] occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal
[753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

845 inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were [821] born dead. The phenomena were attributed to an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

[805] Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

After the birth of the child the mother stays 846 in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife [278] may still massage her with unguents, either coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

846 757 One case of what was probably a postpartur- ient infection was recorded. The midwife

846 bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*.
757 The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

834 Husband and wife do not resume sexual
846 relations until at least 35 days after the birth; in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

844 Shortly after the delivery the mother is given
262 her first food. This may be chocolate, milk, and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *rafino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as kágwash kamáta for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

844 Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *rosas de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

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[p. 169a]

Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo
La Cañada

844 According to Rendón, women in Mestizo
Chilchota observe no special diet before delivery.
846 Births are attended by midwives, who charge
262 $2. A mixture of egg and flower is sometimes rubbed on the abdomen to lessen labor pains if these are severe. Massage and irrigations with water and soap are used to accelerate birth. After delivery the diet is based on chocolate and atole. After a few days, chicken broth and chicken are added but beef and beans are not eaten for 72 days. The atole is called púçkua and is made of maize cooked without lime, ground on the metate, and cooked in water without sugar. If there are hemorrhages the patient is given rubbed (shredded?) parsley in water. The mother stays in bed for a week. On the eighth day she bathes.

Rendón reports a mild couvade in La Cañada
846 pueblos. The mother does not eat salt after the birth, eats atole of the same type as at Chilchota, and cooked greens. The fathers stay in the house several days without working.

INFANCY

844 When the birth is in kneeling position, as is most common, a mat and clean cloth are placed on the floor to receive the child. The cord is not cut until the afterbirth is delivered. If this is slow, the mother's knees are massaged. The cord is then tied with thread and cut with scissors (a knife may not be used). According to some the cord is cut about a span length from the umbilicus (thumb to forefinger with both extended). Others say this is the length for girls and that the length for boys is a *cuarto* (this cannot mean a quarter as most are agreed that the length for a boy is greater than for a girl). Some families ask that the cord be cut longer "so the child will relax easily." Cotton is applied, sometimes preceded by anointment with oil, and a band fastened about the abdomen. Some say if this is not done the boys would not have strength and the girls would be "goers," *andulantes*, that is, they would probably have affairs with men. Some wipe out the child's eyes with cotton, and others drop a little lemon juice in the eyes. Some oppose this and do nothing unless a gummy secretion appears, when the eyes are treated with flowers of Castile and San Juan.

844 The child is then wiped off with a clean cloth and oiled but not bathed. Clothing prepared in advance is put on the child. It is said that the midwife tells parents in advance whether to prepare clothing for a boy or a girl and that they seldom make a mistake. But as no difference could be found in the clothing and, indeed, the child is usually wrapped just in some clean rags, the statement has little significance. Sometimes the child is given tea of Castile roses or a bit of edible oil, but most midwives thought nothing should be given the first day.

853 The child is nursed the second day. Rarely does the mother not have milk. Should this happen, the aid of some nursing mother is sought or the child is given cow or goat milk. The latter is not diluted, but it is boiled before using, often being flavored with a bit of yerba buena or cinnamon. Special drinks are given the mother to induce milk flow if it is inadequate. Brews of flaxseed (?) were mentioned.

844 The afterbirth is buried, sometimes beside the fireplace, sometimes under it. If this is not done, it is believed the mother would become "cold," but one midwife stated the cord is preserved and used for remedies. The cord of Agustín Rangel's father was taken to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac and left.

846 Midwives continue to visit the house to attend to the mother and child. The bandage over the umbilicus is removed every 2 or 3 days. The cord drops off between the second and eighth days (the longer period apparently being unusual). The umbilicus is then anointed with iodine or powder made from tules. Sometimes small hernias are cured with a small ball of sosa (an herb) or a green tomato. Hernias result from carelessness or "coldness." Infections of the umbilicus result from carelessness in bathing the child. One midwife reported curing them with face powder!

The child is normally bathed by the midwife on the third, sixth, and ninth days (according to one midwife, immediately after birth also "if that is the custom of the house"). Warm water is used for the bath.

827 Some idea that children resemble parents
143 seems to be prevalent and to be attributed to hereditary mechanisms (although in this informants may have been sophisticated). An instance cited was that of a man with a very

827 linear body build which was repeated in the
143 children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark
[142] skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

Occasional examples occur of children appar-
732 ently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeblemindedness.

Few special attentions to infants are recorded.
854 There is no use of ashes or leaving of corn ears or fire pokers with infants when they are left alone, but a broom of straw may be left at the head of the child's bed for protection against evil if the mother wishes to leave it for a few minutes. Children are nursed freely whenever
853 they desire the breast. Although some evidence of shyness was evident, for example, some
[834] mothers draped their *rebozo* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

Infants are ordinarily carried by their
854 mothers, almost invariably wrapped in the *rebozo*. Even if the child is carried in the arm, the *rebozo* is slung around the child and over the shoulders to take part of the weight. Ordinarily a small child is slung more or less horizontally in the *rebozo* on the mother's back. One end of the *rebozo* goes under the left arm, the other over the right shoulder, the two ends

854 crossing on the chest and being either tied or tucked under the opposite arms. When a little older the child kneels on the top of the *rollo* or thick pleats at the top of the skirt or sits on the *rollo* with legs on either side of the mother's waist. In either case the child is held in place by the *rebozo*. Men often carry infants in their arms, while small girls frequently carry their 857 younger brothers and sisters in the same way 854 as their mothers. The infants seem to interfere with the older child's activities very little.

Occasionally a boy will be seen carrying an infant in a *rebozo*. While this is not common, the boys seemed entirely unself-conscious and were not teased at all. Almost never is an infant put down until it is able to walk. As indicated above, it sleeps with the mother and is permitted to nurse at any time, often sleeping at the breast.

Children are not weaned until 18 to 24 862 months; rare cases are reported of children nursing to the age of 3 or 4. Weaning is aided by anointing the nipple with some bitter or piquant material, for example, chile. Weaning is done because of belief the child needs to have better nourishment, not because of boredom or feeling that the mother may suffer from prolonged nursing. Solid food is given the infant 853 as early as 3 or 4 months, when a little fruit may be offered, such as banana. Tortillas are not given until 8 months. Milk, soup, and mild foods are first given the child. Cooked vegetables are fed at about 3 or 4 years. Chile is not fed children until they are well-grown, or adult, according to one informant.

Although children are rarely put down, after 854 they are several months old they may occasionally be placed on the ground and permitted to crawl for brief periods. Occasionally children walk on all fours rather than on their knees. They are not permitted to try to walk, [856] even though they wish to, until they are judged old enough to do so without causing curvature of the legs.

When children are permitted to attempt 868 walking, a wooden bar is hung from two ropes, which in turn fasten to a single rope suspended from a tree or beam. The child is stood up and persuaded to hold the bar, which moves and forces the child to walk. Some children walk

Some children walk
868 as early as 8 months, but most later, and some
145 not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be papá, mamá, ueksínga ("I want"), and auáka ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 8 months.

Toilet training is not rigorous and little is
863 done until the child is able to walk. Up to this
854 time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In
[155] general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

As soon as children begin to walk, they are
854 dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments.
291 In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn, Little girls wore a tiny *rollo*, while boys wore cotton trousers and shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little
854 girls are pierced by their mothers, using a
304 needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

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854 regarded as necessary for any other reason,
304 nor are there any beliefs about the operation.

The infant is ordinarily baptized between 10
851 days and 2 months after birth. The tendency
608 in recent years is for the period to lengthen. Selecting godparents is important, for the care of the child in the event of death of the parents may devolve on the godparents, and intimate relations will exist in any event. For this reason people will often refuse to accept the responsibility or do so only after repeated invitations. Normally a married couple are sought to act as godparents but sometimes an unmarried man serves as godfather. In this case, when he marries, his wife will automatically become godmother. More rarely an unmarried man and unmarried woman are asked to serve as godparents. Agustín R. acted as godparent one time and had never met the woman who served as godmother.

Most commonly the godfather takes the child to church for baptism unaccompanied by the godmother, but sometimes the godmother goes along and carries the child. The godfather pays the priest the fee for baptism, $2.50. In the case of Agustín R., mentioned above, he was accompanied by his mother who supplied the information the priest needed to enter the baptism in the parochial register.

When the godfather returns the child to its parents, the godmother goes to the house of the parents for food. She takes with her 2 to
[431] 5 cakes of chocolate, 2 bars of soap to wash the child, and 3 to 5 pieces of bread worth 10 centavos each. If the godfather is unmarried, he gives money to some woman to buy these things and take them to the child's parents.

The parents of the child prepare beef cooked in broth (čurípo), tamales, tortillas, and sometimes other things. The godmother eats at the parents' house, and sometimes they invite others. The godfather cannot eat at the parents' house, but they send food to him at his own house, which he eats by himself or he may invite a few of his friends in to help him. In the case of Agustín, he was sent 2 chickens cooked in mole sauce, a big pan of rice, a large basket of tortillas and some tamales. He ate most of the food by himself, his parents refusing to partake of it.

608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
[123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
754 but there are few special treatments for them. Only the evil eye must be guarded against
854 especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

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751 sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently,
754 that is, the person with power to cause the evil
854 eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chile, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

553 In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be chosen at a council of the adult relatives who
608 pick a name from among the deceased relatives, never the saint's day, as is the case among the
851 Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

553 the child of the latter being known as Pablo Juan or Luisa Juan, etc.

CHILDHOOD

854 Small children are usually clothed today. Occasionally a small boy is seen wearing noth-
[291] ing but a shirt, but this is uncommon, while girls able to walk always have a blouse and a skirt. In early childhood there is a good deal of affection between parents and children. Adults of both sexes play with the children and carry them about a great deal. Small children are kissed by both parents. Fear of strangers is absent. While opportunities for observation were limited, on several occasions when I had opportunity to be with children while talking with parents, they responded immediately to any caress on my part, often promptly climbing into my lap, or seizing hold of my clothing if I were standing. At this age there is evidently little correction. Some children cry and whimper a good deal and are reproved for it or told to hush, but nothing is done if the child continues.

As the child grows a little older, it evidently goes through a somewhat trying period of readjustment. This probably coincides with the coming of another child and also with the increasing care of the child by older brothers and sisters. At this period some rough treatment is given by the parents. Several times children were seen to stumble and fall on the street. When the child began to cry, the father either smacked it on the rump or kicked it along, gently it is true.

854 A boy about 4 was observed in a temper tantrum on the Cherán plaza. The tantrum
152 began when the mother took a large piece of sugarcane held by the child, broke it, prepared the smaller piece, and gave it to the child. The child began to scream and weep, demanding the larger piece back. The mother laughed good-naturedly and told him to come along. He refused, and finally the mother gave the boy a gentle tap on the rump with her piece of sugarcane. The child screamed and beat at the mother with his cane. She continued to laugh, made some comments to others passing by and gradually got the child moved along, but he continued screaming as long as he was within earshot. In this case the mother showed more

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854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress.
[864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave mis-
736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
[195] when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 About 25 percent of the boys go to school at
871 ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

868 Actual participation in adult work begins at about 8 years for boys. At this age they
857 accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

868 10 they may guide the plow and do other field
work, for short times. By as early an age as
857 15, boys may be working for wages. When a
boy begins to accompany his father and to aid
in his work, he no longer plays with girls.
There seems no rule about this, but about this
time, when a boy is not working, he goes into
the streets and plays with other boys of his
own age, while the girl no longer plays outside
but always stays near her mother unless sent
on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is
[861] disobedient, he may be struck once or twice
with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or
punishment at this time and the relations be-
[593] tween father and son and mother and daughter
are close and affectionate once the child begins
active participation in the adult activities.
The period of conflict, then, seems a rather
limited one, between the time when a child is
no longer carried about and the time when it
begins to participate in the adult life. These
remarks again are based on very inadequate
data and observation.

Some time between the ages of 6 and 10,
852 usually toward the upper limits of the age
869 period, the child is usually confirmed. There
is very little ceremony involved, but when a
608 visit from the Bishop is expected there will be
a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

857 524 Boys and girls play together a good deal until aged 8 or 10. Varieties of tag games are common. Boys also play among themselves frequently. For small boys at present, small home-made wagons with four wheels, usually with no method of steering, are one of the more popular playthings. Older males in the household make the wagons. Balls made of rags are also used. They are thrown and, at times, are used with a hockeylike game in which the ball is hit with curved wooden sticks. The street is used as a field and the object is to hit the ball past opponents (Beals and Carrasco, 1944). January is a favorite time for this game. Small boys amuse themselves by roping pigs, and about the time of the fiesta of the patron saint they may attempt to ride the pigs.

The most popular boys' game probably is marbles. The common marble game is "follow the leader." It is sometimes played for centavos. The rainy season is the most popular time, because the rain lays the dust and provides clean, hard surfaces. Quite popular is top spinning, which is most played in June and July. Top fighting is a common form. The first player throws his top at a ring. If he misses, his opponent attempts to hit the top with his own. He may split the first top, for the points are sharpened, or win it.

857 481 Stilts are made, especially in October and November. They are small, peeled pine trees with one of the branches left projecting near the bottom. This is almost exclusively a boy's amusement, but one girl was seen walking on stilts. Hunting birds with sling shots (mostly [223] of the rubber-band type) is most common in May and June. A ring and pin game, made of [524] wood in Paracho, is played by all ages.

857 524 A favorite sport from March through May is kite flying. Kites of small boys are about 7 by 9 inches; those of larger boys are about 2 by 3 feet. They are six-stick kites made with sticks all the same length and requiring a tail. They are commonly in bright colors. Big boys tie razor blades on the tails of their kites and fight each other. They try to maneuver their kites into the top position where they can be dropped and cut the strings of the other kites. There is a slight element of danger in this; one boy got his cheek laid open in 1940.

857 Small girls and sometimes small boys play with swings in the house yards. These are merely larger versions of the swings used to teach infants to walk. Girls also play running games in the streets with small boys and play "keep away" and other games with rag balls. [157] Girls are shy and always stopped playing when they were observed.

857 In general, girls ape adult activities much more than do boys. Girls pretend to mill
868 maize, using a board for a metate, a rock for the mano, and mud for the maize dough. They play at being street vendors, using flower petals for merchandise. Sometimes they have dolls made of rags, but not very often. More common is it for several girls to get some boards or branches and make a house in which they will play at housekeeping with their fireplaces, grinding stones, dishes, etc. After several weddings had been held in close succession, a group of girls were observed playing at having a wedding. Flowers were put in the hair of the "godmothers" and leaves of maize were tied in the hair to represent the ribbons used in real weddings.

857 Education for life in Cherán is completely on an informal and unconscious level. Children
861 learn first by imitating and then by doing while assisting their parents. The social and religious structure they learn little by little through observation first of parents', and later of relatives', reactions to various individuals and situations and by listening to conversations. Only to a very small extent do children learn by being told. Again, observations are too few to generalize extensively, but apparently children are counseled and advised only when they begin to be old enough to undertake adult responsibilities. When they mention that they may do a certain act, the parents may discuss the advisability with them. In small matters of etiquette, parents may prompt children of any age. Formal training, though, seems to play little part in education for life as it is lived in Cherán.

871 Formal education for about 25 percent of the boys is received in school. Those who continue throughout the available course receive four years of school education. They learn to read and write and do a little simple arithmetic. They learn very little history or geography.

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-871 They learn something of natural history, such as major classifications of things in the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms.

A few ambitious families send one or more 874 of their children to high school in Morelia or to an agricultural school. Some are sent to the boarding school at Paracho, where they receive some education in a trade and in farming. A few also may go to Mexico City, and a case or two were discovered of children studying law or medicine. However, it is doubtful whether 2 dozen families in Cherán have sent their children on to advanced school training.

With all due acknowledgement of the effort 871 and sincerity involved in the school system, the Cherán schools do not train children in any 182 real sense for life in Cherán. The average Cherán resident completing the school training has little advantage over his unschooled fellows in following the farming routines of the community. If he can read and write he perhaps has some less chance of being swindled in business transactions and more opportunity of rising to some municipal office. If his education is effective, however, and is put to use, it is by moving out of the basic pattern of Cherán. Such a person may become a storekeeper or a mill operator, where his education will be of some slight service to him. The major advantage of school training is to better equip some individuals to cope with the Mestizo world which impinges on Cherán to some extent. Even so, the school child acquires little knowledge of rights and responsibilities in a larger world. Insofar as the education is effective and is utilized—and this is even more markedly true of those going on for more advanced education—the effect is to move the individual out of the culture of Cherán. If he stays in Cherán he tends to become an exploiter rather than a producer, or to occupy a position where he furnishes some liason between the rest of the population and the Mestizo world. Or, more commonly, he moves out of the Cherán culture completely, residing in some other part of Mexico. Only to a very small extent and in a very limited number of cases does an individual become a better producer, that is, a better farmer; or practice a trade learned through schools; or become a force and example guiding the community to better housing, reformed

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871 diets, better health practices, or higher stan-
882 dards of community organization. Formal education is still not geared to the needs and problems of Cherán life and is and will remain relatively ineffective until it becomes of obvious utility to the average Cherán resident. In other words, until the educational process is conceived of first of all from the standpoint of Cherán culture, instead of from the standpoint of national needs or theories, it will not be effective. And when education becomes geared to Cherán needs, paradoxically, it can then be effectively geared to national objectives.

YOUTH

882 The period of youth is very short in Cherán for most persons and there is no clearly defined lower limit to it. Boys seem to be regarded as youths when they are able to do a man's work or to be self-supporting but have not yet married. Marriage puts a termination to the period, although the young married man may still be under the tutelage of his parents. Still, after marriage a boy will be consulted in all family affairs; before marriage he normally will not be consulted unless he is much older than the age at which most Cherán youths are married. By 15 practically every Cherán youth is either earning his own living in part by working for wages or is working regularly on the family estate, taking a full man's share of the labors. In individual cases this may be true of youths as young as 12. Unmarried
883 youths of 16 to 18 do not spend much of their free time at home; indeed, they may not even eat at home regularly. They tend to hang around the streets in gangs in their spare time. They spend a good deal of time in one of the
[529] two billiard parlors which modern civilization has brought to Cherán, where they may gamble
[525] on billiards at 50 centavos a game, or may be drawn into card games, or may begin drinking. However, few of the youngsters go around the saloons very much, nor are many of them prone to drink excessively. In such groups will be concerted many of the "stealings" which are the preliminaries to marriage. At this period
882 boys in general are rather antisocial and appear to have some conflict with their parents. They feel they are growing up very fast and are impressed by the age gap which separates them

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882 from their parents. In an overheard conversation, two young men commented at length on how fast people got old at their ages, while people over 30 did not seem to age at all.

The transition for girls is even less clearly defined than that for boys. As girls are sometimes married even before their first men-
[881] struation, this physiological transition hardly seems to mark a status change. From the age of 6 or 8, girls essentially perform adult labors in assisting their mothers. Youth is essentially a transition to adulthood and marriage. As a
[582] general thing, girls are married soon after the first menstruation.

881 Informants were agreed that most girls experience the first menses at about 14 years of age; whether this is the ideal age or the actual age could not be determined. No cases of failure to menstruate were known. Menstrual disorders apparently do occur sometimes and the aid of midwives is sought in such cases, but no details could be secured. Men, at least, believe that girls are generally ignorant of the menstrual period until they experience the first occurrence, and this belief coincides with a few statements by women. Some girls are said to be a little depressed or frightened, but the experience is not severe. Mothers explain to their daughters that the phenomenon is perfectly natural, and girls never become ill.

882 The mother always informs her husband when the first menstruation occurs. At this time the father increases his admonitions to his wife to watch over the girl. Careful mothers from now on do not let the girls go alone for water or to church or walk about the streets. Care is taken that girls do not see "bad" things. Well-brought-up girls, in fact, are hardly allowed out of the house until they are married, but if this ideal were really lived up to, it is difficult to see how either marriages could be arranged or "stealing" occur. Cherán, though, feels its standards are much above those of other towns and people mention some
[186] of La Cañada towns, especially Tacura, as being very bad. The latter town is said even
[835] to have many cases of sexual relations between father and daughter, which is said never to happen in Cherán.

841 Most women early become regular in their menstrual periods. No devices for keeping

841 track of the periods are used but some account is kept of the phase of the moon and an approximate idea formed. The normal menstruation is regarded as lasting 3 or 4 days. Slight or excessive flows during the period are believed to be bad. No special garments are worn, but the ordinary underwear is carefully washed after the flow ends.

[834] Women should not have relations with men during the menstrual period, and most women do not resume relations with their husbands until they have bathed, although some do so as soon as menstruation ends. Violation of this [753] rule is believed to be bad for the men and to cause them to contract a disease with ulcers. 841 Women may prepare food for themselves and others, but they must not eat certain foods. 262 These include "cold" things, such as avocados or prickly pears. Beans, if eaten, must be consumed with quantities of onions. Rice, pork, and preserved chiles (because the liquid is very "cool") are also believed to be bad. Dried chiles may be eaten. *Aguardiente* is also avoided, although a little in coffee or orange-leaf tea is believed to be helpful. The majority, if possible, drink chocolate in the mornings even though they may not normally do so or may even dislike it. In connection with the concept of "coldness" it should be noted that this refers to the supposed effects on the person, not to the quality of the thing itself. Cold water, for example, may be consumed freely. Aside from sexual restrictions, men have no special rules to observe when their wives menstruate.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONSHIPS

581 Marriage is the normal state of the Cherán adult and unmarried persons are relatively rare, except among the aged. Although sexual inverts were reported, in every case they had 838 married. One woman is known to be an invert and is called *toro-vaca*. As a girl she attempted to seduce other girls, and a woman told Rendón that in her childhood the individual in question once tried to drag her into a vacant lot, stopping her mouth with a *rebozo*, but she tore loose and screamed and was rescued by her father. Various charges were also made against the woman in court, but nothing was ever done.

838 The individual in question was also said once to have lived with another woman who did the work in the household while the former acted like a man. It is also believed that she is a "man" during one month and a "woman" the next, the change being regulated by changes in the moon. During the month she is a "man" she is said to go through the streets at night, trying to entice girls to her house, or else she stands at the door of her house and offers presents to girls who will come in. At one time the woman married and had two children but later was widowed. That the individual is [158] emotionally unstable is indicated by her claim to have once "died" and come to life again, after which she brought many people messages from their dead relatives whom she had encountered in the other world.

No cases of men dressing as women or men who had homosexual relations were encountered, but there evidently are occasional instances. The only specific reports encountered were of subadolescent boys who showed a preference for doing women's work. One example cited was of a boy who washed dishes, swept, made tortillas, and did other housework. His voice was high-pitched and he refused to fight. Later, however, the boy's voice changed and he married.

548 Some prostitution exists in Cherán. There are several houses of assignation operated by elderly women who know the accessible women. Men go to these houses and the old woman then takes a message to some girl or woman. The younger women are often the daughters of older women who have taken this way of life, but sometimes the girls from other families will visit such houses clandestinely. Such girls become known among the unmarried men and usually have difficulty in marrying. Often they attempt to force boys to marry them by claiming to have been "stolen" by a boy and lodging complaints with the mayor, often abetted by their parents. If the girl's reputation is bad, the boy may be put in jail as a discouragement to boys who might be tempted to steal a girl without marrying her, but the boy will not be forced to marry.

The patrons of such houses are usually bachelors and older unmarried youths. Some whose wives are pregnant also visit such houses

548 occasionally. Payment, usually 50 centavos, is given to the girls prostituting themselves, part of which is given to the woman who lends her house for the purpose and arranges the meeting.

Despite the existence of prostitution, it is 864 claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Girls particularly are believed to be relatively innocent, although obviously all have knowledge of the nature of the sexual act in a setting as full of animals as is Cherán. Boys are believed to be somewhat more sophisticated because, even though they may not have visited houses of prostitution, details are talked about among them. After marriage, aside from the prohibitions on intercourse during pregnancy and confinement and 833 during menstruation, there are no restrictions on sexual relations between husband and wife. There seem to be no ideas about a fixed interval or ideal interval between sexual relations and informants thought relations were "frequent" but would not suggest any time periods. In general, the subject of sex relations proved embarrassing and informants seemed purposely to avoid definite statements.

The customary preliminary to marriage is 583 for the groom to "steal" (*robar*) his bride. Virtually everyone of the older and the more articulate men in town deprecate the custom and many assert that it is a recent development. Nevertheless, no one could name a time when the custom was not practiced. Moreover, it is to be found in many other Tarascan towns, perhaps in all of them, and is regarded as an old form at Mestizo Chilchota, where most marriages also begin by stealing. Although occasionally the groom asks for the bride instead of stealing her, such cases are exceptional and seem more likely to be the innovation than does the stealing of the bride.

Only on very rare occasions is the bride stolen without her consent. Generally the entire performance, including setting the time and place, has been arranged beforehand between the bride and groom, although it is good form for the girl to struggle or at least to pretend to do so. The groom enlists the [561] cooperation of some of his age mates and they assist in carrying off the girl and in blocking pursuit. The usual time for carrying off a girl is on a Sunday when she comes out of church

583 after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

584 Opportunities for courting and for making arrangements are few. The boy may visit the girl's house only on rare occasions, such as the *melebris* before Christmas, although he may occasionally have accompanied his parents on a visit. He also may speak to the girl at the door of her courtyard or exchange a word or two when she is on the streets with her mother carrying water. The best opportunities are the rare occasions when the girl may be allowed on the streets alone in the daytime to visit a relative or to run an errand nearby and especially when she has been allowed to go somewhere with other girls. Sunday afternoon is the main time for courting. A boy uses a [198] special whistle to attract the attention of a girl. If she is with other girls, all stop, and the boy uses signs to indicate which one he wishes to talk to. The other girls go on slowly and the indicated one, if she is interested, lingers behind for a few minutes' conversation.

581 The standards for choice of spouse by a boy are several. A boy wants an attractive-looking girl who is fairly tall and of medium build and who also is industrious and of good family. This means her family is not completely poverty-stricken, her father not a drunkard, and her mother not "perverse" (apparently meaning "immoral"). Also, the girl should be 582 either the same age or a year or two younger than the boy. In a few instances the girl is a 587 year or two older. No cases were reported of widows marrying younger men, but sometimes a widower marries a younger woman. One case cited is a man of over 65 who has a wife

582 aged 20. The instance is regarded as exceptional and as undesirable. As a rule, the boy
587 discusses his choice with his parents or with one of his uncles. Although no specific data
584 could be secured on the subject, from the facts
604 that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
583 does the marriage not follow. Her parents, however much opposed they may be, must
522 always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authori-
583 ties should force a youth to marry a girl after he has stolen her. If they do not, the authori-
[661] ties are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p.m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

583 girl that afternoon after the Rosario. The corner of Morelos and Galeana was where the boy and girl had the place arranged for the stealing. When we knew that the Rosario was just about to be finished, we came down the highway to the plaza where we sat down at the municipal offices. Then the people began to come out from the Rosario and were called back by the priest to move the rocks in back of the priest's house. The girl's father called us to help move the rocks but instead we moved over to the corner of Morelos and Ocampo where we sat and waited until they finished.

After a little the girl came by and she looked at us. As she turned the corner up Morelos, she got ahead of her folks about 10 feet and just stood there. Then she turned back and looked at us to see if we were going to do anything. She was with five women. Knowing that we were not going to do anything, she evened up with the rest of her folks. Then we followed her; we went straight and she turned the corner of Morelos and Galeana. Then we ran so that we could beat her to the corner of Hidalgo and Arista and we stood there until she came.

When she came, the groom stood in the middle of the street and two of us stood on each side of the street and the other stood a little ways from the corner. When the girl passed us, the groom grabbed her by the arm and I took the other arm on the other side. The mother just said, "Maria Purisima, where do you take my daughter? Why do you take her and who are you?" We just ran to beat everything. When we were crossing the bridge (to Paricutin), one of the kids hollered, "Hurry up, because the father is just in back of you."

When I turned to look back the girl's father was just about half a block behind us. Then we separated at the street junction across the bridge. The boy and girl took the upper road and we went on the lower road. We just walked a little ways to where it was dark and changed blankets. Then we walked back as if we were innocent bystanders. We saw the girl's father after the boy and girl. We just made out we didn't know anything and said, "I wonder who was the kid who took the girl." Then we said, "Let's follow them," and we did. When we reached the corner of Madero and Salazar the girl's father was madder than a wet hen. He was saying, "If I ever catch the guys who did it, I will kill them," swearing to beat anything. Then he left and we followed him up Salazar and past the calvary to his house.

His wife was waiting for him in the doorway. His wife then said, "Didn't you catch the boys who stole my daughter?" He answered, "No, I didn't catch them. How do you expect me to catch them when I didn't know who they were?" They argued for a while in the doorway and then went inside. We came back to the saloon and when we got back they were already drunk (the groom and another helper). Then we went home. We were just afraid that if the father knew who we were he might call us in at the mayor's office and get us put in jail overnight.

583 The boy and girl had agreed to go out together since the last time they talked together. The father was chasing us because he was trying to get the girl before she had reached the boy's house. The girl was not taken to the house of the boy when we stole her but to the house of one of his relatives. If the father caught up with us, we would have to take what was coming to us and not fight back. Some boys tried to make a blockade on the road when the father was chasing. He had three friends with him and so he got by.

The following day Agustín's fears were realized; he was summoned to the mayor's office and shut up in jail from about 5 until 8 o'clock. Then, since it was a first offense, he was let out (although he had helped steal a number of other girls) with the warning that next time it would be a couple of days. The mayor also scolded the boys severely, pointing out that several people had been killed stealing girls; in fact, the implication was that he had put them in jail for their own protection, not because there was anything wrong with stealing the girl. As during the winter scarcely a Sunday passes without a girl being stolen in the plaza, the mayor's shock could not have been great.

Another less typical case involved a girl who had three suitors. The three suitors agreed to steal her and make her choose between them. If she refused to choose, then one of them, José H———, was to take her. The aid of three other youths was enlisted to guard all the approaches to the plaza in case the girl tried to flee. The plan fell through, because the girl did not come to church as she had promised.

The following week José made signals to a girl in Paricutin that he wanted to talk with her. She was with two other girls, carrying water. She stood and talked for a while and José then started home. After a block or two he discovered the girl following him. He made a circuit beside the *barranca*, but she still followed. He waited for her and asked where she was going. She replied, "I am going with you." On this, José ran down into the *barranca*, followed it down to the plain, and after a very long circuit, returned home. He had scarcely arrived when the police summoned him to the mayor's office. There was the father of the girl, accusing José of stealing his daughter. José denied the accusation and explained, but he had no witnesses and the girl insisted. The mayor ordered José to marry the girl; he

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583 refused, as he was interested in the girl he had hoped to steal the previous Sunday and the present girl he knew visited one of the houses of assignation. José was then put in jail, but when his mother stood responsible for him he was let out in a couple of days. The girl's mother went around town talking about the wrong that had been done, while José went around town telling everyone bad things about the girl. Eventually José had to run away and no one knew where he had gone.

Normally, sexual relations are begun between the bride and groom soon after she is stolen. [608] Permission of the girl's baptismal godfather (and perhaps the godfather of confirmation) should be sought and is usually given; to refuse might cause hard feeling. Cases were cited where the godfather and the boy's parents became very angry with each other over a refusal. On the other hand, evidently the boy is stimulated to accumulate the property necessary to hold the wedding if sex relations are not permitted.

The stealing of a girl sets in motion a complex series of events constituting perhaps the most complicated aspect of Cherán culture.

The following account of marriage is one written by Pedro Chávez. Parts in brackets represent additional comments made by Sr. Chávez on other occasions or data gathered from other sources. All the features of the wedding were verified by observation and utilization of other sources of information.

A TARASCAN WEDDING

Marriage among the Tarascans of the town of Cherán embraces many points of great importance. In the first place, it is now a custom that the groom, when he desires to enter into marriage, steals the girl. This theft consists of catching her and carrying her off forcibly or, sometimes, willingly without force. But in either case, as much in the first instance as in the second, the bride goes in accordance with an agreement made in advance and the action is merely feigned by the two.

585 When the theft of the bride is completed [by taking the girl to the house of an uncle or other relative or, more rarely, to the house of the groom], the parents of the groom proceed to the house of the bride and appear before her parents. This act is called the puátperankua or "the pardon." It should be taken into account that in order to present themselves before the parents of the bride, the parents of the groom must take a person called t'ʌɪepiti diósʌ uandári [who is a professional

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all [437] assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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585 weeks or even months. In at least one case the religious
[183] marriage took place before the civil marriage, although on the same day. However, the priest normally refuses to perform the service unless the certificate of civil marriage is presented. The relatives accompanying the couple are parents, uncles and male first cousins of the groom, the parents and close relatives of the bride, and the godmothers of the groom and the godmother for the wedding. The latter stands by the couple when the legal formula is read by the secretary or the mayor. All the relatives sign the papers as witnesses. Sometimes the secretary or mayor makes a little speech, pointing out to the husband that now he has to support his bride and can not expect her father to go on supporting her. He also may deliver a homily on behavior, pointing out that a married man shouldn't have two women or a married woman two men, warning them to avoid divorce, etc.]

After following the course indicated by the authorities, the proper steps are taken for the religious marriage. On the vespers of the day of the marriage they celebrate the t'irénkua or the dance. For this the parents of the bride hire a band with the object of going to the house of the groom with the music to take him the clothing called Aríperata, or gifts, which consist of a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of trousers (*calzones*), three shirts, and a hat. The cost of this is divided by the godparents and relatives of the bride in this way: one pair of trousers, a shirt, and a sash from each of the two godfathers of the bride and the rest from her father. The groom is dressed in this clothing by the grandfathers, grandmothers, siblings, and first cousins of the bride. [One of the latter
[602] actually dresses the groom. The groom is called tembuča and his siblings and cousins of both sexes are called tembučas. Similarly, the bride is called tembunga and her siblings and cousins are called tembungas. The female tembučas give the female tembungas narrow colored ribbons or bands to wear in their hair.] Immediately the dressing is completed, the musicians play some regional tune and the groom has to dance, with which ends the affair of the gifts of the groom. [Atole is sometimes brought to this function also. The custom seems to be decaying.]

On the day of the wedding the parents and godparents of the groom, together with the grandfathers, uncles and cousins, are those charged with going to the house of the bride very early in the morning when the bells ring the first call to Mass to take her clothing also, that is to say, the Aríperata. [The bride has returned to her own house a few days before the wedding. During this time the groom may visit her freely.] This consists of three rebozos, a shirt and blouse, earrings, *corales* (red glass beads), sash, and a pair of shoes. The cost of these is divided as follows: one rebozo from each godfather, these being the blue rebozos of Paracho, and the father of the groom a very fine white rebozo [it is not actually white but one of the remarkably fine mixed color rebozos from Tangancicuaro, costing anywhere from 20 to 80 pesos] and all the other

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585 articles. When the bride is dressed [she wears all three of the new rebozos], the parents of the couple and the principal godparents and relatives, together with the musicians brought by the parents of the groom, accompany the couple to the church to effectuate the marriage before the priest. [During the Mass a ring is placed on a finger of the bride. The groom can bring his own ring, but if he has not done so, a ring lent by the priest is used. The priest also puts silver money in the hands of the groom who in turn places it in the hands of the bride. If the groom has not brought money, the priest lends it to him. However, it is believed that the groom should bring the money and that the more he brings the greater the benediction for their life and the more fortunate the couple will be. There is said to be no use of the collar, chain, or ribbon used in some churches in Oaxaca.]

After the wedding, all leave the Mass and go to the house of the bride's parents, where she and all her relatives are left, the rest of the party going to the house of the groom's parents. Later, in about an hour, all return to the house of the bride's father [first calling for the bride's godparents to invite them] to escort the bride and all her relatives to breakfast [at the house of the groom's father] which consists only of a piece of bread and small cup of chocolate. On arriving at the house of the groom's father, the [male] guests seat themselves in a place previously prepared. The preparation consists of placing some logs of wood for seats [in two rows with others sometimes arranged as a table between the rows at a somewhat higher level] and at one of the ends they place the image of some saint of the Catholic religion [most commonly a picture of the saint] before which is a lighted candle and flowers [and sometimes an incense burner with copal incense]. Before the guests are served, it is the duty of the marriage manager to say a prayer in thanks. It should be noted that the first places [before the altar] are reserved for the marriage manager and the godfathers of both bride and groom and that only the men sit on these seats, the women being seated apart. The godmothers also sit apart [usually on mats in the [608] center of the courtyard], the godmother of the groom being distinguished by ribbons tied in her hair. These ribbons are given and tied on the hair by the godmother's *comadres*, granddaughters and sisters-in-law. [Ribbons are tied in the hair of all the godmothers of the groom, and of the godmother of the wedding.]

Upon completing the breakfast, all the relatives of the bride return to her house, taking the bride with them again and not being accompanied by the relatives of the groom. In the meantime the musicians play in the house of the groom. This is usually between 10 and 11 of the morning. [Meantime many guests may drop in and will be fed, being seated in a different place [554] from the relatives. Everyone is welcome because the more who attend, the more prestige attaches to the wedding. As outsiders, the members of the staff were usually especially welcome, as apparently we gave special *eclat* to the function.] Meantime all the sib-

585 lings and cousins and grandparents of the groom together have hired another band and at this time they separate themselves from the rest of the groom's relatives. [They go through the streets with the musicians, ultimately going to the house of one of the groom's uncles where they eat dinner. The remainder of the groom's relatives and the guests eat at the house of the groom. Tortillas, kurúndas (tamales), and čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and chunks of beef) are served.]

After the dinner is served, the party is prepared to go for the bride. This is called the p'ipejperakua. The party consists of the parents of the groom and their brothers and all the friends of the parents. [574] [Actually not all go; those who are invited to go on the party are given iris leaves which they carry with [123] them. Staff members at weddings were frequently given invitations to accompany the party in this same form.] The same relatives of the bride are all assembled at her house, ready, as are the friends of the parents. [The party of the groom's relatives is accompanied by musicians. The party goes first to the house of the godparents of the bride. They serenade the house outside and then the closer relatives enter the house. They form a circle before the godfather and the godmother of the bride. The marriage manager makes a long but informal speech, asking permission to take the bride. The godfather replies, giving his permission. All present then shake hands with the godfather and godmother, making a movement simulating kissing the hand. The group leaves the house, accompanied by the godparents.] Arriving at the house of the bride's parents, the groom's relatives immediately ask for the bride. [Actually, only the closer relatives again go inside, accompanied by the musicians. The marriage manager again asks for the bride.] When consent is granted, they start for the groom's house, carrying with them the clothing they have ready. [For a big wedding a procession of a hundred or more people may have formed by the time the group returns to the groom's house.] In the meantime the other relatives of the boy [the siblings, cousins, and grandparents] arrive with their musicians and do the same [that is, they take off the siblings, cousins, and grandparents of the bride] who carry quantities of clothing. This consists of shirts for men and women, trousers for men, jackets for men and women, sashes for women, and bags, and tortilla cloths, the latter two objects to be given the groom at the time all the others are changing clothing and bread. In the house of the groom's father the guests are all seated as before. [The godmothers are again seated on mats in the center and the bride sits for a time beside the godmother of baptism. Guests continue to arrive and additional ribbons are tied in the hair of the godmothers and long and elaborate paper ornaments fastened to sticks are placed in the hair. All the relatives of the groom give cigarettes to the groom's father when they arrive in the courtyard for the first time and also give cigarettes to the godfathers

585 of the groom. To the mother and the godmothers of the groom are given 5 or 10 centavos each. The form of presentation is always the same; the money is placed in a china plate covered with a cloth. The recipient tips the plate so the money slides into her hand without the amount being visible to anyone else. The recipient shakes the hand of the donor and in the case of the mother, who is standing, curtseys. Sometimes money is given to the males in lieu of cigarettes. If the family is large, the godmothers and the mother may receive from 8 to 15 pesos. Shortly after the arrival of the bride's party, the parents and uncles of the bride and groom, and sometimes other relatives, all enter the kitchen. There the marriage manager performs a ceremony (described on p. 103) by which all become *compadres*.]

The father of the groom now orders the distribution to all the relatives of the bride [and in observed weddings, to everyone present] of one piece of bread each. The bread was prepared in advance and is an obligation of the father. This is called the ʌʌʌáki t'iréṅkua. Ordinarily these pieces are in the form of a crown which we call kanákua. [The *compadres* or brothers of the groom's father help him with the distribution, handing him a piece of bread which the father himself usually hands to each guest on a lacquered tray (pl. 7, upper right). The order of events in the account here does not coincide with any wedding witnessed. The distribution of bread usually came after the exchange of clothing and bread described below. Only if there were to be little or no clothing exchange or dancing would the distribution of bread be this early in the proceedings. The time of distribution is regarded as indicating the probable length of the wedding; the later it is distributed, the longer the wedding will last. In the case of the latest distribution observed, the wedding lasted 3 days. Similarly, the beginning of the drinking usually did not take place until the clothing and bread exchange was well under way.]

When this act [the distribution of the bread] was finished, they begin to bring out the bottles of *charanda* [273] and all begin to drink until they are quite drunk. It should be noted that only the relatives of the groom have the right to buy and carry liquor, the relatives of the bride drinking what is offered them [which is abundant. The person who produces a bottle drinks from it first.] While they are drinking, at the same time they are making the exchange of the clothing and bread in the following form.

All of the women relatives of the bride such as the maternal and paternal aunts give clothing to the uncles and aunts and other relatives (of the groom) as well as the parents, who are those who receive the best clothing. These in their turn in recompense return bread in a quantity not more than $1.50 and not less than $1.00, while the musicians are playing regional tunes and *jarabes* and others are dancing. [For a somewhat different sequence of events with some additional details, see the account of the Sánchez wedding below.] In a word, there is a very great movement.

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585 [Each person giving a garment presents it to a relative of the groom who had given bread to the person at the ceremony 8 days after the pardon.] In another locality the same acts are being performed by the others who have a separate group of musicians. These are the brothers and grandparents of the bride and groom. Comes a moment when the groom is taken by the arms and they hang about his neck bags and tortilla cloths (*servilletas*). The groom is made to dance to two tunes. With this he leaves [the brothers, cousins and grandparents] and the remainder continue drinking and dancing until it is late and time to leave, only the bride remaining in the house of the groom, with which ends the events of the day of the wedding.

The following day is another small fiesta called the kauíjanekua. On this day it is an obligation of the parents of the groom to go to give thanks to the godparents of baptism and of the marriage in their houses, accompanied by their closer relatives, making their thanks concrete by all getting drunk in the house of these godparents. On the other hand the brothers, sisters, cousins of both sexes, and grandparents of the bride hire musicians and go to the house of the groom to wash all the pots used the previous day, which is an obligation of the bride, although actually it does not result this way as they arrange to drink *charanda* and very few pots are washed. When they are all good and drunk again, celebrating this drunkenness among the cousins, brothers, and grandparents of the bride and groom, the marriage events end. As a regular thing there has been an expenditure of between 200 and 300 pesos for all the parts of the marriage ceremony, which must be paid by the father of the groom. [Written by P. Chávez, Cherán, Michoacán, October 10, 1940.]

The foregoing account represents the thoughtful view of a Cherán wedding as seen by an intelligent and well-informed native resident of the town. As is to be expected, certain aspects of the celebration are overlooked. Some of these have been inserted in brackets in the account given above; others will be added below. The Chávez account also presents a slightly different order from that observed at several weddings. In all probability the Chávez account is in part somewhat inaccurate in its order; very likely it also represents an expression of one of several possible arrangements. Some weddings are much more elaborate than the generalized description, while others are much simpler.

The most elaborate wedding during the time of the study was that of Samuel Sánchez, son of Antonio Sánchez, a well-to-do farmer with a large number of relatives (pl. 6, left, center). The most significant points are discussed below. Samuel stole his bride about the middle of July,

585 and the wedding occurred on August 17. On August 16 the women of the household, aided by relatives, soaked and washed between 5 and 6 *fanegas* of maize for tamales and tortillas. Also, a beef was killed, cut up, and placed in the storage loft. The evening of the same day new clothing was taken to the groom by the bride's relatives, and he was dressed, everything but his pants being changed in the patio. The dressing should be done by a male first cousin of the bride. (Agustín, for example, dressed the groom when the daughter of his mother's sister was married.)

The wedding in church took place at about 4 a. m. So early a wedding is unusual, partly because it costs more, but the Sánchez family obviously planned to make the most of the wedding. The bride was dressed in new clothing before the wedding. After the wedding the bride and her party went to her parents' house. Between 10 and 11 o'clock they returned to the

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585 groom's house, where breakfast was served. The godmother of baptism and the godmother of the wedding were seated on mats in the patio with the bride at the right hand of the godmother of baptism (pl. 7, right, center; fig. 18). Both received gifts of ribbons and coins, but only the godmother of the wedding had the paper ornaments on sticks placed in her hair (pl. 7, lower right). When breakfast was finished, the bride and her relatives returned to her house.

A group went out with the musicians and brought back a large quantity of bread. On such trips with the musicians a direct route is never followed, particularly on the return, but a circuitous route is taken to display the bread and the crowd to as many as possible. As soon as the bride's relatives had left, dinner began to be served to the relatives of the groom, the men eating under the shed separately from the women. The bread was put on a table deco-

[p.184c]

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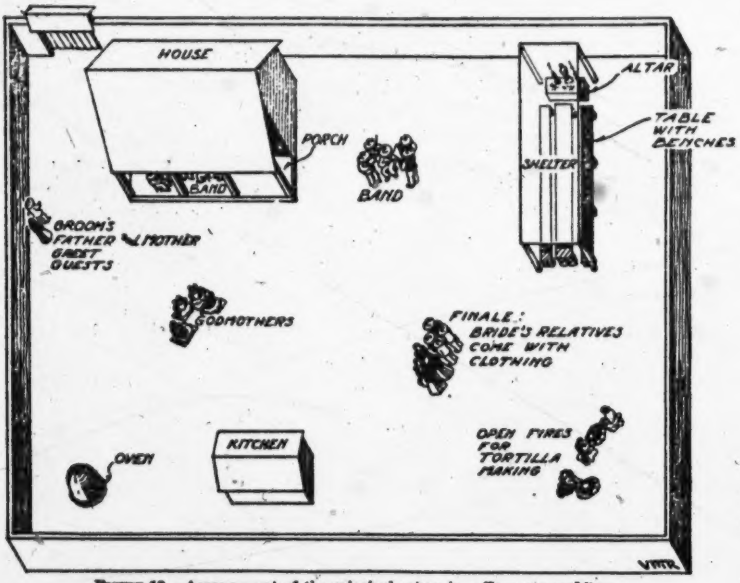

FIGURE 18.—Arrangement of the principal actors in a Tarascan wedding.

585 rated with ferns. The serving of food to the men was done by brothers-in-law of the groom's father. Cigarettes were passed around by one of the groom's uncles.

About 12:45 p. m. a second band arrived. While the mother was not occupied she sat on a mat in front of the house where she received coins from guests. The father received cigarettes, which were placed beside the altar under the shed until needed, when they were passed about to the guests. After eating, many went to the house of one of the other relatives of the groom where they ate again. The bride's relatives were given dinner at her home by her parents.

Iris leaves were distributed to the men selected to go for the bride, and they left with the band hired by the groom's father. The godmothers moved under the house porch where they sat on mats. A procession of women came in bearing lacquered trays on their heads filled with fruit and bottles of soda pop. These women were female relatives of the groom who had not helped in the kitchen work. The soda pop was given to the men who had been assisting, while the fruit was given to the women assistants. Some of the men fastened quantities of breads and cookies to strings suspended from the roof of the shed where the bride's male relatives would sit again on their return.

A number of women bearing cornstalks and flowers (cannas, dahlias, and calla lilies) left with the second band and some of the men, including the groom's father. They were going to get bread.

In the meantime the bride and her relatives arrived. The bride's male relatives went to the shed where they all grabbed at the breads and cookies, each trying to get the most. The female relatives sat in a group in another place (see fig. 18) with the clothing before them arranged to make the greatest possible display. The bride sat beside the godmothers. She was barefoot and accompanied by a small girl.

The first lot of bread was brought in. The godmothers with the first band, which had returned with the bride, went out into the street to meet the bread. About 15 minutes after this the bride went into the house where she stayed the remainder of the ceremony, accompained by a number of younger girls.

585 The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and 1our or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the [532] form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

585 Before the exchange of clothing and bread was completed, the godmothers began the 535 dancing. No one was supposed to dance until 608 the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

585 The dancing was interrupted at this point by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men [482] carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

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585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The [184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took [605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the [587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

585 was a widower but still young. The girl lived
587 with an aunt, for her mother had become a woman of loose morals after having an affair with a worker on the highway and at the moment was in jail in Uruapan for disorderly conduct. The bride's father was dead. Another aunt refused to attend the wedding because she did not approve of the girl's marrying a widower.

In this instance the groom had not stolen the girl but had asked for her, taking bread to the house of the aunt, accompanied by musicians. Agustín, with other relatives of the girl, took her to church for the civil wedding, where she was delivered to the groom's father. She was not returned to her own home and there was no breakfast. As the groom's father was poor, there was no celebration in his house, but at noon the girl's aunt did the best she could to rectify the matter by serving a dinner in her house.

585 At another simple wedding attended, the general forms were gone through in truncated fashion. The dinner was over before 12 o'clock, and immediately following it the groom's father distributed the special breads in the form of crowns. This early distribution indicated that there would be no exchange of clothing on a large scale (although there was a little) and no drinking. There were no music and no dancing, and the affair was over by about 2 p.m.

Another of the weddings observed in some detail presents a number of interesting features. This was the wedding of Samuel Santa Clara, son of the widow, Doña Feliciana, principal [115] informant regarding herbs.

Again, as the families knew each other well and it was certain that the girl's mother, also a widow, would consent, the girl was not stolen. Indeed, Doña Feliciana and her "brothers" went to the girl's house on a Thursday evening and asked for her. There were no music and no marriage manager on this occasion. The following Monday, September 9, Doña Feliciana and all the groom's relatives ate at her house and then went to the bride's house, starting about 2:30 p.m. This hour is early and was arranged for my special benefit so I would be sure to see everything. Unfortunately, I had not been advised of the plan and was not in Cherán that day, but Agustín, who as usual

585 turned out to be a relative, was a member of the party.

Because of the early hour, the marriage manager had not arrived. The party all waited outside until the manager was found and came. The manager prayed, and then the men were given tamales to eat. The women then began exchanging bread and tamales at about 5:30. Later they drank all night and sat around and talked. They would have danced, but Doña Feliciana had provided no music.

On November 9 the groom was learning the prayers and it was intended to hold the wedding soon, but it was postponed until January because the priest said that no one could marry until after Christmas *por los velados*. As Doña Feliciana remarked, "No one knows what these are. This priest is very capricious. We have had various priests here, but never one like this."

During the interval of waiting, Doña
554 Feliciana made it plain that, as she was a
585 widow, she had no intention of holding a large wedding. The mother of the bride, however, was affronted and sent word that with all the Santa Claras in the town it was a shame they would not do anything. She also announced that although she also was a widow, she intended to pay for a band herself. When word of this got around, the Santa Claras became ashamed and bestirred themselves to see what could be done. Soon Agustín's father was remarking that the Santa Claras had gotten the better of the Rangéls, and perhaps they should do something. When the wedding finally was held by the Santa Claras it turned out to be, if anything, more elaborate than that given by Antonio Sánchez, described above.

The distribution of expenses, as it finally
585 turned out, was approximately as follows:

Breakfast for the women—Erino Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

Breakfast for the men—provided by a cousin, a Santa Clara.

Dinner and bread—Emilio Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

One band—Doña Feliciana, the cousins, and uncles (Agustín paid a contribution for this).

Second band—brothers, sisters, and cousins of the groom, "grandfathers" of both bride and groom. (Agustín's father paid a contribution for this.)

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585

Civil wedding—Domingo Hernández, a "grandfather."
Church wedding—Doña Feliciana.

According to report, Doña Feliciana provided only a new *rebozo* for the bride in the way of clothing, but this was not verified. No data were secured on who paid for the liquor.

The church wedding took place about 7 a. m. on January 9, this being the cheaper hour. The bride was returned to her home, then brought with her relatives to the groom's mother's house for breakfast. After breakfast, the party went to the municipal offices for the civil registry. This order was quite incorrect, as customarily the civil registry should precede the religious ceremony, usually by about a week. After this, matters proceeded as usual with the dinner. The older brother of the groom functioned as the male head of the household. Had the groom had no older brother, Doña Feliciana would have had to discharge the functions of the male head; none of her brothers or those of her deceased husband would have taken this position.

Late in the afternoon a number of poles were brought into the courtyard. Stuck in holes in these poles were many small sticks to which were attached small flaglike ornaments of paper of many colors which were divided among the women and children with a great deal of shouting and disorder (pl. 7, lower left). These banners are not produced at any other time than the period preceding Carnival.

The crownlike breads were not produced until quite late, about 4:30 p. m., and were not distributed until some time later (pl. 7, upper right). In turn, the dancing was late in starting in the groom's house, although it began some time earlier in the house of the grandfather entertaining that group.

Just before dusk the priest arrived and scolded the party for getting drunk. One of the men who took this to heart started home; [674] he was shot and killed while crossing the bridge to Parícutin by an unknown enemy, but none of these events stopped the wedding, which turned into one of the most prolonged large-scale drinking bouts occurring during the time of the study. Atole was served at midnight, while between 4 and 6 a. m. and again at 8 a. m. *posole* was served. The atole was provided by

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585 Antonio Sánchez (whose son's wedding is the first described) and his brother. The *posole* was provided by the cousins of the groom.

At 10 o'clock the following morning, water for dish washing was carried through the streets accompanied by a band. At 11:30 additional maize was taken to the mill, again accompanied by a band. On both occasions numerous people were dancing with the procession. Several other processions occurred during this and the following day when the wedding finally terminated.

Doña Feliciana estimated the expenses for the wedding to be about $100 for food and bread, paid for by the relatives. Doña Feliciana supplied 9 *fanegas* of maize, worth [435] $36, and paid $25 to one of the bands, and she still owed $20. She also killed a cow with an estimated value of $60. The second band, which did not stay the entire time, was paid $20 by the relatives. This makes a total expense of $261, not counting the fees for the civil registry and the priest. Neither does it include the very considerable quantities of liquor consumed. Doña Feliciana collected $21 in gifts given by her female relatives.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez mentioned above cost his father $150. In addition, Don Antonio's brothers spent at least $50. Don Antonio also killed a beef, and 7½ *fanegas* of maize was consumed. The civil registry cost $6 and the Mass $13, a total expenditure of approximately $309 exclusive of the liquor.

Alfredo Romero, pointing out that even poor families had to make every effort to give a proper wedding so the parents of the girl would be satisfied, reported that his wedding cost $135, 5½ *fanegas* of maize, and some beans, "and it did not last more than 3 days" (but his group of relatives is smaller and there were fewer guests than at some of the other weddings). He had to buy a beef "which hardly lasted" and there was expense for musicians, bread, lard, salt, onions "and who knows what else." Romero was forced to sell a lot in Parícutin and two small pieces of land, despite aid given him by his relatives.

In general, the attitude of disapproval voiced in the previous paragraph is not shared in Cherán. Although accounts of expense were given with a good deal of headshaking, obviously

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585 the majority of persons were rather proud of the amount they had spent. Unquestionably, a wedding is the most extensive and ostentatious 556 display of wealth and social position that exists 585 in Cherán. Attempts in the past by outsiders to suppress the *costumbres* are almost always taken as attempts to suppress the weddings first of all and are met by sullen and dogged resistance. The reaction of Emilio Rojas, godfather of the bride in the Samuel Santa Clara wedding, is fairly typical:

> The custom here is pleasant, except people get very drunk. Well, not everyone, but some. It is good to take something, but not to the point of drunkenness. It is good to dance and be gay. Besides, I like weddings because I always sell something in the way of clothing. [Don Emilio is a storekeeper.]

The social prestige factors involved in weddings revolve about several aspects of the ceremonies. One is the sheer factor of display already mentioned. Whenever any group of people goes through the streets in connection with the wedding, it is accompanied by a band. Furthermore, a direct route is rarely followed. Often a circuitous route two or three times as long as the direct route is used.

Another aspect is the display and exchange of clothing and bread. Every effort is made to show the amount of bread being brought and the quantity of clothing to be exchanged. The clothing is carried on trays, usually lacquered, or in baskets either in the arms or on the head. The majority of the participants bearing clothing come in a single large procession which always makes a special effort to traverse as much of the town as is possible without making the ostentation too evident. The women bearing clothing all sit together for a time after arriving at the groom's house and spread out their clothing to make it look as impressive as possible.

The clothing exchange also has an economic aspect, for the investment involved is very considerable. To some extent, though, the gifts are formalized. Clothing for wedding gifts is usually not as well made as regular clothing. Furthermore, a large part of it is kept for exchange in future weddings. Only if a family does not expect to have any relatives marry for some time to come will it actually use the clothing, unless it is very poor and in need of the

556 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing
585 may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend.
[602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should
[578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez,
[572] represen .tive of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

Resentment and avoidance seem to be the
626 only methods of retaliation for neglect at
585 Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

As a neutral third party, the marriage man-
585 ager also smooths over differences of opinion
584 more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
forced but went willingly. There is no reason
584 to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am
not concerned in the matter but come to speak
for the parents of the groom. They have come
as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the
evening the father returned and agreed to the
marriage, but he said little and clearly was
angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
162 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means
that the two families, in the most extended
602 sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of
ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male
relatives will help to move a house or roof a
house, while the bride's female relatives will be
called on to work in the kitchen on the same
occasions. Both families will likewise be con-
cerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in
varying degree, especially when a grandchild
marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion
585 for celebration, the release of tensions through
drinking, the provision of diversion with the
dancing, and the general stimulus through ex-
tensive social interaction is very considerable.
For the participants, weddings probably rank
as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for
social contacts and amusement.

A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
585 weddings is the much greater participation of
887 the older women. Young women with children
usually do not take a very active part in the
kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the
exchange of clothing. The old women, on the
other hand, are in the forefront of all activities.
Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in
many respects. Old women are the most active
in the kitchen. They are the first to start
drinking, although they rarely drink to the
excess common among the men, and they are
the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the
playing of dance music has an almost compul-
sive effect. Time and again, when dance music
is being played, even though it is not time for
dancing, some of the old women will be seen
quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

585 Although the ceremonies of marriage are
most elaborate in the case of first marriages,
587 often marriages of widows or widowers are

585 almost as complex, particularly if it is the first
587 marriage of one of the parties. A widow or widower is not expected to marry for 6 months after the death of his or her spouse, but marriage usually occurs soon after that time. Marriage is regarded as the normal state for an adult, and one who does not marry is thought to be queer. "Here they believe that a man without a woman or a woman without a man cannot be either man or woman and they are not respected." Moreover, life is very difficult for the widow or widower. The woman has difficulty getting her fields properly cultivated, even though she may own sufficient property. A man, unless he has relatives who will take him in, also has great difficulty in getting food, for no man knows how to cook. Women do not wish to take a widower as a boarder, fearing either that he will make some attempt on their virtue or that their reputation will suffer. Husbands are also much opposed to such an arrangement, so the widower must marry, if he is to eat decently.

583 In Mestizo Chilchota, Rendón found many similarities with the Cherán wedding customs. The bride is sometimes stolen, sometimes not. If stolen and then not married, the girl finds marriage difficult, and mothers will not let their daughters talk to such a girl. Chilchota residents assert that in the Tarascan villages of La Cañada this is not the case, but such evidence from Mestizos is notoriously unreliable.

Generally the bride is stolen. In Chilchota, Rendón definitely secured the impression that this custom is older than asking for the bride. The bride is taken to the house of a friend or to the godparent of baptism of the bride. According to some women marrying in this way, the marriage was not consummated until after the wedding ceremonies; others said they had relations with their husbands the day they were stolen. If the girl is asked for, rather than stolen, the relatives of the groom take mescal and cigarettes when they visit the bride's parents. They are accompanied by an old man skilled in such matters.

585 The wedding takes place traditionally in the house of the groom, but among the "snobs" it takes place in the house of the bride. Guests take a kilo of salt, a kilo of chiles (preferably dry chiles which are more expensive), several

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585 kilos of rice, and a basket of corn or beans. The male relatives of the bride supply one or two loads of wood and also present to the groom agricutural tools if he is a farmer or utensils of his trade if he has some other occupation. The male and female relatives of the groom also dress the bride in a complete new outfit and present her with clothing and household and kitchen equipment. Gifts received by the bride and groom are divided with their respective relatives. The sisters of the groom carry rosaries made of *amole* tubers to indicate that they should wash with this and not with soap. (This statement is ambiguous and needs further investigation; possibly it refers to bathing the bride.)

The church wedding takes place in the early hours of the morning and is followed by a breakfast in the house where the celebration is to be held. Invariably the breakfast consists of bread and chocolate. After breakfast there is a dance, which continues through the day except for intervals in which to eat. The food is *mole* of chicken or turkey, fried rice, beans, and tortillas. After the meal a drink made of [273] pulque and called *charape* is served. If it is [272] not the season for pulque, the *charape* is made of a wild plant resembling the maguey and called timbiriče.

After dancing a while following the dinner, the bride is taken to the house of the godparents of the groom, in case she has been stolen, or to her own parents' house, if she has been asked for. The bride spends the night at this house without her husband. Some time during the day the sisters of the groom wash the bride and dress her.

The following day the godparents of the wedding hold a fiesta in their house similar to that on the preceding day but with some additional features. Early in the morning, when the invited guests arrive, they are served breakfast of bread and chocolate made with water. Then there is dancing. At midday a dinner is served, consisting of many of the typical Tarascan foods such as čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and meat), kurúndas (yellow tamales), chayote, and cooked squash (*chilacayote*).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the dancing goes on in the house of the godparents of the wedding, the godparents of baptism of

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Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada
Mestizo

585 both the bride and groom organize a group to carry the atole. A large *olla* is filled with atole. The *olla* is decorated with green branches, flowers, and paper streamers. A carrying basket full of bread and bottles of *aguardiente* is also carried. The atole can be of whatever type is usual at the season of the year, while the bread must be of the type known as *pan grueso*, "thick bread." Various members of the group take turns carrying the bread and atole. At each corner the person carrying the bread or atole dances, while his companions circle about him.

A group of relatives by marriage of the groom known as the "cats" now attempt to take away the *olla* of atole. They carry bundles of nettles and similar plants and strike the bearers of the atole until they succeed in getting it away. They carry it to a store and "sell" it for *aguardiente* or cigarettes.

Another group, known as the sisters, *hermanas*, composed of consanguineal relatives of the groom, attempt to defend the *olla* of atole. When it is finally stolen, they must "buy" it back from the storekeeper for the value of the goods given to the "cats." This is repeated several times before the atole is finally brought to the house of the godparents about sundown.

The godparents of the wedding meantime have strung a rope across the street and receive the group with the atole with lighted splinters of pitch pine to symbolize their late arrival. For a time the party with the atole are not allowed to pass the rope, but eventually they climb over or under it and get into the house.

The godparents of baptism now give the godparents of the marriage *charape*, mescal, and cigarettes. In return they receive presents of clothing and mescal. In the Tarascan villages of La Cañada it is said the exchange of clothing is much more extensive. A supper is served of tamales, *bunuelos* (a sort of fried bread dough dipped in sugar), and *charape*, and there is more dancing. Later the bride is carried to the house of the parents or relatives of the groom. The relatives of the bride are present. Female relatives of the bride toast chiles on a *comal*, and the groom has to enter the smoke to prove that he is a man. The bride is now given to the groom.

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Mestizo

585 The following day there is a ritual meal in the house of the bride to which come the bride's relatives and many friends. The women of Chilchota often dress in traditional Tarascan costume for this meal, wearing the *rollo* or pleated skirt. They also wear straw hats much decorated with flowers and paper streamers. Men dress in *calzones* or trousers of Indian style. If they have money, a band is hired and the group dances at every corner. The meal served consists of boiled cabbage (without meat or meat broth) and beef tripe cooked with herbs and chile.

Soon after the wedding, the groom takes the bride's parents one or two large baskets of bread, chocolate, sugar, and from $10 to $100 (depending on his economic status) to show his thanks. There is some sort of ceremony in the house of the bride's parents.

585 In San Juan Parangaricutiro, also primarily a Mestizo town, the male and female relatives
535 of the bride dance in the streets on the day of the wedding. The group has a band and dances at each street intersection in the town, the men in one file, and the women in another. The men make a circuit of the women's file and return to their places. The women do the same and then the group moves to another corner. The persons in the files are arranged according to their stature. A sister of the bride accompanies the group, and represents her. The night after the wedding the relatives of the groom do the same, lighting their way with pitch pine torches.

588 A dozen or more families in Cherán live in "free union," that is, a couple lives together
586 without marriage. In most cases one or both parties to the arrangement have been married previously and divorced according to Cherán standards but not according to law. The majority of such free unions are said to result in successful households, and children of such unions suffer no stigma. Children of free unions inherit from their parents in the same fashion as children of legal or church marriages. This type of union is said to be fairly recent, and at first persons living in this fashion were not permitted by the priest to hold any church office or to act as godparents. Children of free unions were also refused baptism. In

588 recent years it is said that these restrictions
586 have disappeared.

One reason for the free union is the difficulty of securing a legal divorce. Such a divorce can be granted only by a court of first instance (*juzgado de primer instancia*). The nearest court of this kind is in Uruapan, and to secure a divorce requires many trips to Uruapan and an outlay of more money than most Cherán residents can afford. Moreover, most people do not understand the needed steps.

Causes of divorce are drunkenness, wife
586 beating, failure to support the family, or abandoning the family for another woman on the part of the man. On the part of the woman, infidelity is an important cause. Lack of children is rarely if ever the direct cause of divorce, and is not recognized as a sufficient reason. Incompatibility evidently may play a part also. Uncles and grandfathers of the married couple and the godparents of the marriage intervene if a marriage is not going smoothly, and attempt to persuade the couple to change their habits.

In all cases of divorce for whatever cause, the officials of the *municipio* investigate. If they find the divorce not justified, the officials may force the couple to continue living together. If the causes are deemed sufficient, the officials do not interfere, although they may supervise disposition of children so that they will have the best care. If children are less than 6 or 7 they are usually put in charge of the mother. Over that age they are usually given to the parent best able to rear them properly. If the mother is industrious and the father a drunkard, the children will be given to the mother, but if the mother is careless of her obligations, the father will receive the children. Dislike or quarrels rarely arise between relatives of a divorced couple. In free unions, as in mar-
[593] riages of widows or widowers, sometimes a parent is jealous of the spouse's children by a previous marriage, sometimes not.

ADULT LIFE

885 Entry into adult status is closely associated
585 with marriage. Normally a child is not consulted in family affairs until he is married; the only exceptions are a few families where youths have not married at the customary ages. Usu-

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885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat
593 difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[85] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

596 they have lived thus far. In the few cases
591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

593 More commonly a joint family will not be
591 established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

593 Much the same situation will obtain regard-
423 ing farm lands. A father may give his son
885 some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
352 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

592 Objects found in a house or *"troje"*:
352
Sleeping mats
Small table
Chairs, either low chairs, regular size chairs, or stools, one for each man in the household and usually two or three for guests.
Serape, worn by the man during the day and serving as a blanket for man and wife at night. A second *serape* will often be found if there are children.
Chest, box, or trunk for extra clothes
Saint's picture
Candle and candle holder
Flower holder
Ladder for getting to loft
Gun (sometimes)
Cross beam suspended from the ceiling on which are hung clothing, blankets, etc.

Objects found in the kitchen:
592
415
Wooden hooks for hanging up "anything"
Stump and flat stone for burning pitch pine for light
Corn husk mats for holding up pots(at least three)
Large comal
3 "frying pans" of Patamban pottery for cooking meat
1 "frying pan" of Patamban pottery for cooking eggs
Several round and oblong wooden bowls
Grass-root pot brush
Atole strainer
4 cane splint baskets of various sizes
2 pottery jars
Broom for sweeping yard (of brush)
Broom for sweeping house (of broom straw)
Paring knife
Bowls of Quiroga ware or Guanajuato ware for serving broth and meat on special occasions
Charcoal-burning flat iron
Gourd canteens for use at harvest time or in woods
½ dozen china plates
½ dozen china cups
Tea pot
China bowls
½ dozen wooden spoons of various sizes
Tin can for dipper to fill water jars
Chocolate beater
Tortilla baskets
2 water ollas
1 small pitcher
5 large 2-handled pots
8 smaller 1-handled pots
Clay fireplace
Firefan
Small metate for chiles
Large metate for maize

592 Table
352 3 chairs (usually small low style)
Machete
415 ½ dozen spoons
2 table forks (rare)
1 table knife (rare)
1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

412 Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)
592 Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs
Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes
Wooden pitchfork
Wooden hook
Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)
Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)
Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

Clothing must also be secured. The man will
291 own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in
342 the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important.
556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as
581 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least
556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as
554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

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593 Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cul-
[578] tures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

512 Within the household certain routines and habits are common. Labor is rather strictly
593 divided along sexual lines also. For example, the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the
[462] morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and sups at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
512 on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

512 The general weekly routine of the family of
517 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels
[515] and go to the bathing place in one of the *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or
[132] rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people. After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for steal-
[584] ing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

512 unmarried men may not come home until 9 or
514 10 o'clock, when the family is in bed, and they feed themselves with cold food left for them.

On Monday the men and young men go to
512 the fields or to the mountains between 7 and 9 o'clock, after eating a breakfast which always
462 includes tortillas and chile and likely includes remnants of the previous day's meal such as *sopa de tortilla*. If the men are going out all day and the place is distant, they take a lunch. If the place is nearby, wives carry lunch to their menfolk. Women will take maize to the mill and carry whatever water is needed during the morning. They may also buy some vegetables at the market, although most will have done this at the Saturday market. They may shop for meat and other needed items at the store. The main housework will be sweeping and putting the sleeping mats in the "*troje*." Then the woman will start work on the midday meal for herself and children (earlier if she is to take dinner to the fields, which she will do if her husband is working within an hour's walk). This meal is apt to be quite simple if the husband is not home. Some women make tortillas before dinner and again before supper. Others will eat warmed up tortillas for dinner. After dinner, following about an hour's rest, these women will make up a supply of tortillas sufficient to last 24 hours. An older daughter may be set at this work. In any case, probably 2 hours will be put in making tortillas and preparing supper. Men who went for firewood will probably be home as early as 4 o'clock, others not until 5 or 5:30, while those who had to look for a strayed animal or who are delayed for other reasons may come in after dark. The men of the family will eat together; the women and children usually eat together but after the men. Before he eats, a man may have to water and feed his animals, unless there is a small boy who can do it.

After supper a man will often go out on the
517 street for about an hour to loaf and talk to
512 friends. Young men will go out and stay longer; they are usually the last to bed. Small children are put in bed about 8 o'clock.

Some families vary the schedule given above.
512 In a fair number of cases the men of the family rise before the women and go to the fields
462 without breakfast. The woman in this case

512 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds
462 it herself, in the meantime making atole. The men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and
[869] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually
[517] by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 In some ways the activities of men are less varied and complex than those of the women.
462 A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

5

It would be a mistake to assume, however,
517 that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor,
159 broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

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517 159 574 Agustín arrived in Cherán from the United States on January 25, 1940. For 17 days he did not eat at home. There were no fiestas but he was "taken around." He was brought chocolate and bread before he got up. February 5 there was a wedding, which he attended for a while in the evening and part of the next day. February 6 was Carnival and he went on horseback to Nahuatzen, where he followed the music about for a time. In March, during Holy Week, he went to church Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. He spent some time watching the *Judíos* chase small boys with their spears. The boys blew whistles to annoy them. Between Carnival and Holy Week there were several weddings, but he did not attend any of them for more than an hour or two. At the fiesta of the Octava following Holy Week he spent 4 days going about with the musicians. He spent 3 days at a fiesta in Nahuatzen, coming home each night. At Corpus he spent 4 days, following the music and visiting various parties. He spent 1 day at the *carguero's* house on the day of San José, April 10. After Corpus he spent a whole day at one wedding and an hour or two at another. On San Juan's day, June 24, he spent the whole day watching the horse racing and other activities. On the day of San Pedro in June he ate posole at various houses and walked around all day. In August he spent 2 more days at another fiesta in Nahuatzen and spent an evening and a day in connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves. He also attended three weddings, spending an entire day at each. In September he visited the Ahuiran fiesta for 1 day. In October he spent 4 days at the fiesta of the patron saint in Cherán. A half day was spent at the Huansito fiesta in La Cañada. The Day of the Dead was almost all spent at the graveyard and at people's homes. In December he danced with the *negrito* dancers for 4 days and in January danced with the *viejos* or *Europeos* for 4 days (he did not count any of the practice time which was in the evenings). In January he spent 1 day at a wedding.

517 Another informant, between 40 and 50 years of age, spent the following time in fiestas:

Carnival, 2-3 hours
Wedding, 1 day
Holy Week, 3 days at church

517

Octava, 4 days
Corpus, 4 days
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
San Juan, 1 day
San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
Wedding, 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

Women, in general, work longer hours at more
462 varied tasks and with numerous interruptions.
While women also attend fiestas and weddings
312 in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the
[482] hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo*, which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 The best picture of women's activities may
462 be presented by giving a number of actual

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461 cases. Women's work varies greatly with the
462 size of the family and the age of the children. Most women had no clear idea of the time spent, and the following figures are guesses given under some pressure.

CASE 1

(8 adults in family.)

	Hours
Going to mill	½
Carrying water (3 ollas in morning, 2 in afternoon)	1 or 2
Making tortillas	1 or 2
Other food preparation	2 or 3
Washing clothes and taking bath on Wednesdays	5
Sweeping (not every day)	½ to 1
Marketing	½
Shelling corn:	
Green	¼
Dry	½
Visiting neighbors	Variable
Resting	Variable
Minimum daily schedule	6
Total waking hours	13

CASE 2

(Family of 8; two girls, one about 8, one about 13. Woman helps in store owned by family in spare time but both girls help, take maize to the mill, etc. Following is estimate of the day preceding the interview.)

	Hours
Going to mill	¼
Shelling corn	2
Making tortillas	2
Carrying water (met friends)	2
Washing clothes (Friday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	¼
Marketing (longer if she meets friends)	½
Food preparation	3
Care of children	No idea
Visiting friends—does not go out, friends visit her in store	None
Estimated total on ordinary days (not including work in store and caring for children)	10

CASE 3

(Family of 6; 4 children, all big enough to care for themselves; woman also helps in store.)

	Hours
Mill	½ to 1
Making tortillas	4
Carrying water (3 or 4 ollas)	1
Ironing (Friday or Saturday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	½
Marketing	½
Food preparation	3
Daily minimum, about	10

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461
462

In addition to above, washes 1 day a week, 7 hours. Also goes occasionally to Paricutin for an hour to interview a debtor.

Waking hours, about 15

CASE 4

(A widow. Several adults in family; woman assisted by daughter-in-law.)

	Hours
Making tortillas	½
Carrying water (10 ollas with assistance of daughter-in-law)	½
Cooking	1½
Sweeping (twice a week)	¼
Marketing (average)	½
Shelling corn	½
Daily minimum	4 to 5

In addition, washing and bathing on Wednesday consume 6 to 7 hours. On Thursdays the informant goes to the Paraje to gather herbs, about a 2-hour trip each way. From Saturday to Monday the informant is in Uruapan selling the herbs.

CASE 5

(3 adults in family.)

	Hours
Water carrying, 5 to 7 ollas morning and afternoon (estimate)	1
Tortillas, morning and afternoon (total)	2
Shelling corn—buys it shelled	.....
Going to mill	5/12 to 1
Marketing	½
Food preparation	½ to 1
Sweeping (once a week)	½
Washing and bathing every Thursday, about	5
Daily minimum, about	5

Despite the few hours appearing in the statement, the informant said she had little time to rest.

CASE 6

(3 people in family.)

	Hours
3 ollas of water, morning and afternoon	½ to 1
Tortillas	1
Going to mill	½ to 1
Shelling corn	½
Sweeping	¼
Food preparation	1
Marketing	½ to 1
Resting	1 to 2
Daily minimum (exclusive of rest period) about	5¼

Visits neighbors a little.
Clothes washing 8 a. m. to 1 p. m., Tuesdays.

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CASE 7

(3 people in family.)

461
462

	Hours
Tortillas (½ hour morning and afternoon)	1
Going to mill	⅓
Carrying water, 3 ollas, twice a day	⅖
Preparing food	1/15
Marketing	⅓
Sweeping	¼
Shelling corn	½
Visiting mother daily	1
Care of child	2 to 3
Resting	½
Daily minimum (exclusive of rest periods) about	5

Washing and bath, Fridays, about 4 hours.

CASE 8

(4 people in family.)

	Hours
Tortillas, morning and afternoon, total	1½
Going to mill	¼ to ⅜
Carrying water (5 to 7 ollas daily)	⅖
Preparing food	⅖
Sweeping (twice a week)	½
Marketing	⅓
Shelling corn	⅖
Resting	½ to 1
Visiting, not every day	1
Daily minimum (exclusive of resting and visiting)	5½

Washing and bath, Wednesdays, 9 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m.

None of the women interviewed were too poor to pay for having their maize ground. If they had ground their own maize on the metate, the hours of labor would have been materially increased.

576 In addition to learning the techniques of earning a living and acquiring the necessary sense of responsibility to manage one's affairs, adult life usually requires the learning of a number of rules of behavior. Adults should know that it is never proper to enter a house yard without an invitation, even though it be unfenced. Visitors knock on the gate or call out until an invitation is given. Usually someone comes to the gate to inquire what is wanted, unless the person is very well known. Men are never invited in unless the man of the household is present. If one calls on a person about business, one always stands and talks about other things for a bit first.

576 When one meets friends of the same sex, one says "Good day," "Good afternoon," or "With God" (*Buenos días, buenos tardes, adiós*). If persons stop to talk, they touch hands in greeting and on farewell. A person of opposite sex, if well known, will be greeted in the same way verbally, but the hands will not be touched and, unless the persons are relatives or *compadres*, they will not stop and talk.

If a man visits a friend in his field or his *solar* when he is working, he always helps a bit. A woman calling at the house will help a little with any work going on. If one sees a stray animal and knows the owner, it is good manners to take it to him; if the owner is unknown, the animal should be taken to the municipal building. If one is in a group and people become angry, efforts should be made to dissuade them from fighting unless they are drunk. It is all right to drive another person's dog away (although usually people just give strange dogs a wide berth), but a pig should never be molested unless it is trespassing. It is not proper to punish another person's child, but if he throws a rock, for example, it is all right to throw rocks back.

576 If you hear a piece of land is for sale and do not know the owner, you get all the information you can about the land and then send the 432 person giving the information to talk to the owner. If you know the owner you go yourself. Most commonly the owner will come to you. It is proper to stand and talk about other things for a while and then make an appointment to go to see the land. On the trip, the final arrangements about the price are usually thrashed out if you decide to buy the land. Then you go together to the municipal building and have a bill of sale made out, for which you pay.

576 At meals the oldest man present is served first, unless there is a male guest present. 264 Then the other men are served and then the women and children. Of course, there are always the small children who come about pestering their mothers for a tortilla and, as Agustín remarked, "Of course you want to get rid of those guys first." When water is passed around and one drinks out of a common pitcher, it is polite to pour a little water on the ground,

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will
517 always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums.
517 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well
525 patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5
[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

Tastes are fixed even in some matters of
291 dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

291 unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in
521 Cherán is simply talking. Both men and
517 women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for
538 amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

The transition from adult to old age is not
887 a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents
886 whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

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(p. 201 b)

886 fatigable dancer at fiestas. By any standard
887 this man is old, but he certainly shows no sign of senescence, although it is unlikely he is still sexually potent. Similarly, women obviously far past child-bearing age are often the most active workers at fiestas and the most eager dancers, in contrast to the often lackadaisical attitudes of young mothers who dance not at all.

886 For women the menopause comes between 40 and 50. Information from women on sexual subjects is difficult to secure even by women, and the scanty information is quite unsatisfactory.[38]

Some women appear to be more or less spiritless and sad after the menopause, while others seem to be quite gay. In some cases this difference may have psychological basis or may reflect the presence or absence of physiological difficulties. Indifference of husbands, the sexual potency of husbands, and the continuance of sexual relations may also have some bearing on individual cases. At least one woman expressed herself as pleased to have passed the menopause because "now she was free" and was not dependent upon men. Further study of the problem is needed but would require considerable time and tact on the part of women investigators.

888 In general, whether old age is depressing and unhappy or not seems to depend upon the continuance of a successful marital relationship and the possession of adequate economic resources. The only really unhappy old people seem to be elderly women without children or husbands who eke out a miserable existence in ways that could not be discovered. They dwell in hovels and lean-tos of brush and boards, carry their own wood, and to some extent live on charity. Those with reasonable health and either dutiful children or enough property to insure care on the part of the children seem to lead a fairly satisfactory life. Often nephews and nieces also help care for old people; again, possession of property probably aids in securing

[38] Early in the study Mrs. Ruth W. Beebe, of New York, aided by the nurse from the boarding school at Paracho and by a Mestiso girl from Paracho, tried to fill out comprehensive questionnaires on sexual subjects, directed primarily toward gaining insight into the psychological problems related to the menopause. She was able to secure only three reasonably complete schedules and even these probably contain evasions and some unanswered questions. I am indebted to Mrs. Beebe for copies of the schedules and have drawn upon them slightly for these remarks.

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888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of [178] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a [759] *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the [366] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

759 All the curers (*curanderas*—šurijki; in other towns ¢inájpiri) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

753 are recognized as of mechanical origin. Some diseases are vaguely regarded as of natural causation and as possibly contagious; others are clearly of supernatural character even though curable by natural means, although the line between the two is not sharp. In either case, herbs, unguents, and drugs are believed capable of helping the sickness. To utilize these methods of curing requires no special ability but merely knowledge. Many minor ailments
759 are treated at home; the curer is merely a person of greater knowledge who is called in when home remedies fail or the case is obviously beyond the knowledge of the household. Similarly, the doctor at Parácho is called only when the curer fails or the case is believed beyond the curer's powers. Obviously, this situation has not greatly enhanced the reputation of the doctor, for most of his patients are nearly moribund some hours before he can reach them.

757 Curers usually make a diagnosis first. No information on methods could be secured. It appears that a visual inspection and questioning of the patients are parts of the diagnosis, and possibly the only diagnosis. Once the diagnosis is made, the curer decides what steps to take to care the patient. Often herbs kept on hand can be used; others, however, must be specially sought because they must be collected either fresh or at certain hours of the day.

753 In general, sickness by some is related to the strength of the blood which resides below the
[826] nape of the neck. This is also the location of the individual's life. Persons with much blood are healthy. When persons are seriously ill, it is because their blood is scanty; when there is insufficient to nourish the "seat of life," the person dies. There are also vague concepts of sickness being caused by "heat" or "cold," (sophisticated Agustín attributed a cold to drinking water while sweating) "airs" (which may also be either hot or cold), fright (*espanto*), and, much more specific, evil eye.

752 Broken bones are treated by specialists, who may also be curers of diseases or, in one case
[759] at least, midwives. The bones are manipulated into place and bound to splints without other treatment.

Dislocations are massaged repeatedly with olive oil until the bones are back in place. They

752 are then covered with belladonna leaves. Bruises are sometimes cured by splitting a lizard and applying it to the injured place.

Hernia is recognized as being from natural causes through lifting heavy weights. One curer treats the ailments with massage with oils. The patient also takes medicine made by collecting all the kinds of alcoholic drinks the curer can find, such as *charanda*, sherry, etc., and mixing them together. The patient takes a third to a half cup of the mixture every morning before breakfast.

757 Headache, ép'ameráni, is extremely common and is ordinarily treated with home remedies. A patch of some herb (or of adhesive plaster or court plaster bought in the stores) is applied to each temple. Some people wear these patches almost constantly, especially some women.

753 757 *Bilis*, bile, is one of the commonest diseases, especially among children; it also is one of the most difficult to define. Often the vaguest of symptoms are attributed to *bilis*. Lassitude, especially in young persons, often is diagnosed as *bilis*. According to one curer, however, the patient turns yellow, seems tired, and develops sores similar to those of smallpox. Three causes are given for *bilis*, air in the stomach from waiting too long for a meal, not getting enough to eat and so getting air in the stomach, and getting air in the stomach from any other cause. Children are sometimes born with *bilis* and are thought to become infected in the womb. Treatments of *bilis* are vague. *Flor de pila* well cooked with cinnamon, and given by the teaspoon as a tonic, and an infusion of *simonillo* are two remedies. *Amargo* (see below) is another remedy.

Stomach pains are also regarded as being caused by air, either hot or cold. *Basa*, a pain on either side, is also caused by air, or by drinking too much water. *Espinocilla*, a red-flowered plant, is good for both these afflictions. Nopal leaves are put on the soles of the feet for too much heat in the stomach. (See below for account of a cure of one of the members of the staff.)

Itch or mange, *sarna*, súta, is treated with unguents purchased in the drug store, polvo Juan and mercuric ointment.

Heart trouble, *latido de corazón*, is recognized from pains in the heart and by palpita-

753 tions. There is a high fever, a cough, and
757 sometimes the patient spits blood. The patient is rubbed with oil of seven different flowers, bought in the drug store, and given an infusion of sunflowers, spines from the tejecote tree, prickly pear, chayote, and dry white and red maize leaves. The infusion is taken several times a day in place of water. The disease may be caused if the person arrives somewhere very agitated and drinks cold water or something cold, *fresca*. One informant thought eating lice was good for heart trouble.

Piles, *almorranas*, are cured with a remedy
752 made with copper sulfate and lard washed with
753 vinegar, unguent of serato, and drying salve (*pomada secante*). One of the assistants was told confidentially, and as a thing not to be passed on, that cauterization with a hot iron was also employed.

Erysipelas, čarápiti, appears with a high
753 fever, which increases. There is angry red
757 swelling and much pain. The cause given is allowing the clothing to dry on the body if one becomes soaked; the disease is also an accompaniment of wounds. The patient is given a cooked infusion of *yerba de cancer* and asked to eat only milk, sago, and orange-leaf tea.

Salmoneda is a disease of small children;
753 they fall down in fits. The cause is fright,
755 *espanto*, and the disease is cured by burning copal and having the child inhale the smoke.

Smallpox, kuarósikua, occurs every March.
753 There are 3 days of fever, 3 days of cough and
757 fever accompanied by breaking out of the pustules, 3 days of feeding to regain strength. After the sixth day the pustules begin to dry up. Possibility of contagion from using the same cup, spoon, etc., is recognized. The stage accompanied by the cough is treated with burro's milk (application not clear) and a common herb occurring on the streets, ¢ákua peréně. The latter is boiled and drunk instead of water.

Sarampión, measles, usually occurs in March also and is regarded as much more dangerous than smallpox (although this may be true, it seems more likely that the identification of diseases is faulty). The patients get a red rash, fever, and colds. An infusion of grapefruit (?) is used to bring out the rash; if the rash does not come out the patient may not

753 recover. Some curers wash their hands in
757 alcohol when treating *sarampión* to prevent
[751] catching the infection.

Whooping cough, perénsjuk (*tosferina*), is a very common disease, with a high mortality rate among children. Burro's milk, turpentine, copal, and *yerba buena* are used in treatment.

Syphilis, gonorrhea, diphtheria, and tuberculosis are either unknown or their existence in Cherán is denied. Most of the previously described diseases are recognized as infections by some curers; other diseases are not so considered.

Toothache seems always to be treated by patent medicines bought in drug stores at Uruapan or Purépero. One man said he had heard that letting of blood from the gums was done in the past, but the practice has been abandoned.

Goiter, ku¢ékua, is fairly common in Cherán, especially among females. It is regarded as a disease. Patients are bathed up to the knees with hot water to make the "heat" come down. Alcohol is then applied to the bottoms of the feet to make the "heat" stay down.

An extremely common disease, especially for children in the dry season, is dysentery, *posición*, usually accompained by high fever. Lard is washed with clean water. When the water is evaporated, a half centavo of sodium bicarbonate is mixed with the lard and the stomach is rubbed with the mixture.

Fevers are said to be very common, but there are few standard treatments. A well-known, herb, *romero*, is much used. A blue-flowered plant called *sadadrón* is also employed. Pneumonia and rheumatism are recognized, but, again, there are no standard treatments. Typhus in mild form has occurred in epidemics, but no treatment could be learned.

Pains are regarded as a class of illness. When children have pains, *dolores*, the mother anoints the seat of the pain with saliva mixed with ashes. The water in which maize has been cooked, *nejallote*, is also given in small quantities. This water is also used as a remedy whenever anything "fresh" (*fresco*) is needed. Women after birth are especially subject to pains of the breast, k'uaningiota. The pains may be in the breast, about the stomach region, or anywhere about the ribs. Sometimes

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753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness which are quite generalized, that is, they may
278 be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nurite, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe,* and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

753 Of considerable interest is a class of diseases and ailments which seem to be of supernatural
754 causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was something attacking only drunkards and per-
755 sons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

753 slightly broiled, on which is sprinkled a little
755 salt. The patient's mouth is opened and the tomato is pressed upward against the soft palate while with the left hand the curer pushes down on the crown of the patient's head. After doing this for some minutes, the tomato is removed from the finger, opened, and rubbed on the crown of the patient's head, on the wrists, and on the joints of the arms. Following this, the patient's head is massaged with gentle pressure, with special attention to the face, the cheek bones, forehead, temples, and occiput. This is called "raising the crown of the head." The treatment is given to both adults and children.

Few data were secured on "wind" or "air." People with the sickness are sometimes said to have been "taken by the wind." In some cases "air" attacks the stomach; some data on treatment have been given above.

The "evil eye" is a very dangerous matter
754 because it attacks mainly small children who
753 are often unable to resist the sickness. Moreover, the power of the evil eye may be possessed by anyone without the knowledge of the possessor. Most commonly persons with the power of the evil eye will afflict individuals of whom they are especially fond. Children who are very pretty or clean and with neatly combed hair are particularly subject to the evil eye. When two persons desire very much to see each other and cannot do so, one is apt to afflict the other with the evil eye; for example, lovers who wish very much to see each other. The evil eye is always believed to be caused unconsciously and without malice.

Symptoms of the evil eye among children are weakness, pale or yellowish complexion, and a tendency to cry a great deal. Adults feel disconsolate; are unable to sleep or, when they do sleep, dream constantly of the person causing the disease, dream someone is calling or talking; or while awake, they think constantly of the person causing the sickness, with feelings of sorrow and pain. In either case, if a cure is not effected, the person dies with vomiting and fever.

In order to cure infants of the evil eye,
755 mothers take their children to a street intersection. All passersby are asked to "clean" the child with their clothing. As everyone knows

755 what is involved, they accede without asking questions. They take one of the garments they have on, such as the end of a *rebozo* or a blanket, and pass it over the infant's body, pretending to rub the child, although actually they often do not touch it. According to Rendón's information, as they "clean" the child each person says "čita ká'ka" (meaning not learned), repeating the phrase three or more times. The person cleaning the child then raises its shirt and either spits on the child over the heart, or pretends to do so. All persons, regardless of age, are asked to "clean" the child, for the evil eye may be caused by a child as well as an adult. This statement would seem to imply that the performance is conducted with the hope that the person causing the attack will be one of those to "clean" the victim; this is borne out by other information that if the person causing the evil eye is known, anyone can effect a cure by "cleaning" the victim with a piece of worn, soiled clothing lent by the causer.

Another method of curing the evil eye is to "clean" the patient with certain grasses or animals. The animals used are pigeons, black cats, and dogs. The entire body of the patient is rubbed with the animal, which is then released. By using only the pigeon or both the cat and dog, a child may be cured, but adults require rubbing with all three. If the evil eye is very strong, the pigeons may die, but the other two animals apparently are uninjured.

In order to prevent the evil eye, "deer eyes" [751] are tied to the wrist or about the neck, or a little sack filled with salt, lime, and black chile is hung about the neck. Adults wear a scapular with a stamp of some saint inside as a preventive.

McCorkle made several efforts to be "cured" in order to secure additional data, but in only one instance was he taken seriously. Even this case is open to suspicion that the curer decided there was a possible gold mine in the situation and tried to exploit it to the limit. The curer in this instance also has the reputation of being a witch and able to turn herself into an owl at night. She refused to talk until her husband arrived, and he actually did most of the talking. They were very suspicious, asking if there were not doctors in Uruapan or

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755 in California. This was the usual reaction of other curers who, although less suspicious and more good-natured, simply refused to go further, advising McCorkle to go to a Mexican doctor.

When McCorkle insisted doctors had done him no good and that he had a persistent pain in the stomach, the curer suggested it was indigestion and would go away, asking Agustín privately if McCorkle was not making fun of them. Agustín replied that the curer knew how to tell fortunes so why did she not discover for herself whether McCorkle was sincere. The customary fee of 25 centavos was now offered and the curer and her husband at this point evidently decided that McCorkle could be exploited.

The symptoms recounted to the curer were a sudden pain in the stomach, sometimes after meals, sometimes before breakfast or at other odd times, and poor sleep. The curer asked how long the patient had been in Mexico and where he had slept the first night in Mexico. The curer now unwrapped a deck of cards from a dirty cloth. She shuffled the cards, picked out one, and declared the disease was *maloficina*, an affliction not reported by any other source. Someone had given the patient something to drink so he would have a stomach ache all the time.

The remedy suggested was to take a purge to be bought at the drug store. When asked to recommend a purge, the curer and her husband decided they could capitalize on the situation and said they could get a very superior purge at an old drug store in Purépero for $5.00. When this price was demurred at, the curer finally decided that if the patient was not difficult to purge, $2.50 would secure enough of the purge. The first day after taking the purge, the patient was to stay in bed, as he would sweat; the second day he could get out of bed but should not do heavy work and should eat only toasted white bread and milk. The third day the patient should stay home and on the fourth day come back to the curer and be massaged. During this time the patient could smoke but not drink liquor. A case was cited of a man who violated this prohibition and died shortly afterward.

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755 On McCorkle's return to get the purge, an effort was made to raise the price. When this had been successfully countered, McCorkle asked if the curer could find out who caused the pains. This was said to be difficult because McCorkle had stopped in a hotel instead of with friends on his first night in Mexico. Finally, after consultation of the cards, it was stated that a tall woman with blue eyes had caused the illness "just for fun." This was a person whom McCorkle had "liked very much" in the hotel. At this point they asked Agustín in an aside if McCorkle was "church married" to his wife.

The purge proved to be a packet of herbs and a bottle of oil. New directions were now given for the treatment. Half the tea was to be boiled, sugar added, and the mixture allowed to become lukewarm. The oil, about an ounce and a half, was all to be taken, then the tea. The patient would purge about five times. He should not eat meat, chile, or beans, but could eat cheese, milk, and toasted white bread. The medicine should be taken in the morning and the patient should stay in bed 3 days and not drink water. The patient should not bathe for 6 days. The instructions were somewhat confused because the curer and her husband sometimes simultaneously produced variant instructions, for example, one stating that the patient should return in 4 days, while the other said 6.

A few notes were secured by Rendón in other towns. In San Juan Parangaricutiro the fat of animals mixed with ground river crawfish is rubbed on the body to cause a sweat in cases of pneumonia. Headaches are treated with "patches" covered with melted copal, kurikʼunda, placed on the temples.

In nearby Parícutin the leaves of the *floripondio* (*Datura* sp.?) are placed on the body to cure pains.

In Capacuaro attacks of "air" may be either hot or cold. If cold, the urine of the patient is mixed with *aguardiente* and rubbed on the joints. When the "air" is hot, the joints are rubbed with ashes. Pains are cured by rubbing the joints with edible oil. Another treatment used in a variety of illnesses is to "take out," *sacudir*. The patient's arms are placed behind his neck and two persons pull on them "until the veins thunder." This is done when the person feels pain over the entire body. The

755 *zorilla* (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

The majority of Capacuaro residents have
164 goiter. This is said often to result from drink-
755 ing from a spring of bad water. The spring is said to be bad because many humming birds
[753] drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

The power of the evil eye belongs only to
754 certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels
755 burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

The following remedies are reported by
755 Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.

2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.

3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).

4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the 752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling 755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which [824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them 755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in 761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to [888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially 775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the 764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

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764 washed. If the deceased is a girl, the dress is a long gown of white with a sort of long cape of blue. The corpse of a boy is dressed in the same way except the inner garment is yellow and the cape is green. In both cases a crown of cardboard, covered with silver paper and decorated with paper flowers, is placed on the head.

The body is placed on a table. Arches of flexible wood, wrapped in paper and decorated with paper flowers, are placed over the body.

A bunch of flowers with a candle in the middle is placed in the hands of the corpse. Preparation of the flowers is done by girls related to the deceased. The body is watched during the night and candles are burned. A "prayer," uandátsikuritíč (*rezador*), is asked to come and pray. He is paid from $0.75 to $1.50 for his service.

In the morning all the relatives assemble and are fed. The food is provided by the parents, but the relatives of the mother aid in its preparation. Opinion is divided regarding aid given the parents. Some say that persons attending the death watch during the night bring *aguardiente* and that all those visiting the house make a present of a few centavos to aid in the expenses. Others denied this custom and claimed the parents must stand all the expense even though they have to sell some property. However, everyone who visits the house brings a candle, which is burned for the deceased.

The body is usually taken to the graveyard sometime during the afternoon. Formerly the body of a child was often accompanied by musicians, but this practice seems to have entirely disappeared, or nearly so. Each family has a plot or section in the graveyard and three or four male relatives prepare the grave in advance of the burial. Four girls, who are relatives of the deceased, carry the body to the graveyard on the table on which it has rested. Often only a few of the closer relatives will go to the graveyard, but the godparents are always present.

At the graveyard the body is removed from the table and placed in a wooden box or coffin. This is lowered into the grave without ceremony by relatives who also fill the grave with earth. Sometimes some of the women will sprinkle a

764 handful of earth on the coffin in the form of the cross before the grave is filled. The arches decorating the table are placed over the grave. There are no prayers or other ceremonies and the party leaves immediately after the grave is filled.

The body of an adult is watched through the night with candles; this night watch is attended by many more people than in the case of an infant and atole made of rice and brown sugar is served at midnight. The corpse is dressed in black clothing of the type worn in life. Nothing is placed on the head. A candle is placed in the hand of the corpse but no flowers. The clothing is prepared by the nearest relatives, the godparents taking no part in the funeral of a person over about 14 years of age.

In the morning the visitors and mourners are served beans and tortillas. At noon it is obligatory to serve broth, čurípo, and white tamales, kurúndaş (although these are regarded as injurious to the digestion). The food is all prepared by relatives of the wife. The body is taken to the graveyard in a wooden coffin and is carried by four male relatives. A few people take the body first to the church, but generally it is taken directly to the graveyard. In any case, there are never any prayers at the graveyard. As in the case of a child, all the prayers are in the house, usually with the aid [767] of a professional "prayer" or *rezador*. The priest is never asked to officiate, although he may have been summoned while the person was dying. The body is buried in the family plot (but a woman is buried in the plot of her husband's family). In the case of both adults and children a small stoppered *olla* of water is placed at the head of the corpse but outside the coffin. There are no flowers, but each mourner carries a candle.

One evident contradiction between theory and 183 practice was observed. Numerous informants 764 insisted that there was never any music for funerals of adults at any time. In actual fact, several funerals were observed in which music played in the house almost the entire day of the funeral.

765 In some cases, the interment ends all mourn- 767 ing. In others, the family hires a *rezador* to come to the house every afternoon for 9 days to pray. The members of the family join in

765 these prayers, but it is not necessary for other
767 relatives to do so. However, if a relative attends the first day, he is obligated to continue the entire 9 days. On the ninth day, the *novena* is sometimes observed with prayers in the house. There is no purification or burning of incense or other materials in the house.

After the funeral, the parents or the surviv-
765 ing spouse may remain very sad. If it appears
[152] they may be made ill of "sadness," the relatives visit the survivors frequently, talking to them of things which they think may alleviate their condition and giving consolation. If this does not improve matters, they seek a curer who gives medicines.

A very few families pay for Masses for the deceased. More commonly, members of the family of the deceased will visit the church from time to time and burn candles and pray for the dead.

A few additional observations may be of interest. It is said that formerly the bells were
[178] tolled 10 or 12 times in the morning and afternoon when someone had died. This is not done now. The graveyard is on the lower edge of town and is surrounded by an adobe wall. In some cases the graves are paved with cobblestones or more elaborate masonry pavements. On rare occasions a tomb or head stone is erected, but in the majority of cases only a wooden cross is put up. The age of the present graveyard is unknown; the oldest date found on a grave was 1883. There is no evidence of offerings (except in connection with the Day of the Dead), although the graveyard is apparently visited at night by some people to judge by the presence of numerous partially burned pitch pine splinters about the entrance. All informants denied knowledge of such visits, however.

The major mourning ceremony is the Day
769 of the Dead, November 2. Several days before this date the graveyard is divided in four sections and the young men from each *barrio* are required by the municipal officials to clear the brush and weeds away from the entire cemetery. On November 1 everyone prepares quantities of nákatamales, a small tamale filled with beef in chile sauce and wrapped in husks rather than maize leaves. Fruit is also purchased and bread is made. A few make tamales for sale, but most people make their own,

769 The night of November 1, a Mass is celebrated in church. In 1941 the priest spoke to the people against taking candles or food to the graveyard, telling them instead to bring candles to the church. Another Mass is held the morning of the 2d, after which people go to the graveyard. There is no organized procession, nor does everyone arrive at the same time. In many cases only the women and children attend, although usually the men drop in for a short time and some stay for several hours. Indeed, the function is said to be a woman's affair and men may not carry candles or even take part if they have no women folk.

Generally, the first thing the visitors do is to more thoroughly clean the graves of their dead. Often the ground is dug up and the mounds are built up and shaped. The graves of the more recent dead (children, parents, and siblings) are then decorated with flowers and pine boughs. Often pine boughs are set up at each corner of a grave or group of graves. Each grave mound has flowers sprinkled over it, mostly yellow marigolds and purple orchids. In some cases part of the flowers are finely shredded and sprinkled over the grave and crosses are sometimes marked out in flowers. Pine needles are also sprinkled over some graves and sometimes baskets of food placed on the graves. Food is placed at the foot of the grave in all cases and candles are burned, despite the admonitions of the priest.

After the grave is decorated, the family sits around and chats. There are few evidences of sorrow; one or two people remark that the day is "very sad," but most people seem cheerful in a quiet way and there is even some subdued laughter. the *rezadores* or "prayers" go [767] around from group to group and say lengthy [782] prayers using a rosary. Everyone in the group kneels while the prayers are said. Fruit, bread, and tamales are given the *rezador* for his prayers.

In 1941 the priest came and said prayers. 769 He charged a *real*, 12½ centavos for each 782 prayer. His prayers were shorter than those of the *rezador* and he and those with him remained standing, but he sprinkled the grave with holy water. He also scolded people for having candles and food offerings, so most

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769 people hid them when the priest approached, placing them out again when he moved on.
782 The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of nákatamales, bread, and
[574] fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the
[text continues on top of p. 210b]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

Of immediate concern in dealing with a group
121 as large as the Tarascans is the question
184 whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

Final resolution of the question raised seems
121 to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a
[text continues on middle of p. 210b]

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769 graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day.

Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames [822] of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

The present study of Cherán reveals a num- 177 ber of points of considerable interest. Perhaps 181 the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation of Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

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177 both in formal religion and in witchcraft, are
181 certainly almost wholly European.

Despite the European origins of Tarascan culture, it obviously represents something different from the European-originated Mestizo culture. Neither is it a mere survival of sixteenth century conditions. If Vasco de Quiroga or any other sixteenth century European were to return to Cherán, he no doubt would find it as strange as any lay visitor from modern European culture. Nor would this strangeness be wholly or even primarily due to the infiltration of later European ideas.

The uniqueness of Cherán culture, whether viewed from the standpoint of the sixteenth century or from that of today, lies in the extensive reworking of its European materials. For example, the *cabildo* system seems almost certainly related to the organization of the hospitals introduced by Quiroga, yet the good Bishop might have to do considerable research to recognize the relationship. Such reworking may be due to the patterning influence of native ideas rather than to a spontaneous evolution of a purely European culture in the partial isolation of the late Colonial period. The character of such things as family life and attitudes and the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Cherán inhabitants may have been relatively unchanged, despite the modifications in material culture and social organization.

A subject meriting more thorough investiga-
178 tion in Cherán is the persistence of the mixed
181 culture of Cherán. The fierce attachment to *costumbres* is part of the acceptance of a way of life by most members of the community, even the most progressive. This attachment persists despite the fact that Cherán culture not only changes visibly but that such change is accepted and even desired by a large part of the population. The limits of acceptable change, however, need further definition. The impression of the staff of the present study is that change is accepted rather readily in those things relating to material welfare and perhaps health. Cherán residents are not averse to changes leading to more money, food, medical service (if it does not cost too much), or elements increasing comfort, such as a larger and better distributed water supply. The introduction of industries giving employment at

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178 better wages would meet no opposition. Prob-
181 ably political reforms would have support if they clearly would provide more effective and representative self-government. Nevertheless, it seems probable that extensive changes in these fields would still leave Cherán life with a highly distinctive flavor. No matter how long Cherán residents have lived away from the community, and even if they have been born out of the community, they seem to accept a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which have not been successfully identified and analyzed in the present study.

In some measure a dichotomy of Cherán
121 culture is implied in the foregoing remarks.
181 The areas in which change is permissible and accepted may be identified as "secular" in the sense Robert Redfield (1941) has used the term in his studies of Yucatan culture change. Such a characterization might be misleading, however, for it seems doubtful if the term "sacred" can be applied equally well to the sectors of the culture where change is rejected. Certainly a Cherán resident would be nonplussed at the application of the term "sacred" to weddings and the obligations of kinship (although he might consider it properly applied to the *compadre* obligations). Primarily the sacred in Cherán is closely associated with the affairs of the Church, a view that is perhaps best high-lighted by the fact that those progressives who are most anticlerical (a position to be kept clearly distant from "anti-Catholic") are not opponents of the *costumbres*.

Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the processes again seem significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, Mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable Mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village of Yucatan hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U. S. A.), Mexico City, and Morelia (possibly in diminishing order) than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is

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12| Mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealiza-
18| tion of a Colonial past. (Pátzcuaro has not been studied but apparently the social structure is fairly rigidly fixed in terms of the families whose signatures occur on last Colonial charter of the town with relatively little modification by present economic or occupational conditions.)

12| As indicated in the introduction, the study of Cherán thus far has been conducted in a single time dimension. Ultimately, considerable light can be shed on the present culture by relating it to its historical background. Tarascan culture seems not to have been static in pre-European times and to have changed greatly both during and after the Colonial period. Materials are probably sufficiently abundant to permit study of change in enough detail to give some knowledge of processes. Of particular interest would be a study of contemporary culture in the light of the utopian ideas of Quiroga, ideas that to a considerable degree seem to have been translated into a functioning system.

Many problems related to the individual in Cherán need further attention. The role of women in Cherán could not be adequately studied for reasons already explained; it would not be too much to say that the present study gives merely the masculine culture of Cherán. Such problems as the significance of witchcraft and its relation to personality structure and emigration should be fruitful. The pattern of growth and development and child rearing undoubtedly has bearing on this point. Similarly rewarding should be a deeper investigation of the curious contradiction between the normal concealment or denial of wealth and its ostentatious display in connection with the wedding ceremonies. The characteristics of Cherán culture and Cherán personalities which seem to make it possible for individuals to adapt readily to the outside world, spend years in the heart of industrialized civilization, yet be reabsorbed wholly into the local situation on their return should offer fruitful problems for investigation. Likewise the influence of the returning emigrant on present conditions in Cherán should be more thoroughly understood.

Most of the foregoing suggestions for study involve the role of the individual and the relationship between the individual and culture. To this field of investigation also are related

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121 many of the practical administrative problems connected with Cherán. In the last analysis, the success of programs on behalf of the Indian undertaken by governmental agencies boils down to the problem of getting individuals to accept change.

In the field of practical administration, it should be evident that best results will be obtained if the area of culture recognized by Cherán residents as *los costumbres* is not disturbed. Officially expressed administrative aims lie primarily in the fields of economics, technology, education, and political life. Extensive modifications seem possible in these fields without tampering with the *costumbres*.

The most effective administrative measures, if it be conceded that the *costumbres* be not disturbed, seem to call for reducing the general objectives of governmental programs into specific objectives for the community of Cherán. Greater effectiveness seems likely to result if such objectives be very concrete, strictly limited initially, and held as consistently as possible. What is needed would appear to be a determination of what the desirable and practical objectives are in improving such things as farming techniques, introducing manufacturing techniques, and modifying housing. If the national objective of greater industrialization is to be realized, a clear corollary program should be developed to determine what types of industrial products Cherán residents are to be stimulated to desire. Mechanisms to protect the group initially from exploitation, both as buyers and sellers, might be desirable. In the educational field, decisions must be made and maintained over a reasonable time as to the purpose of Cherán education. Fundamentally, the problem is whether the people of Cherán are to be educated to live in Cherán or whether they are to be educated to leave Cherán. In the political field, it must be determined whether Cherán is to be self-governing and is to participate freely in a larger national democratic life. If the decision is affirmative, administrators must realize that the best school of democracy is practice in democracy and that the cure for errors is not less but more democracy.

Only when these and similar objectives are concretely framed and the necessary decisions

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made can a practical program be formulated
121 for Cherán. Anthropological studies by themselves offer no easy and golden pathway to the solution of Indian problems. The most thorough study of the Tarascans must be ineffective practically if the necessary administrative objectives are not clearly defined. The data of an anthropological study such as this can do no more than offer hints as to the "soft" spots of the culture, the areas in which change can most easily be introduced, as well as the *costumbres*, the points of resistance, such as ceremonies (not necessarily including religion), dress, dances, weddings, and death customs. The study can likewise indicate some of the major problems of Cherán, such as the underproductivity of the soil and agricultural technology, the inadequate mechanization, the probable existence of an overly large population to permit any marked rise in economic status, the need of creating new attitudes in spending (for Cherán could finance many public improvements itself), the inadequacy of the water supply, the lack of public health facilities, and the shortcomings of the educational system.

In relation to these problems, further studies are needed in which the anthropologist is aided by technicians in soil use, farming, forestry, and animal husbandry techniques. Scientific-
[text continues on top of p.213b]

APPENDIX 1

DATA ON FOOD PLANTS AND FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

The following data were collected by Silvia
121 Rendón in the pueblos of La Cañada, the next valley to the north of Cherán. As the valley is at a lower elevation than is Cherán, some differences are noticeable in techniques and in plants grown. Unless otherwise specified, the data are from Chilchota; although far from complete, they are included here because they afford some interesting comparisons, the more so in that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today.

Plants cultivated: All of the plants culti-
241 vated in Cherán as well as many others, are
262 found in La Cañada. Black maize is grown in the fields, rather than in the house lots, but, as in Cherán, it is kept separate in storage and is used only for certain types of tamales and
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121 ally, such studies should be of great aid also, permitting better understanding of the fundamental limitations on Cherán culture.

Once a set of definite objectives has been established, the data of the anthropological study will be of considerable use in formulating a concrete program and in developing Tarascan cooperation. Moreover, the introduction of a program in itself, creates changes in the cultural situation. The dynamic quality of culture makes it important that administrative programs be accompanied by further study and be flexible enough to adapt to the changing situation.

Despite these remarks on the practical problems of government in the Tarascan area, it should be emphasized that the present study is primarily concerned with scientific objectives. These objectives happen to be closely related to practical considerations, for administrative objectives in Mexico call for culture change in some measure. Cultural processes and the function and interrelation of the parts of a culture emerge most clearly from dynamic situations rather than from static studies without temporal extension. Not only practical but scientific objectives can be served by the study of Cherán culture in transition.

APPENDIX 1

FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

241 atoles. Wheat is sown twice a year; one plan-
262 ing is in June and it is harvested in December; the second is in November, in the house lots, and it is harvested in May. Beans are grown more extensively than at Cherán; the harvest is exclusively by women.

Among the plants generally grown in Chilchota is amaranth (*bledos*). The cultivation is not commercialized, each family growing a little for its own use. Amaranth is used by Indians of La Cañada for making sweets; in Chilchota it is employed in sweets, certain atoles, and in an uncooked tamale resembling a tortilla which is sold in Capacuaro.

245 A considerable number of fruits are culti-
262 vated in Chilchota. Mangoes of the *criollo* and

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Sierra Tarascans

La Cañada

245 262 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicúiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

244 262 Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 262 The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 443 262 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

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443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called *"despachos"* and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but on request one will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and *"epazote."* The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

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252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL
ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

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252 262 237 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidfied. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

796 624

Office	Barrio
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or unánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pendompari*, and one *capitamoro*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

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796
624

important being that of the čičiua. A *fiscal* looks after cattle belonging to the Virgin of the hospital and acts as a sacristan. A topil (a Maya word) rings the church bells and does errands for the *mayordomo* of the hospital. The *regidores* each have two messengers, the *mayor* or petajpi and the katapi. One of the duties of the latter is to chase dogs away during the fiestas, for which reason he is known as the "dog frightener," uičariri.

A person wishing to take a ceremonial office makes his petition to the *regidor* (of his *barrio?*), taking bread, chocolate, and liquor. [431] The *regidor* consults with the *cabildo* regarding the matter, but he cannot accept the gifts unless the person receives the office. Apparently the *regidores* function primarily as the administrative officials of the *cabildo*. They are said also to have functions with respect to the Indian population in La Cañada. Indians visiting Chilchota on business often consult with the *regidores* and, if the matter is one involving the court or *juzgado*, the *regidor* acts as intermediary and advocate of the Indian's cause.

Decision regarding the offices is reached by the *cabildo* before December 12. On this day the new *cargueros* assemble at the hospital where the wife of the mayordomo places a crown on each one; this ceremony installs them in office, although some apparently do not take up their duties until later.

The most important meeting of the *cabildo* is on the day of Candelaria (February 2). The principals and the *cargueros*, old and new, who have passed the office of *mayordomo* of Santiago, meet about 10 o'clock in the morning in the patio outside the chapel of the hospital. Men and women (wives of the men?) form two groups. The men are seated on chairs along the sides of a table covered with mats of tule. The *regidores* take seats at each end. The women are arranged in similar fashion but kneeling on mats on each side of a row of tule mats placed on the ground. The *regidores* evidently take their places first. As each person arrives, he kisses a cross placed in a little shelter before the chapel. He then goes to the *regidores*, crosses himself, and kisses the staffs of the *regidores*. He then takes his place.

Each of the *roseras* must bring two sugarcanes for each person and a bottle of liquor for

796 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in
624 Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *carguerosos* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in
[524] advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents
[431] of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them čapatas. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual
796 bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

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541 fighting (of which no further details were
796 learned). Some women appeared every year. They wore dresses of red bayeta, a white kerchief on the head, and a felt hat. Two kerchiefs were crossed on the body (breast?) and another was used to tease the bull. A machete was carried on the shoulder.

796 On these occasions the image of the Virgin of the hospital was taken out and handfuls of tiny confections, of the size of silantro seeds, were scattered. The boys and girls broke many eggshells filled with confetti. The boys struck the girls with sugarcanes when possible and the girls retaliated with čapatas wrapped in napkins.

On Ash Wednesday the *cargueros* assembled in the houses of the *vaquero* and karačakape. Piles of oranges, limes, ashes, and earth were placed in the yards, and men and women fought. The oranges and limes were blackened with charcoal and thrown, as were ashes and earth. When the game became violent, a woman struck a shake with a stick and called "peace, peace." The game then stopped.

The passion of Christ was once represented. On Thursday of Holy Week, the imprisonment of Christ was represented, many youths dressing as Jews and soldiers. Friday the image was taken in procession, decorated with laurel, roses, bananas, čapatas, and flour tamales.

Normally processions were held three times a year, Holy Thursday, the Friday of Sorrows, and Corpus. The same images were used each time. The image of Jesus the Nazarene was dressed in dark tunic, a cord at the belt, and the stretcher decorated with field flowers. Boys carried the stretcher. Anyone wishing to participate dressed himself in a black tunic and bonnet and went out to gather flowers. The boys were called Judas. The images of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin were also taken in the procession. The image of the Virgin was in the special charge of the *roseras*, who dressed it and prepared the stretcher with flowers. The *pendompari* carried a standard (*pendon*), from which her name is derived, while the *capitamoro* carried a spray of flowers. Both went ahead of the Virgin. The *fiscal* carried an incense burner at the head of the procession. Twelve boys dressed in red tunics represented the Twelve Apostles.

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796 On Palm Sunday palms brought from the hot country are taken to the church to be blessed. Formerly a more elaborate observance was held. An image representing Christ was mounted on the image of a burro called San Ramos. The images were carried on a stretcher to the spring supplying water and were put in a little shrine made of flowers. To this spot came youths who had left 2 weeks earlier to secure palms. The youths came down to the spring from a place called La Mesa, wearing carnations and little gourds about their necks and cracking their whips. The girls brought music for dancing and also provided čurípo and kurúndas. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon all went with the palms to the church.

On Holy Thursday there formerly was a market at which the principal goods sold were clothing and fruit from the hot country. People purchased the latter to make offerings to the church for the decoration of the altar.

Holy Saturday the girls carried small, highly [755] decorated jars of water to be blessed. These were used later to cure the sick and to protect from "fright" (*espanto*). When the church [789] bells ring, children and fruit trees are shaken so that they will grow more rapidly. Images of Judas are burned on the street corners at this moment also. They are provided by anyone who feels like doing so.

In April the *regidor* notifies the youths to clean the spring. The boys provide music and the girls bring them čurípo and kurúndas.

The day of the Assumption, most people go to the fiesta at the town of Huáncito. On their return, the wild honey collectors go through the streets announcing the fiesta of Corpus. They play the *chirimía* and make a special cry called pitakuri.

Two days before the fiesta of Corpus, bread is made in all the houses. The night before Corpus, each *barrio* hires musicians to play. On the day of Corpus the girls bathe at the spring. On their return they dress for church. In the afternoon, boys and girls gather and present each other with fruit and trinkets.

The following day there is a large fiesta in the plaza. The ox drivers bring out their oxen with the yokes decorated with silk kerchiefs, ribbons, and flowers. The drivers also decorate their hats with flowers and their goads with

796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes [515] bathe early in the morning. The youths pro- [533] vide musicians, who play while the girls are bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [526] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers 535 dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* 796 of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of curípo and kurúndas. The fiesta is called tzíndakua.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing [533] *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

796 themselves, kissing the image, and wearing a crown for a few minutes. Alms are given and the boy and girl are then "*hermanos*." During the day girls put on the dress of the Tarascan girl, uári, and go about to the stores offering tamales for sale in the manner of the Indians. Boys sing *pastores* in private houses and are given *aguardiente*.

The day of Christmas Eve, the *pendompari* goes about with musicians singing *pastores* (pastorals) to the houses of the *cabildo*, where she makes presents of *buñuelos*. In return each gives the *pendompari* 50 centavos and charape. With the money the *pendompari* pays for the Mass said on Holy Thursday.

One month before Christmas Eve the čičiua prepares figures representing the birth of Christ in his house. These are taken to the image of the Holy Child. The day of Christmas Eve, people watch and burn candles before the image until 11 p. m. Quantities of *buñuelos* and nákatamales are made for the *cabildo*. At 11 o'clock, the image of the Holy Child (which apparently is in a private house) is taken to the church accompanied by a band. Powder is burned at the street corners. In the church the Infant is placed in a reclining position. Moss for preparing the bed is brought from Cerro Viejo by youths in the same fashion flowers are brought for Carnival.

In addition to these observances, fiestas called *niños gorderos* are celebrated in private houses. A scene representing the birth of Christ is prepared. The Infant is "raised" sometime before Candelaria, and the scene is removed on the 3d of February.

Pastorelas are also celebrated on Christmas Eve. The *roseras* pay the teacher to instruct the dancers, and provide them with čurípo and tamales. Each dancer provides his own costume. The group consists of 5 girl and 5 boy shepherds, 3 devils, 2 old men, 2 *negros*, 2 hermits, 1 male and 1 female rancher. They appear to conduct the image of the Holy Child to church, and they also appear on the two following nights.

On January 6 the new čičiua goes to church with music and "raises" the Holy Child. The priest takes up the image and gives it to the čičiua to dress. He kisses the image and gives it to others to kiss. Afterward all go through

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796 the streets with the musicians to the house of the čičiua, who serves nákatamales, *buñuelos*, and čápata, the men and women of the *cabildo* eating first. During the night there is much dancing of *jarabes*, first women dancing with
[text continues on top of p. 219b]

APPENDIX 3

REPORT ON MAIZE

FROM CHERÁN By EDGAR ANDERSON
Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St Louis

243 Fifty-five ears of maize were received from Dr. Ralph L. Beals, in lots numbered from 1 to 43, there being two ears each of most of the numbers above 30. The ears were photographed, grain samples were taken, and the ears returned to Dr. Beals. In the summer of 1942, 10 plants from each lot were grown at the Blandy Experimental Farm, of the University of Virginia,[39] Boyce, Va. Although the planting as a whole was badly infested with smut, at least one good tassel specimen was obtained from each lot and herbarium specimens were also made of leaves and seedlings. Notes on plant color, pubescence, etc., were taken in the field, and the internode pattern of one plant of each lot was recorded. Five plants from the entire lot were investigated in detail, cytologically, and the knob number and knob positions of their chromosomes were determined.

As a whole, the corn belongs to the race recently termed "Mexican Pyramidal" by Anderson and Cutler (1942). Many of the ears and the plants grown from them are indistinguishable (for all practical purposes) from collections made in the vicinity of Mexico City. However, there are certain average differences which seem to be significant, and a few of the numbers are unlike anything we have yet examined from Mexico, D. F. Plants are medium to tall, mostly with conspicuous sun red (occasionally purple) plant color. Tillers are few or absent. The leaves are broad but break easily in the wind, giving the collection a very bedraggled appearance, which is heightened by the susceptibility to smut. The tas-

[39] For laboratory space and many other courtesies, we are indebted to the Director, Dr. O. E. White.

[text continues on middle of p. 219b]

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796 women and later men dancing with women. The latter enter into contests with others. *Pastores* are also sung all night, verses taken from printed pamphlets from Mexico. This is continued every night until Candelaria.

APPENDIX 3
REPORT ON MAIZE
FROM CHERÁN

By EDGAR ANDERSON Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St. Louis

243 sels are large and coarse but there are few tassel branches. The ears are short, though the husks are often very long. The ear branches vary greatly in length, the most extreme being 3 or 4 feet long, with numerous secondary ears. This is partly due to culture in a region of different day length (i. e., Virginia vs. Mexico). The ears are prevailingly broad at the base, tapering sharply and evenly. The kernels are mostly hard and flinty but are nearly all more or less dented. There is great variation in kernel size and shape, not only from plant to plant but also on each ear, since, owing to the position of the husks, the grains at the tip of the ear are under strong compression, whereas those at the base have plenty of room. It is not unusual to see an ear with the basal kernels deeply dented but with no perceptible denting in any of the kernels at the tip.

Two main types were well represented in the collections (table 18). There were the so-called "Black" maize from Cherán (Nos. 31–37) and from Nahuatzen (Nos. 38–43) and "Tulukénio" (Nos. 1–26), a mountain type grown only above 8,500 feet (pl. 8). A third type, "Trimásion," is grown on the plain below 8,500 feet. It is said to be later maturing, larger-eared, and larger-grained. This was apparently confirmed by our collections, but since there were only two numbers (29 and 30) no averages have been prepared.

The collections of Black maize stood out sharply both in the field and in the collection of ears. The latter were around 15 cm. in length, nearly all of them with dark (blue or purple) kernels which were deeply to lightly dented and were rounded (i. e., not pointed). Purple cob

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TABLE 18.—*Characteristics of Cherán maize*

Lot No. of maize	Race of maize	Locality	Plant color	Cob color	Silk color	Seed coat color (S = stained or streaked)	Aleurone	Tillers	Tassel branch	Row	Glume length	Condensed internodes	Sessile upper spikelets	Kernel	Knob
								Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Mm.*	*Percent*	*Percent*		*Number*
1	Tuhkdeio	Cherán	Sun red	White	Red	Red S.	White	0-3	3-6	8	11	0	20	Pointed, flinty	
2	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0-1	4-11	14	12	20	80	Pointed, flinty, semident	
3	do	do	do	do		do	do	0-2	4	12	12	20	20	do	
4	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0	4-18	18	9	0	80	do	4
5	do	do	do	do	Green	None	Yellow	0-1	12	16	11	30	50	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
6	do	do	do	do	Pink	S.	do	0-4	3-6	14	12	20	100	do	
7	do	do	do	do	Pale purple	S.	do	0	4-12	14	18	30	40	Rounded, flinty	
8	do	do	do	do	Pink	Pink S.	do	0-2	1-10	14	18	0	80	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
9	do	do	do	do	do	Red S.	do	0	7	12	12	20	100	Subpointed, flinty	
10	do	do	do	do	Pale purple	None	do	0	8-14	14	10	30	40	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
11	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6-10	14	14	40	20	Rounded, flinty, semident	4
12	do	do	do	do	Green	Red S.	do	1	3-8	12	12	0	100	Subpointed, flinty	
13	do	do	do	do	Pink	S.	do	0-2	5-14	12	11	40	100	Pointed, flinty	
14	do	do	do	do		None	do	0	4-14	12	13	0	100	Pointed, flinty, semident	
15	do	do	Purple	do	Green	Red S.	White	0	4-9	12	11	20	100	do	
16	do	do	Sun red	do	Pink	do	do	0	12	12	11	20	100	do	
17	do	do	do		do	do	do	0	18	12	11	40	100	do	
18	do	do	do	Salmon	do	do	do	0	8	14	10	80	100	do	
19	do	do	do	White	do	Mixed	do	0-2	4-9	12	10	10	10	do	
20	do	do	do	do	do	S.	Yellow	0	9	12				do	
21	do	do	do	do	do	S.	do	0	3-11	12	13	0	80	do	
22	do	do	do	do	do	Red S.	do	1-3	4-7	14	11	30	100	do	7
23	do	do	do	do	do	do	White	0	4	14	13	30	100	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
24	do	do	do	Purplish	Green	do	do	0	7	16	13	30	100	Pointed, flinty, semident	
25	do	do	do	Salmon	do	Terra cotta	Tan	0		14				do	
26	do	do	Green	White	do	Ivory	White	0-1	18	16	12	30	20	do	
27		do	Sun red	do	Pink	Tan S.	Yellow	0-2	5	14	12	0	80	Subpointed, semident	
28		do	do	Red	do	Tan	White	1-2	5	14	11	50	10	Rounded, rough, semident	
29	Trimaden	do	do	White	Green	do	do	0-2	12	12	10	0	100	Rounded, semident	
30	do	do	do	Purplish	Pink	Terra cotta	Orange	0	6	16	12	40	70	Subpointed, semident	
31	Black	do	do	Purple	Red	None	Purple	0	8	12	11	10	80	Rounded, dent	
31a	do	do	do	Purplish	Pink	None S.	do	0	8	16	12	0	0	do	
32	do	do	do	do	Red	None	Blue	0	5	14	16	10	0	do	
33	do	do	do	White	do	do	Purple	0	8	16	17	0	80	Rounded, semident	
33a	do	do	Purple	do	do	do	Blue	0	3-8	12	12	0	40	do	
34	do	do	Sun red	Purplish		do	do	0		12	18	30	80	do	
34a	do	do	do	White	Pink	do	Purple	0	3-8	12	12	0	40	do	8
35	do	do	do	Purplish	do	Mixed	Mixed	0	1-7	12	15	10	30	do	
35a	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6	16	11	10	90	do	
36	do	do	Purple	Purple	Red	Purple S.	Blue	0-1	2-8	10	13	40	80	do	
36b	do	do	do	do	do	do	Purple	0	7-9	14	11	0	40	do	
37	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	6-9	12	11	0	80	Rounded, dent	
37b	do	do	do	do	do	Purple	do	0	11	14	12	0	90	do	
38	do	Nahuatzen	do	White	do	Purple S.	do	0	3-8	14	11	0	0	do	
38b	do	do	Sun red	do	do	Ivory	do	0	6	12	12	40	80	do	
39a	do	do	Purple	Purple	do	Purple S.	Blue	0	3	16	14	10	90	do	
39b	do	do	Sun red	do		Purple	White	0	6	14	12	0	20	do	
40a	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	Purple	0	8	12	10	0	100	Rounded, semident	
40b	do	do	Purple	do	Red	do	do	0-1	8	18	13	0	0	Rounded, dent	
41a	do	do	Sun red	Purplish	do	None	do	0	8	12	12	0	30	Rounded, semident	
41b	do	do	do	do		do	Blue	0	8	12	12	10	80	Rounded, dent	
42a	do	do	Purple	White	Green	do	do	0	13	14	11	0	20	do	
42b	do	do	Sun red	Purple	Red	Purple S.	Purple	0	8	12	14	20	40	do	
43a	do	do	do	Purplish	do	do	White	0	8	14	11	40	80	do	
43b	do	do	Purple	do	Pink	None	Blue	0	6	14	12	0	100	do	4

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243 color was frequent, and many of the lighter cobs were flushed with purple or red. Many of the specimens belong to the color type called "cherry" by geneticists. In the field the purple plant color of a good many of the plants was conspicuous as well as the almost complete absence of tillers, which were frequent enough in the Tulukénio collections to produce a mass effect and make the field look thicker below row No. 30 than it was above that number. A summary of the records shows that on the average the plants of Black maize were taller, that their leaves were a little less pubescent, and that they averaged 5 instead of 7 tassel branches. The differences between Black maize from Cherán and from Nahuatzen were minor, the chief one being more color in the seed coat itself in addition to the prevailingly dark aleurone color. On the whole, the plants from Cherán were a little more variable and were about what might have been expected if varieties from Nahuatzen were grown in close proximity to other varieties from Cherán.

While the Black maize of Cherán and Nahuatzen is in general very similar to Mexican Pyramidal corn from around Mexico City, its broadish, rounded grains, its less condensed tassels, and its tendency to purple plant color are atypical for that region.

Much of the Tulukénio maize is quite like the corn from Mexico City. Nearly all the ears had more or less pointed kernels (characteristically with a dent behind the point) and those which did not have them produced plants with pointed kernels. While there was great variation, most of the varieties were small-grained (7 mm. wide or less). Unlike the Black varieties (whose endosperm was invariably white) about half had yellow endosperm. While the Tulukénio maize varied greatly in the color of the grains, it was prevailingly light and much of it had a rather streaky, irregularly developed pinkish purple in the seed coat. The colored portions were not sharply defined as in variegated maize, but gave rather the effect of a colorless ear which had been lightly brushed with some such dye as eosin. It is apparently due to allelomorphs of the 'P' series. While a few of the ears were straight-rowed, on the whole they were very irregular, at least on a portion of the cob.

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243 Three of the Tulukénio collections (Nos. 1, 9, and 12, table 18) were of particular interest since they are unlike any corn from Mexico City which we have so far examined and since resemblances to them were apparent in several other collections (e. g. Nos. 16 and 17). They are small-cobbed, very flinty, with no trace of denting, and the cobs are cylindrical rather than tapering. That they are not merely poorly developed ears is proved by the fact that the plants grown from them were somewhat distinctive. They were short, one of them had more tillers than any other plant in the field, and their internode patterns revealed a strong tendency toward the Pima-Papago pattern rather than the Mexican Pyramidal pattern.

We do not yet have enough data about the kinds of maize to appraise the significance of these extreme variants of Tulukénio maize. It may be they are inferior types which have, through inbreeding, segregated out of better varieties. Since these mountain varieties are grown in isolated plots and since each family carefully preserves its own strain, this is quite likely. Even so, their morphology may be a significant throw-back to a type of corn once grown in this region, or in some region from which the Tarascan maize was derived. Since in most of their peculiarities they suggest Pima-Papago maize, which is known to be similar to the prehistoric Basket Maker maize (Anderson and Blanchard, 1942), it is possible that they are evidence of a primitive small-cobbed maize.

A cytological study was made of five different plants, by means of pachytene smears.

TABLE 19.—*Summary showing knob of each chromosome for 5 collections of maize from Cherán*

Chromosome No.	Knob number in collections of—					
	Tulukénio maize			Black maize		Average
	Be4.	Be11.	Be22.	Be34b.	Be43b.	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	1	1	S	1
3	0	0	1	0	0	0
4	0	0	1	S	1+S	S
5	0	1	1	0	0	0
6	S	0	0	0	*0	0
7	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	T	T	T	TS	T
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	4	7	5	6	5
Superaumerary ('B' chromosomes)	0	1	1	0	0	0

S = Small knob.
T = Terminal knob.

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243 Two of these plants had supernumerary or 'B' type chromosomes. The numbers and positions of the knobs on the 10 normal chromosomes are summarized in table 19. These facts will ultimately be significant when we have more data on knob numbers and positions from other types of maize (Mangelsdorf and Cameron, 1942). For the present we can say only that the knob numbers are intermediate between the high knob numbers of Western Mexico and the low numbers of the Mexico City–Toluca region.

The more significant measurements and observations made on the collection are summarized in table 18. Average values for the four most useful criteria of tassel morphology are shown graphically in figure 19, where they are compared with similar averages made on collections from pueblo-dwelling Indians in Arizona and New Mexico; from Pima, Papago,

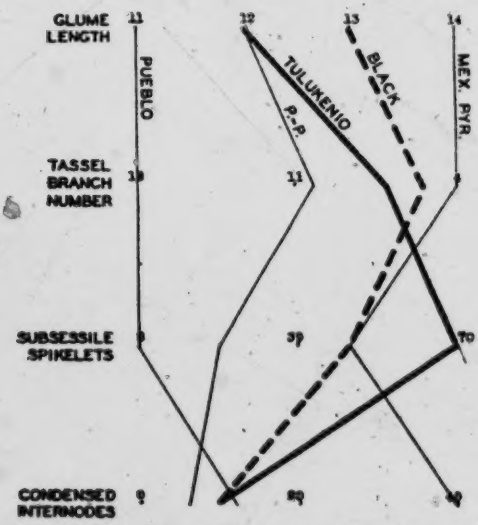

FIGURE 19.—Average values for four characters of the male inflorescence (the tassel) of Beals' collections of Tulukénio maize and Black maize. Narrow lines show averages of other collections for comparison: Mex. Pyr., Mexican Pyramidal from Mexico City; P.-P., Pima-Papago; Pueblo (Carter, Anderson, Cutler collections). The four scales used from top to bottom are glume length in millimeters, tassel branch number (values run from right to left for this scale), percentage of subsessile upper spiklets on tassel branches and percentage of condensed internodes on tassel branches.

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and allied tribes; and from Mexican Pyramidal varieties collected near Mexico City.

It will be seen that insofar as their tassels are concerned both the Tulukénio varieties and the Black maize varieties are intermediate between the Mexican Pyramidal and the Pima-Papago. On tassel morphology alone they are even closer to the latter than to the former. Since, so far as we can tell from the ears, Pima-Papago maize is very similar to that of the prehistoric Basket Makers (Anderson and Blanchard, 1942), this strengthens the suggestion made above that one element in the ancestry of this Tarascan maize may have been a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like that of the Basket Makers. A diagram based on ear and kernel morphology would also demonstrate that both of these Tarascan types are intermediate between Mexican Pyramidal and Pima-Papago, but it would not indicate as close a resemblance to the latter as is given by the tassel morphology alone.

SUMMARY

The maize varieties from two adjacent Tarascan villages are described and their characteristics are recorded in detail. While as a whole they are more or less similar to collections of Mexican Pyramidal maize from Mexico, D. F., they can be divided into at least three subraces. For two of these, the "Tulukénio" and the "Black" maize, there is enough material to define the central core of their variation. Black maize is grown in gardens below 8,500 feet. Characteristically it has large, dark, smoothly dented kernels on a tapering ear about 15 cm. long. While it has certain technical resemblances to Pima-Papago maize (low percentage of condensed internodes in tassel, length of glume, etc.,) it differs only slightly from Mexican Pyramidal. Tulukénio varieties are grown above 8,500 feet in small isolated plots in the mountains. They are even more like Pima-Papago; their tassels technically are closer to the latter than to Mexican Pyramidal. They vary greatly in color, size and shape, the largest ears being about the size of Black maize. The kernels tend to be small, more or less pointed, semidented, their seed coats lightly stained or streaked with red. The extreme variants of Tulukénio are small-cobbed,

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243 nontapering, early-seasoned, undented, and many-tillered varieties. They may possibly reflect a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like the maize of the Basket Makers. If so, it was one element in the ancestry of Tarascan maize.

[text continues on top of p. 223b]

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[text continues on middle of p. 223b]

GLOSSARY

104 The following list includes Spanish and Tarascan terms frequently used in the text. Words used only once or twice and defined at the time are not included in the glossary. Spanish words are given the local Tarascan usage, which is often different from either customary Mexican or standard Spanish usage. Tarascan words are followed by "T".

Ałes (T), the *cabildo*, or chiefs of the ceremonial organization.

Agave, a genus of plants, often called the *maguey*. In the United States, called the century plant.

Agua miel, the unfermented juice of the *agave*.

Aguardiente, normally a liquor distilled from sugarcane; in the Tarascan area, often called *charanda*.

Almud, a dry measure of about 0.8 of a liter.

[text continues on bottom of p. 223b]

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[p. 223b]

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Taken in conjunction with Mangelsdórf and Cameron's recent (1942) analysis of knob number in Guatemalan maize, these results demonstrate the importance of considering altitude above sea level in interpreting the history and development of *Zea mays*.

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GLOSSARY

104

Arriero, a muleteer.
Arroba, a measure of weight, slightly less than 25 pounds.
Atapákua (T), squash blossoms and immature squash cooked together.
Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of ground maize with various flavorings.
Ayuntamiento, the civil government of a *municipio*.
Barranca, a steep-sided canyon or gully.
Barrio, a ward or division of a town.
Bilis, a word used to cover a variety of sicknesses.
Cabecera, the largest town and administrative center of a *municipio*.
Cabildo, the group in charge of the ceremonial organization; the ácos.
Calzones, cotton trousers of unbleached muslin, worn by men for work and, by conservatives, for everyday wear.

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Cantina, a saloon.
Čápata, a tamale made from amaranth.
Carales, a small dried fish.
Carga, a somewhat indefinite measure, often a burro load.
Carguero, a *mayordomo*, a person who has taken responsibility for a saint's image for a year.
Castillo, a set piece of fireworks on a tall pole.
Catrin, urban or citified, particularly applied to clothes.
Centavo, a cent, or one-hundredth of a peso.
Centimeter, one-hundredth of a meter.
Charanda, a drink distilled from sugarcane.
Charape, a ceremonial drink, usually made of *pulque*.
Chayote, a lush-growing vine and the edible fruit it bears.
Chilecayote, a type of squash.
Cherimoya, the anona, a fruit.
Cohete, an explosive rocket used in fiestas.
Cohetero, fireworks maker.
Comadre, the godmother of one's child.
Comal, a lenticular dish used for baking tortillas.
Comisionado, a person who has been commissioned by the authorities to perform some task in connection with municipal affairs or a fiesta. May also be named by the priest or by ceremonial organizations.
Compadrazgo, the system of relationships set up through the godparent custom.
Compadre, godfather of one's child.
Copal, the gum of the long-needled tropical pine (*Pinus montezumae*).
Corales, tubular red glass beads worn by every woman in native costume.
Cuartel, a *barrio*, or division of a town.
Cuelgas, ornaments hung from ropes, poles, or about the neck of participants in some ceremonies.
Curato, the residence of the priest.
Čuripo (T), a highly seasoned broth containing cabbage and chunks of boiled beef.
Fanega, a Spanish dry measure which has various values in different parts of Mexico. In Cherán, the fanega appears to equal 90.8 dry quarts.
Garubanzos, chickpeas.
Gordos, flat thickish cakes fried in lard, usually of ground corn but sometimes of wheat flour.
Guaraches, sandals.
Guavas, a fruit.
Habas, the broadbean.
Hectares, a land measure of 2.47 acres, or 10,000 square meters.
Jefe de defensa, chief of the local militia.
Junta, any meeting of a town or organized body.
Kéŋi (T), an official connected with the *cabildo* and the church who does errands and looks after the church and church properties.
Kurúnda (T), a tamale made of steamed *nixtamal* wrapped in maize leaves.
Litro, a liter, a liquid measure.
Maestro, a school teacher; a lay reader.
Maguey, the *agave* plant.

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[p.224b]

Malpais, an old lava flow.
Mano, the smaller milling stone held in the hands.
Manta, cheap unbleached muslin.
Manzana, a block or square in a town.
Mayordomía, the entire process of caring for a saint's image, arranging for the Mass and other ceremonies involved by tradition.
Mayordomo, *carguero;* a person who is responsible for the care of a saint's image for a year.
Metate, the lower or stationary milling stone.
Meter, a measure of 39.37 inches.
Mole, a common highly seasoned and complicated sauce used on meat; also a meat dish served in mole sauce.
Moro, a type of dancer common in Michoacán.
Municipe, a *regidor* or city councilman.
Municipio, an administrative area somewhat like a county or parish.
Negritos, dancers wearing black wooden masks who appear at Christmas.
Nixtamal, dough made by grinding maize after it is soaked in lye.
Nopal, the prickly pear cactus plant.
Očépes (T), a sweet tamale.
Olla, water jar of pottery.
Panalero, a person who collects wild honey.
Pan dulce, wheat-flour bread with sweetening added.
Papaya, a subtropical fruit.
Peso, a Mexican silver coin.
Pinole, flour made by grinding parched maize.
Plan, plain; a large level cultivated area.
Portales, covered sidewalks, the outer edge of the roof supported by pillars.
Pozole, maize soaked in lye and then cracked into small pieces.
Pulque, fermented juice of the *agave*, or *maguey*. (See *Agave*.)
Raíz de paja, a root which is dried and used to make scrubbing brushes.
Ramada, a rectangular unwalled structure primarily for the purpose of affording shade.
Rebozo, a shawl worn by women.
Regidor, a member of the city council.
Relato, the text which is recited at a dance.
Representante del pueblo, an official who looks after community property in lands and forests.
Reserva, an authorized armed militia.
Rezador, a person who recites prayers for a small fee.
Riata, a long rope used in handling horses and cattle.
Rolla, the native skirt with the thick band of pleats across the back.
Ronda, the night watch, or volunteer police.
Secretario, the town clerk or secretary.
Serape, a blanket, usually ornamented, and with an opening so that it may be worn over the head as a poncho.
Solar, a town lot.
Suplente, the alternate for an office in the government.
Tabla, a plank.

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[p.225a]

Tamale, a food made of maize, often mixed with other ingredients, wrapped in maize leaves or maize husks, and steamed.

Tejamanil, wooden shakes.

Tejocote, a tree bearing a sloelike fruit much like a crab apple; the fruit of such a tree.

Tenencia, a settlement of some size which is administered by a representative of the *municipio*.

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[p. 225b]

104 **Tortillas**, thin flat cakes of maize dough baked on an ungreased griddle, or *comal*.

Troje, the Tarascan storehouse, the largest structure in a Tarascan house group, as a rule.

Tuna, the fruit of the *nopal* cactus, or prickly pear.

Velorio, a religious celebration at which candles are burned.

Viajero, a traveling merchant.

Zapote, a tropical fruit resembling a plum.

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Sierra Tarascans

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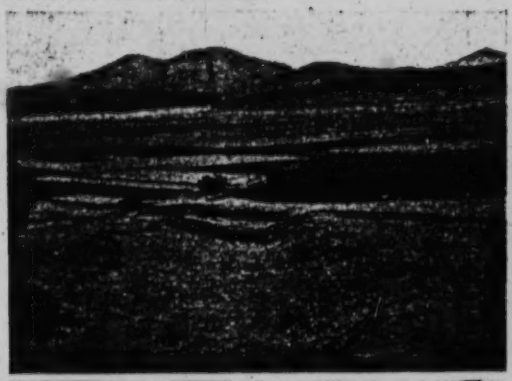

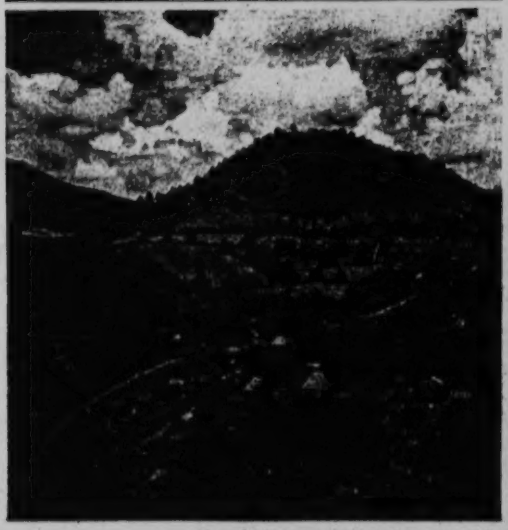

CHERÁN LANDSCAPES AND METHODS OF CARRYING OBJECTS.

Upper (left): The plains below Cherán, the major agricultural area, about 7,000 feet elevation, viewed from the highway, near southeast corner of the town. Darker portions are plowed fields; the remainder not yet plowed. *Upper (right):* Women carrying water in typical manner, with the usual Cherán water jar. A method of wearing the *rebozo* is shown. The church and priest's residence are in background. *Lower (left):* The northwest *barrio* of Cherán. The new highway curves along the edge of the barranca. Typical cultivated fields slope gently up to the cinder cone, which rises 1,000 feet above the town. *Lower (right):* Carrying bowls of masa (corn ground for tortillas) from the mill. Carrying on the head is unusual, but the method used by the girl is common for small objects. The woman's shirt has the thick pleat or rolls.

[End Plate 1]

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WOMEN, CARRYING METHODS, AND HAIR GROOMING.

Upper (left): Women bargaining for tomatoes, showing typical method of carrying burdens on the back, i. e., by a sling of zaching which supports a basket and passes around the shoulders and across the chest. Her rebozo is clearly visible. The man in the short poncho is probably a Mestizo attending the fiesta. *Upper (right):* Woman using rebozo in carrying a child. Musicians in background. *Lower (left):* Unmarried young woman of San Lorenzo with rayon apron and light rebozo for a fiesta. *Lower (right):* Mother combs her daughter's hair and anoints it with oil or lemon juice (in bowl) to give it a sheen.

[End Plate 2]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

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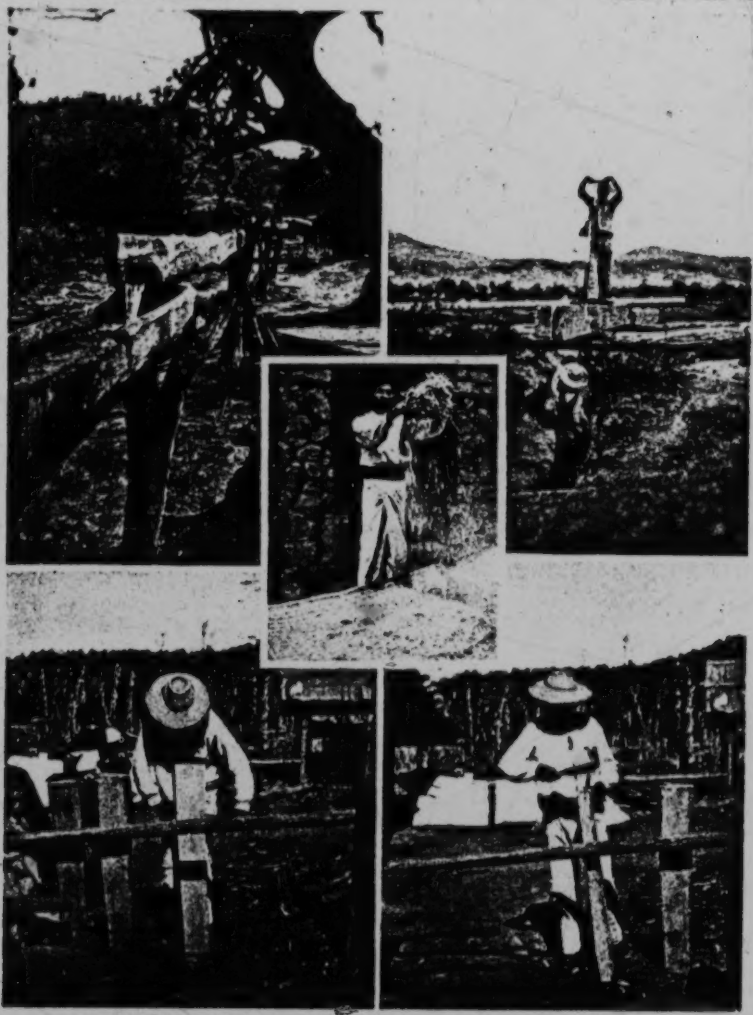

CHERÁN AQUEDUCTS, BOARD SAWING, SHAKE-SPLITTING, AND WHEAT WINNOWING.

Upper (left): The Cherán aqueducts, east of town. *Upper (right):* Sawing planks with sawpit. Often, the timber is raised on a pole framework instead of being placed over a pit. *Lower (left):* Splitting off a shake with a rajador. *Lower (right):* Starting to split a shake with a machete struck with a wooden mallet. *Center:* Cherán man winnowing wheat.

[End Plate 3]

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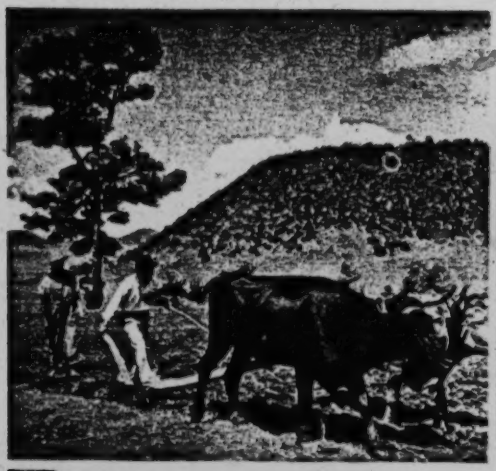

PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

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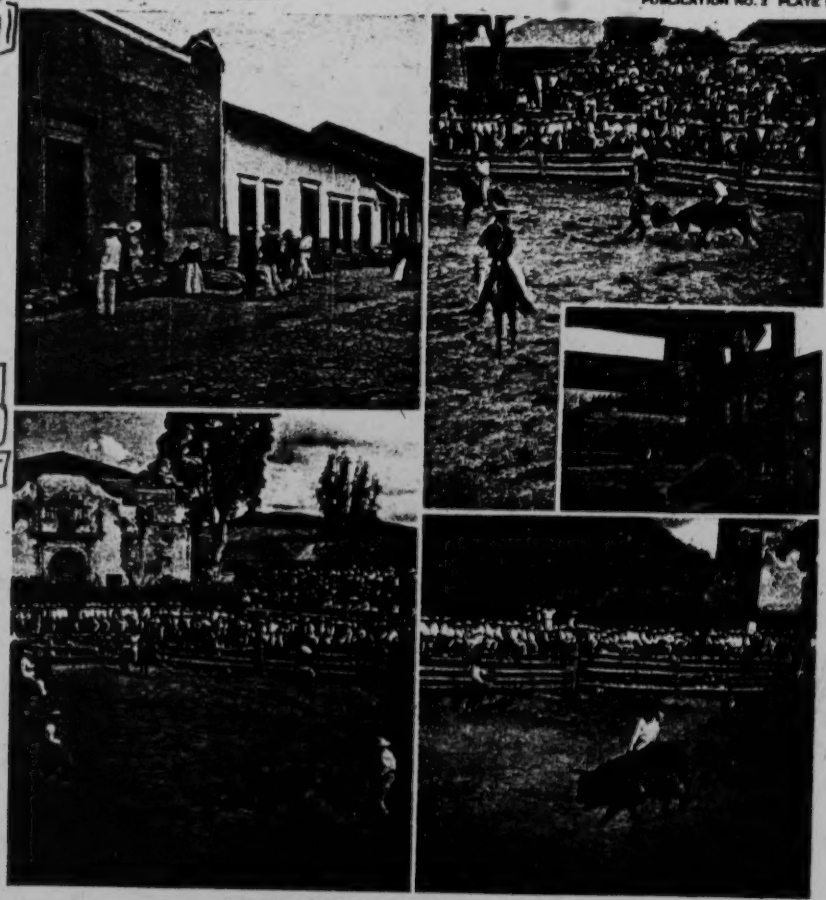

MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

Upper (left): Pottery before being unpacked for the market. *Upper (right):* Riding a bucking bull, the man with cape diverting it from the horses. *Lower (left):* Cowboys (*vaqueros*) throw the bull in the bull ring, then tie a rope around its forequarters. *Lower (right):* Bull riding. *Inset:* Construction of bull ring fence; post on right has holes cut with ax to receive the logs forming the gate.

[End Plate 5]

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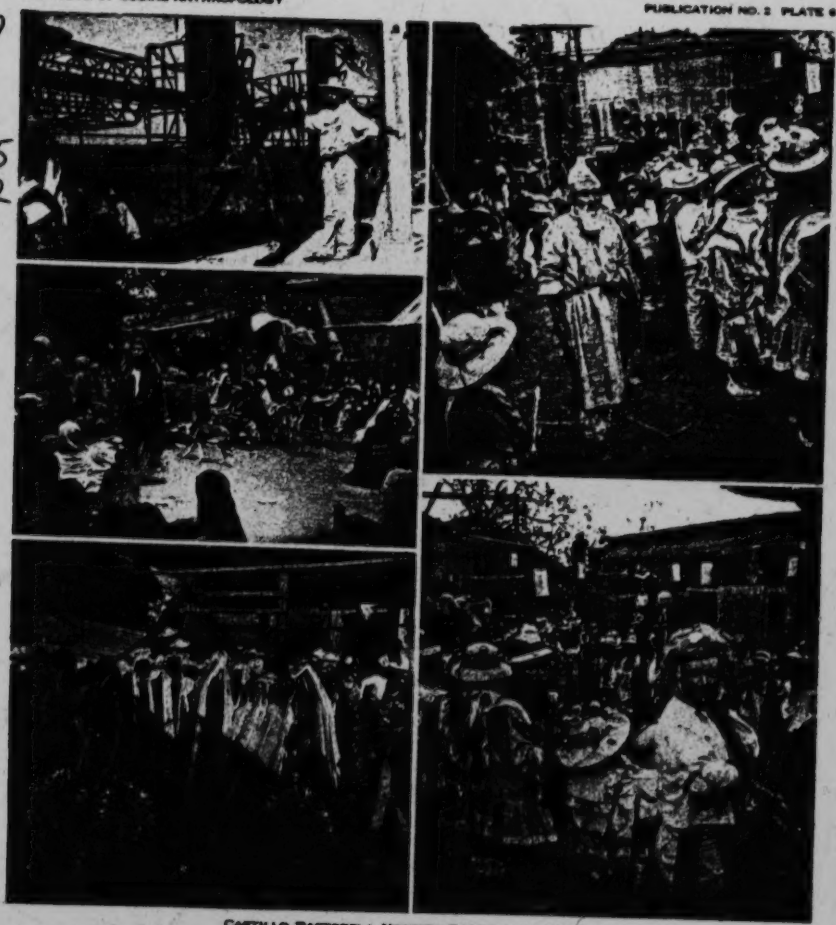

CASTILLO, PASTORELA, NEGRITO DANCERS, AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Portion of the fireworks set (*castillo*) nearly completed. The fireworks maker is on the right. *Upper (right): Pastorela* at Capacuaro; at left is one of the "hermits." *Left (middle):* Large wedding in the patio in front of the house. The kitchen is at left, the temporary cooking shed in the center. The woman at left bears a cloth-covered dish with an offering for one of the godmothers. *Lower (left): Negrito* dancers performing at private house. The ribbons hang down to their heels. The "pin cushions" (foreground) are the dancers' head decorations. *Lower (right): Pastorela* at Capacuaro, with "*Europa*" in foreground.

[End Plate 6]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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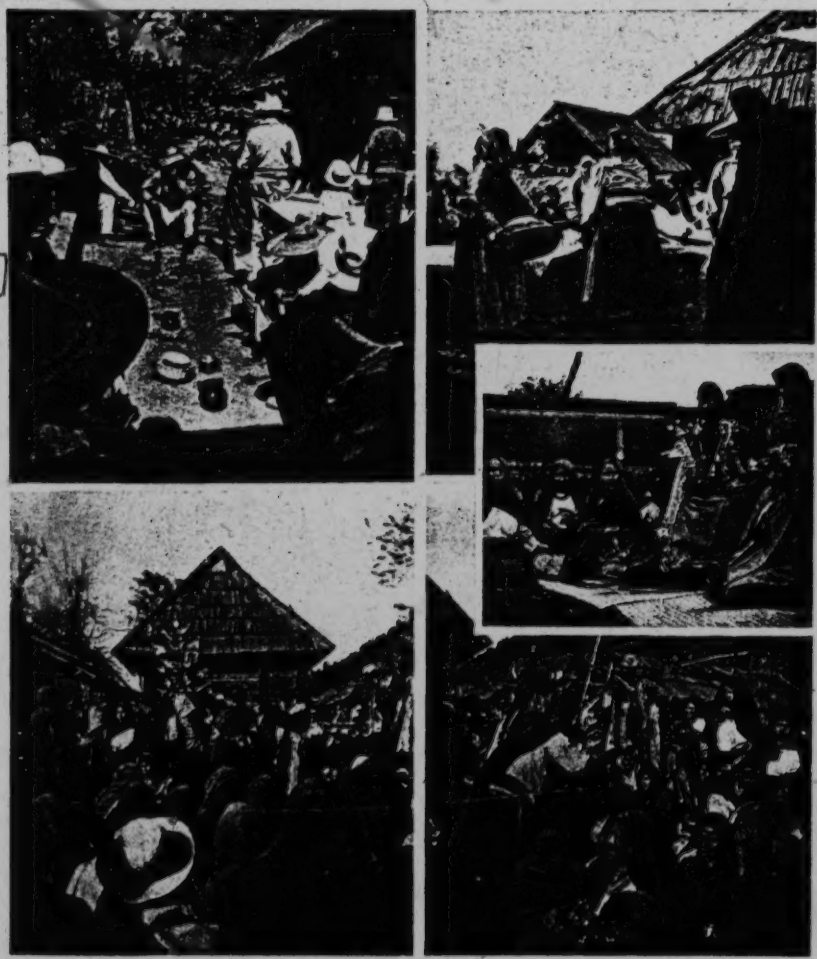

ROOFING FIESTA AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Men eating at a house-roofing fiesta; baskets of tortillas, jars of water, and dishes of salt lie on the ground. Remaining photographs, a Cherán wedding. *Upper (right):* Preparing to distribute bread, while one of the godmothers oversees the work. *Lower (left):* Bringing in paper ornaments for distribution. *Right (middle):* The godmothers and close relatives of the groom. *Lower (right):* Tying a ribbon in a godmother's hair.

[End Plate 7]

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SPECIMENS OF MAIZE EARS.

Four specimen ears of Black maize (*ahpur*) and Tulukánio (*krkuo*), representing extremes of size. Two of the Black ears are from Cherán, two from the neighboring village of Nahuatzen; all the Tulukánio ears are from Cherán. Scale in center is approximately 4 cm. long.

[End Plate 8]

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Pátzcuaro

[Title Page]

TARASCAN FOLK RELIGION

An Analysis of Economic, Social, and Religious Interactions

PEDRO CARRASCO

Reprinted from Publication 17, pages 1-64

MIDDLE AMERICAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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Pátzcuaro

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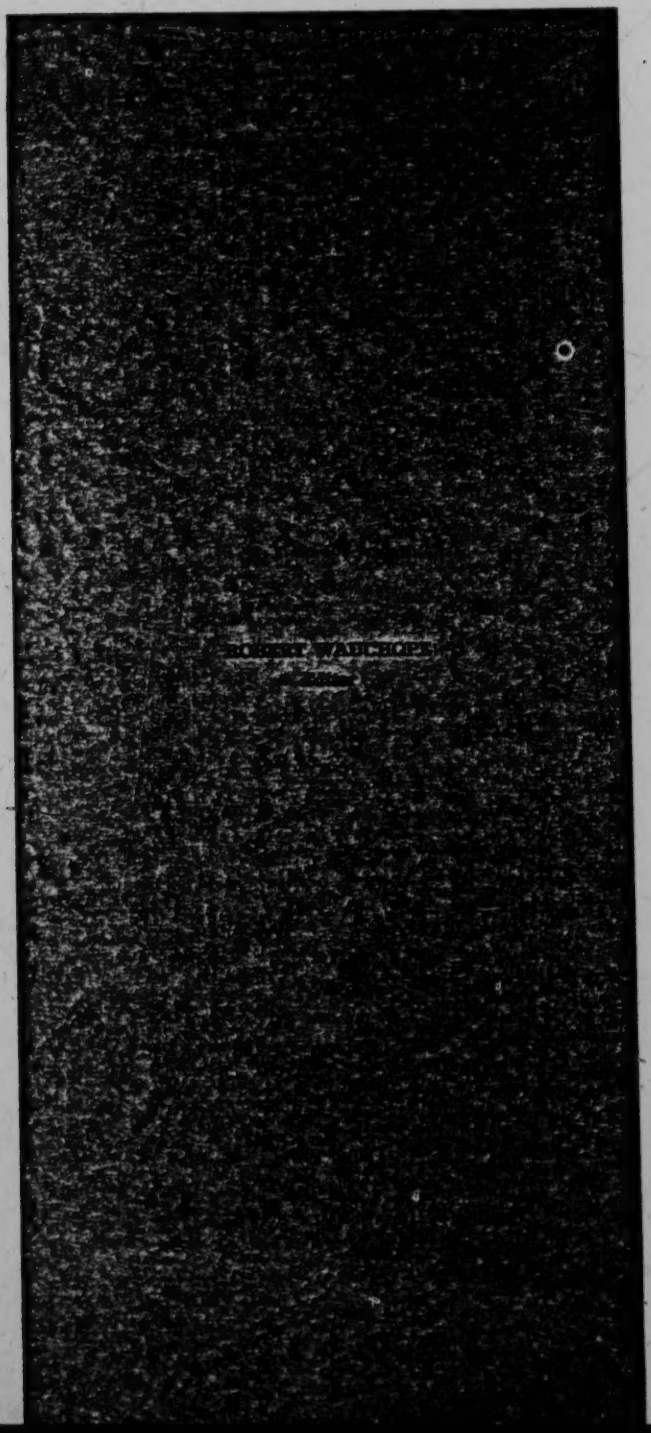

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TARASCAN FOLK RELIGION

An Analysis of Economic, Social, and Religious Interactions

PEDRO CARRASCO

Issued in 1952

2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
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PREFACE

The author wishes to express his thanks to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (formerly The Viking Fund) for a predoctoral fellowship under which the library research and a substantial part of the writing of this paper were done, as well as to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant which allowed the completion of the manuscript.

In writing Tarascan words we use the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas in 1939. It follows Spanish usage in so far as possible.

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in Spanish. ʌ is a high central vowel.

The consonants b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, p, s, t have Spanish values.

- c is pronounced like Spanish *ts*
- č is pronounced like Spanish *ch*
- z is pronounced like English *dz*
- j is pronounced like English *j*
- ŋ is pronounced like English *ng* in sing. In the Lake dialects it becomes *n*.
- r appical flap, like Spanish *r* in *cara*
- ɹ coronal flap
- š is pronounced like English *sh*
- p', t', etc. are aspirated

PEDRO CARRASCO

March, 1952

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1
INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. [161] They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 62 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2. West, 1948, 1.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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1

INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

123 The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

182 The problem, then, of integrating the phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

121 The concept of folk culture as something different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

121 relations, occupation, ethnic origin, or religious background. Social classes are the main segments of this type. Within the national culture, every local and class group has a distinctive subculture. The peasants often appear to be the group with the highest degree of cultural distinctiveness.

National culture and society can not be described only in terms of local and class groups. Both these groups are tied together by institutions (money, trade, property, education, government, law, religion), whose personnel does not always coincide either with local or class groups and which often, as in the case of money or law, are not really the culture of a group but rather an expression of the economic, social and political relations between the different segments of society.[4]

In applying this approach to the Tarascan scene, the following reasoning can be put forth:

There are a Mexican people and a Mexican culture. The social system under which this people lives is characterized by a division into social classes. Every class has cultural peculiarities, *i. e.*, a class subculture. One (or several) of these classes are the peasants, people primarily engaged in the tilling of the soil. Correspondingly one could speak of a national peasant culture. Furthermore, these peasants live in rural settlements every one of which has a distinctive culture due to different native background and adaptations to local ecological and social conditions. In this sense every village can be said to have a local and class subculture, or folk culture for short.

Changes in the national cultures are the
177 sum total of changes in every subculture
plus their interrelations. Some subcul-
178 tures, however, change more rapidly, or
their changes are more decisive than
others in determining changes in the other
subcultures. In our case, given the backwardness of the Tarascan peasants and their lesser integration into national life, their villages are neither the sources of initiative for change nor the places where changes in the national culture are prepared. The Tarascans hold no key economic position and have no control of political power. They are, rather, in the position of receiving influences from the rest of the nation, and the stimuli for change often come from the outside.

4. Steward, 1950, 115.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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178 One might approach the question of change from two points of view: first, how
177 local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

121 In order to discuss the relation between folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

121 In the following table the culture of Tarascan villages is classified according to
105 this dichotomy:

Folk	National
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

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105

FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

121 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits
177 and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

121 In this sense we study a process of change which is the same as that which Redfield
181 describes as a difference between a folk and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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12 historically those segments of our Western
18 civilization among which industrialism did not arise (peasantry and colonial peoples), and among which its influences were latest to act. Thus, although in many basic economic, social and religious aspects the Tarascans are incorporated into Western society and must be considered part of it, they still keep many traits and institutions which characterize their subcultures as more similar in many respects to the primitive than to our civilization.

* * *

12 The present paper is an attempt to present the relation between local and national cultures as seen in one aspect of culture, in this case religion. The problem is to see how changes in the economic and social structure of Mexico in general and the Tarascan area in particular affect the development of Tarasan folk religion. National processes such as the loss of communal ownership of land, the separation of Church and State, the capitalist development of Mexico, the Mexican agrarian revolution, the anticlerical movement and the rise of a militant Catholic movement among the peasantry will be discussed in their local manifestations and their effect on religion.

The economic structure of the peasant
128 communities will be outlined first in order to provide a socio-economic background to
12 our problem. The type of village community which is based on communal ownership of land — a type which was formed during colonial times by a blending of Spanish and Indian institutions — will be described first. The formation of large private estates *(haciendas)* from early colonial times on, and the abolition of communal ownership of land (1857-1910) impoverished the communities and increased the differences in wealth among the villagers. During the Mexican Revolution (1910 on) groups of peasants organized to obtain land from neighboring estates. In most Tarascan towns, which had no such estates in their neighborhood, these agraristas, lacking haciendas, seized properties from richer villagers or from formerly communal lands. Thus a new privileged minority was formed. The majority of the villages reacted against these reformers and in most cases won power in the local administrations. (Chapter 2.)

The main traits of the folk religion, the system of financing the cult, and the close relation between government and local organization of the cult will be examined in

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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121 order to show how the changes discussed in Chapter 2 brought about the decay of the traditional organization of religious festi-
128 vals. The heavy burden of financing the traditional cult had been a factor in hastening the impoverishment of some villagers. The agraristas were anticlerical and abolished the cult. In this they were fostered by the anti-religious policy of the government. The reaction against the agraristas, on the other hand, has been militantly Catholic, but the decline of religious folk festivals and of the body of officials organizing them still continues, although this reaction occurs under the guise of more orthodox Catholicism and is supported by the Church. (Chapter 3.)

The social content of the religious ideology as expressed in concepts of good and evil will be discussed in Chapter 4. The values sanctioned in religion are to some extent those peculiar to the folk culture, for instance, proper family relations. To the extent that they sanction national institutions, religious ideas and folklore sanction adherance to the Church and to private property. The religious tinge of political factions is apparent in the use of traditional lore by the Catholics in trying to prove the wickedness of the opposite party. Thus they use religion as an ideology in order to further their cause in the same way as they lean on the Church as an institution in order to support their social policies.

The question of belief will also be discussed. A more conservative attitude characterized by total belief in religious ideas and myths corresponds to the folk level of culture. The general trend, however, is toward disbelief in the content of folk ideas and acceptance of outside (national) authority (*i. e.*, of the Church or schools). Political allegiance influences this tendency. While some anticlerical individuals doubt basic beliefs of the Catholic religion, the militant Catholics show a trend away from the folk beliefs under the acceptance of a more orthodox Catholicism.

A summary of conclusions will be given in Chapter 5.

* * *

128 Chapters 2 and 3 are based mainly on published material providing some historical perspectives, and only partly on field work. Chapter 4 is based almost exclusively on field work. As practically nothing on the subject discussed in this chapter appears in historical sources, historical interpreta-

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not 121 attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information 127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul- 114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

Practically all field work in the present 122 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in- 114

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1888, 330–34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1767); Ocampo, 1900, 398–90 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425–427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1902; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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122 stitutions for the study of the Tarascans.[13] Work began in 1940 and since then the
114 main investigation has included two community studies, one of Cherán, a large Tarascan speaking town of farmers[14] and Tzintzuntzan, a Spanish speaking town of potters and farmers.[15] West gives a general cultural-geographical survey of the area.[16] Other reports are unpublished as yet or are not related to our problem.

114 The field work on which this paper is based, also part of the Tarascan project, took place in 1945. Although drawn for the most part from one single village (Jarácuaro), material on the ideology and lore of the Tarascans was gathered from several other towns. The purpose of the investiga-
121 tion was to obtain a picture of what we might call their world view: ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, the natural and the supernatural elements, the main religious concepts, their folk science or lore. This kind of material is most frequently expressed in narrative folklore.

Cherán and Tzintzuntzan, the two com-
121 munities for which full monographs are available, are rather conservative towns
101 where the agrarian movement has been weak. Jarácuaro, on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro, where most of the author's material was gathered, is a town of hat makers and farmers. From a total population of about 900 only eight men were still agraristas in 1945. Most of the rest of the town considered themselves sinarquistas, were organized, and controlled the local government. Had the problem of this paper been stated before the field work, more material would have been obtained from predominantly agrarista towns, but this monograph deals mostly with the conservative and sinarquista positions. A detailed study of the Tarascan agrarian movement and what it has meant for the Tarascan

13. Rubín de la Borbolla and Beals, 1940; Beals, 1946, ix; Foster, 1948, 1.
14. Beals, 1946.
15. Foster, 1948.
16. West, 1948.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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culture is greatly needed for an understanding of the problems of the area.

* * *

A comparative study is not attempted in this paper. Studies of Indian communities in Central and South America show that similar problems exist in these areas. The change of a folk culture in the direction of greater assimilation by the national culture is best exemplified in Redfield's Yucatan study[17] and it can be assumed to be a general process. The economic organization of the traditional cult is based on the primitive economic mechanisms of reciprocity of services and gifts. Under the impact of a modern economy this organization becomes inadequate and its obligations are felt to be onerous.[18] The attempts at radical change which took place in some Michoacan communities do not seem to be general. In some other cases the change away from expensive obligations to the cult is involved with conversion to Protestantism[19] or can be accomplished gradually without the violent conflict which characterizes this development in Michoacan. [20]

A comparative study of cases similar to that discussed in this paper would have to look into every local circumstance for the relation between the changing village economy and the economics and organization of the local cult. On the other hand the national pattern in which those communities live undoubtedly influences the form of the change, whether gradual, schismatic or anticlerical. The Mexican Revolution, which can be understood only in national terms, was the main determinant of the direction of change taken in most Tarascan villages. The influence of Protestant missions also depends on the national policies of the countries concerned. Any comparative study consequently will have to include the relations existing between the national and peasant cultures involved.

17. Redfield, 1941.
18. Mishkin, 1946, 446; Carrasco, 1951, 105-7.
19. For Guatemala, see Tax, personal communication; perhaps also in Peru, see Tschopik, 1947, 48, 53.
20. Carrasco, 1951; Tschopik, 1947, 34, 48-6.

2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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2

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF TARASCAN COMMUNITIES

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The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 53.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 196.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1861, 34.

175 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.
565 Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [651] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's responsibility to supply a definite number of [467] laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento, mita,* or *coatequil.*

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas,* and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of eco-
621 nomic and cultural autonomy, but they never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading,
621 paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish enterprise, and losing individuals to the
565 growing free lower classes (*castas*), they

5. Sorokin, 1930, 1:560.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 621 fitted into the class system of colonial Mexico.

[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 621 423 The other main type of social unit in rural Mexico was the privately owned estate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 621 423 The colonial village community was the primary economic unit, to some extent self-sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the 175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]

[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of most of these communities. Many house-[463] hold crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they [438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 556 For various reasons differences in wealth came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-6.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, passim; 1943, Chapter 3.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 [556] holdings.[10] Commerce also must have caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. 175 423 Private property prevailed within the community, although the property title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic, [621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 624 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of government in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 565 With the Spanish conquest the higher strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The 175 623 scanty evidence as yet published suggests that the system by which Indian nobles controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939–45, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 429–30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 160–168; 168–169; 188–189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:429–3.

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175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 443-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-86.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p.14b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic policies of liberalism, and greater decay of the
177 village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest
794 landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the dominant fact in the nineteenth century history
668 of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

2:Carasco F-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 15a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 This fight turned out to be an attack on
423 inalienable landed property in general, in-
cluding the Indian communal lands. The
668 purpose was to free those lands thus re-
moved from commerce and throw them to
the free play of the market, creating a class
[365] of small farmer-owners with a well de-
veloped idea of property which would
make for social and economic progress.

175 The abolition of landownership by civil
668 and ecclesiastical corporations was first
written into law in 1856 and incorporated
423 into the 1857 constitution during the period
of Mexican history known as the *Re-*
forma.[21] The enforcement of these meas-
ures, in so far as they concerned the lands
of Indian towns, was usually delayed until
the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

175 The Indians' communal lands were al-
lotted as private property among the vil-
423 lagers. Once the property title was in in-
dividual hands, with the possibility of be-
648 ing sold to anybody, outsiders found the
way open to acquire land which, through
communal land title, had formerly been re-
served for the villagers. The greater eco-
nomic power of the non-Indians, and fre-
quently unfair practices, allowed them to
acquire a great amount of land from Indian
villages. The concentration of land in
haciendas and the impoverishment of the
villages were thus facilitated. This pro-
cess was accelerated during the Porfirio
Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the
general economic progress of that period.
[471] The inflow of capital, building of railroads,
development of mining and other indus-
tries, also led to a rise of land values and
an increase of capital seeking to invest in
land.[23]

* * *

175 In summary, after the reforms of the end
of the nineteenth century, the haciendas
423 grew enormously at the expense of the
formerly communal land of the village
668 communities or of land allotted to individ-
ual Indians who were not able to keep pos-
648 session. On the other hand, the remaining
village communities changed from units
of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates
of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the ex-
pense of the land-holding villages and the
change within the villages from communal
to private property represented the general
national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phipps, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 136.
23. Phipps, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enríquez, 1909, 54-8.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This
found its legal expression in the *Reforma*
423 and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing
communal property. The change, however,
668 went at a different pace in different re-
gions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its
648 territory and population, is characterized
by a very unequal development of its various regions, thus allowing different types of society and culture to live together even if connected and coordinated into a single nation. The political and legal changes of the late nineteenth century represent only the turning point at which this general trend of change became the dominant political issue and required expression in the nation's legal system.

In marginal regions, however, the land-
175 holding village, regardless of how many
changes in its organization were required,
423 survived and held its own against the haciendas, in the same way as haciendas had been the dominant type of economy in parts of Mexico at the time when communal ownership of villages was recognized and protected by law. Consequently, in discussing the development of a particular region like Michoacan, further inquiry is essential to determine to what extent and in what manner this national trend of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

The villages in the northern and southern
175 areas had to supplement their native econ-
464 omy with work in neighboring haciendas.
177 This seems to have been the main factor leading to the decline and final disappear-

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2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the
621 villages were responsible for the splitting of the villages into opposite parties in re-
578 lation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clear-
[651] ings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

"The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 183.
44. West, 1948, 22-32.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 33; Beals, 1946, 21, 38, 69; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 176-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was
[311] formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

In many towns, however, the Indians re-
175 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws
423 during most of the nineteenth century.

In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
648 regarding the distribution of the property
656 of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas*, 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados)*; that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 484-6.

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
X [648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

The main reason for the preservation of
[178] Indian communities seems to be that this
area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
[132] character, forests, and cold climate did
not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

The changes within the surviving Indian
[621] towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 86-90.

175 others being landless. This condition seems
to have been present even at the time when
423 land was owned by the village, wherever
private property existed within the community. When private ownership became general at the end of the nineteenth century, the differentiation as to wealth within the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are available for the Tarascan area, the existing information shows that inequality in landed property within the villages was prevalent, although in different degrees, in the various Tarascan villages. It has been reported for the Cañada villages,[30] Urapicho,[31] Cherán,[32] Tzintzuntzan,[33] Paracho, Charapan and Jarácuaro[34] either for pre-revolutionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less in some small Cañada villages, which have preserved as communal holding the agricultural lands of the community.[35] In a large agricultural town like Cherán, where laborers come to work in harvest time from neighboring towns,[36] the differences are considerable. A great number of larger landowners rent part of their lands on a share crop basis to other villagers, and there are some completely landless men.[37]

Many Tarascan villages discourage the
[609] selling of land to outsiders, the approval of the town being necessary for such transactions.[38] The increased inequality seems to have been greater in those places where selling to strangers took place. At the advent of the Revolution, this was the case in some Cañada villages where the largest landholders were mestizos from neighboring towns.[39]

The custom by which individuals take
[796] care of financing a given religious festival
also led some villagers to sell or pawn and
[426] later lose their lands. Such was the case in Urapicho before the Revolution.[40] In La Cañada this was not only a factor in hastening the loss of lands but also the way by which outsiders got hold of them, for the Indians pawned their lands to moneylenders in mestizo towns.[41]

175 In all towns where there are landless
423 people, the latter go out to work in neigh-
464 boring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 236-6.
31. Beals, 1946, 131.
32. *Ibid.*, 12, 61-2, 66, 96-9.
33. Foster, 1948, 71-2, 173-5.
34. Field notes.
35. West, 1948, 32-3.
36. Beals, 1946, 61.
37. *Ibid.*, 99.
38. West, 1948, 32.
39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 236-6.
40. Beals, 1946, 131.
41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 236-6.

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least
621 two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
452 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a subsistence economy or a market economy. No
438 doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier
433 it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 30.
49. Beals, 1946, 56-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 229-30.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

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241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the
438 economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape, and are frequently used even if the latter
178 are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 69.

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178 463 and in some towns hat making has surrendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the 322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks, 178 chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has [534] greatly increased in importance. The town also manufactures guitars for Mexico City [439] and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico [323] City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those 178 463 producing basic necessities, while the growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts 423 may be for the economy of a given village, 578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for villages predominantly devoted to handi- [438] crafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period (1877-1911), characterized by the economic 668 development of the country, a period of unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex- 423 ican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 68-71.

175 erature on this subject is adequate,[64] so no extensive background presentation will be
668 necessary here.

423 The agrarian revolution was an outcome of the concentration of land and the influence of capitalism on the countryside mentioned before in connection with the decay of village communities. It revolved around the fight against the haciendas.

The solution has been the breaking up of the haciendas and the granting of land to the landless under a new type of tenure known as *ejido*.[65] In ejido, lands are given to the community of *ejidatarios* (ejido members), who have the right to use the lands but not to alienate them, ultimate ownership resting in the nation. An agricultural Bank of Ejido Credit was set up
[453] in order to finance the exploitation of ejidos.

This change is the end result of many conflicting interests and opposing tendencies which have produced a very complex development. The more militant peasant groups (Villa and Zapata) were crushed by force of arms, and only afterwards were the land reforms of any sizable importance. These reforms, begun in 1915, were intended to restore to the villages the lands illegally acquired by haciendas. Soon the policy was accepted of appropriating haciendas as outright grants of land (ejido) to the landless. A number of laws were enacted, often changed and more often not applied. For a long period, red tape and other delays were the rule before any ejido was finally given. The workers resident in haciendas *(peones acasillados)* were excluded from distribution of land until 1934, the beginning of the Cárdenas administration (1934-1940), during which the land reforms were speeded up and really enforced.

The outcome today is that the hacienda
423 has been replaced by two types of ejido: the individual ejido in which every ejidatario receives a lot which he works by himself; and collective ejidos which are worked cooperatively. Collective ejidos were attempted in the 'twenties and a case in Michoacan has been described,[66] but the individual ejido has been the rule. Only during Cárdenas' period were collective ejidos set up in those areas where a highly commercial, large-scale exploitation prevailed in the production of foodstuffs or of raw materials for industry.

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64. Tannenbaum, 1929; Simpson, 1937; Whetten, 1948.
65. This ejido is to be distinguished from the commons of colonial villages, also called ejido.
66. Simpson, 1937, Chap. xxv.

423 The individual ejido is a turn back to small exploitation. No technological improvements have been made, no credit is received from the Ejido Bank, and in some cases corn for subsistence is now grown instead of a former commercial crop. Collective ejidos, on the contrary, are financed by the Ejido Bank and are under its ultimate control. This is a good example of the state intervention in production which characterizes the present development of world economy.

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175 As stated when discussing the decline of the Indian village community in Michoacan, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, a number of haciendas were near the Tarascan region. Some villages had lost most of their lands and included great numbers of landless people. However, this is not typical of Tarascan villages. Most of them were and are villages of farmer-owners and craftsmen. Although most Tarascans had not lost lands to haciendas, private ownership of land prevailed and there was within the village noticeable inequality in wealth. Relatively large, medium and small landowners, sharecroppers, and landless laborers were to be found. In some towns outsiders owned a considerable amount of land. Consequently, the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution, *i. e.*, the fight to get land from the haciendas, have been mainly external to most Tarascan villages, and the agrarian conflict caused by inequality within the village assumed here a peculiar form.

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No good information is available as to the extent to which Tarascans participated in the armed conflicts, although some fought with agrarian revolutionists (Zapatistas and Villistas). The land tenure situation is reflected in the extent to which agrarian reforms have been carried out. Villages near haciendas have received ejidos, but the other villages have not, although agrarian conflicts also arose.

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All the existing ejidos are of the individual type. In only one case (Tarajero) was collective exploitation attempted for some time. The people of Tarajero petitioned for land in 1915, and finally received it in 1924. It was good fertile land in a drained swamp, and, while part of former haciendas, the land had been used for commercial production. The agraristas decided to exploit it collectively. It seems, however, that the directing committee began to appropriate most of the profits derived from the exploitation, reducing the rest of the

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[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada,
669 Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of
175 farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not
423 been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

67. *Ibid.*, 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 285-88.
69. *Ibid.*, 283-4.
70. *Ibid.*, 283.
71. *Ibid.*, 281; Sáenz, 1936, 23.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 131.

175 In La Cañada the local revolt took place in 1918, led by people from Tanaquillo. The
423 lands which had fallen into the hands of mestizos from Chilchota, Purépero and
669 Tangancícuaro were recovered and distributed among the revolutionists. Only in 1932 was this reform legalized by the State government.[73] In other cases, medium farmers were the rule, and there is not a very great difference in property holdings. Nevertheless, agrarista groups were also organized. Most Sierra towns had groups of this sort.[74] Cherán and Jarácuaro, the two villages for which we have most information, belong to this type.

In these small towns, which legally had no ejidos, the agrarians took lands illegally either from richer villagers or from the communal lands. In all these villages where the majority of the people was not benefited, there was really a privileged group formed. The agraristas made themselves the only beneficiaries of the lands seized, or distributed them without satisfying the needs of other equally needy villagers who had not taken part in their movement.[75] When seizing lands to distribute among
[661] themselves, they sometimes took land belonging to other villagers merely because they had been political enemies.[76] They also seized formerly communal lands for their exclusive use. Hence villagers not belonging to the agrarista group were obliged to pay a fee to the agrarian committee *(Comisario ejidal)* in order to have access to the lands.[77]

423 In Jarácuaro, for instance, the rush grounds were formerly owned by the vil-
668 lagers, who used the proceeds from selling the rushes for buying candlewax for the temple; afterwards the agraristas exploited the grounds for their personal use. A similar case occurred during our stay on the island. A lowering of the lake's water level had left dry some flat land of considerable agricultural value. The agrarista group was trying to get the land from the federal government for distribution among its members, while the rest of the village wanted to distribute it among all the villagers (excepting the eight agraristas). At the time of our leaving (1945), the authorities were persuading the villagers to distribute the land among all people of both groups.

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73. Sáenz, 1936, 23-4; 96, 255-6; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291-2.
74. All but two, according to Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289.
75. Sáenz, 1936, 256; also Tarejero, Simpson, 1937, 471-2.
76. Cañada, see Sáenz, 1936, 256; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 281, 291-2.
77. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279, 281.

423 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio.
661 Here an agrarista group was formed and was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that [798] led many peasants to lose their lands brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, in a small farmer-owner environ-
423 ment a new privileged minority was formed, which seized the lands of political
668 enemies or of the community, assumed
578 control of the town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values re-
175 lated to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

Sinarquismo is a political movement
668 strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajío region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 175.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 36-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289, 292.

668 of stealing because it distributed the haciendas, it does not propagandize a return to the old order. It is supported by small farmers and even ejidatarios dissatisfied with the course of the land reforms. It promises the ejidatarios to rid them of the new bosses born of the Revolution and to give them as outright private property their ejido plots which now are ultimately owned by the State.

668 465 [452] Since the late 'thirties, the period when land reforms were more or less completed, the real wages in the countryside have been in decline[81] due mainly to wartime inflation. This fact together with the inability of the government to provide agricultural credit indicates the difficult situation of the countryside and explains the rapid growth of a protest movement like sinarquismo.[82]

668 The opposition to the agraristas and to the government which had arisen in many Tarascan towns has lately merged with sinarquismo. Sinarquista units function in many villages and many Tarascans are members of the party.

423 181 In the present situation, with the agrarian revolt receded, the Indian village communities, although greatly impaired, show a persistence of an economic foundation which is the basis for the survival of the

81. Whetten, 1948, 262.
82. Gill, 1944; Padilla, 1948; Whetten, 1948, 484-522.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.22b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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423 folk culture: some remaining communal
181 property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

In spite of this conservatism, however,
182 the decline of the village community goes on. The concentration of land in haciendas,
423 the main process by which the village com-
621 munities tended to disappear, has been checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The government's restrictions on the use of forests or
[656] the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23 a]
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3

000 CULT ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.23b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 177 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater acculturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has [241] a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are lighted to them. There are also a number of [821] [824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

786 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and [754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although [177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 23c] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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779 Changes in this folk Catholicism are traceable to the influence of the economic and social changes previously discussed. In this chapter the cult, its organization, financing and relation to the government and to political conflict will be discussed, while religious ideology will be dealt with in the following chapter.

The most profound changes in the folk religion affect mainly the cult organization. The basic traits of the folk cult itself have not been greatly modified during the period covered in this paper, and are similar to those generally found in all Middle America. A description of them will provide a background on which to discuss them.

Main Traits of Tarascan Folk Religion and Cult[1]

776 Tarascan folk Catholicism, although accepting the Christian God (Tarascan, *Kuerájpiri*, Creator; Spanish, *Padre Eterno*, Eternal Father) as the supreme creator, revolves primarily around the saints. The saints are sons of God, also those who followed Christ when he came to earth, and in general people who lived sometime in the past and 'won sanctity'. A male saint is called in Tarascan *tata diósa*, literally 'father or lord god', a term which also can be applied to the Creator. Female saints are called *nana iuiísa*, 'mother or lady virgin', which means both the Virgin or any female saint. The mystery of the Trinity is not well known to the Tarascans. Christ is only the most important tata diósa. Sometimes he can be considered the same as God, but most often he is only his son. In some myths he is the brother of other saints like Saint James or even a brother of the Devil. Also it is not clear whether the various Christs venerated in different places are really the same God. The Christs of San Juan, Tingambato, Sopoco and Santa Fe, for instance, are said to be four brothers. Similarly the different local Virgins are to be considered as many different supernaturals.

776 As important as the supernatural being, is its image kept in a church or chapel. It

778

1. Most information comes from the late nineteenth century and the present time. Information for the eighteenth century is scantier, but so far as available it shows great similarity with later times, so the following description, although written in the present tense, can be taken to apply in its basic traits to that period also.

776 is considered sometimes as the residence
of the saint, his abode being also in heaven,
778 but in many cases the image seems to take
over all concepts of the supernatural and
instead of a symbol it becomes the saint
itself. Folklore is rich in tales about the
apparition of images as synonymous with
the saint. The images often appear to be-
have like a person. In different accounts
they are believed to move, weep, or speak.
If the saint leaves the church to wander,
traces of its journey are seen on the image.
People also treat the image as a person.
Presents taken to it are often dresses. The
image can be taken out when there has
been no rain so that he (she) can see for
himself the need for it, or, in cases of witch-
craft, he may be imprisoned in a little jail
until help is received.

776 Most saints are related to the social
groups of which they are patrons. Thus the
Virgin of Guadalupe stands for Mexico. All
towns and their wards *(barrios)* and also
the trades have a patron and the cult of
one such group is specially concerned with
its patron who is its supernatural protector
and representative.

In legends, saints can appear as those who give the villages their characteristic trades. There can be said to be a division of labor among the saints, each one attending to different localities or human activities or personifying natural elements.

Supernatural help is asked from the patron of one's own group or from the saint which deals particularly with what one wants to obtain. For instance, the Virgen de la Salud of Pátzcuaro is helpful in case of sickness; Saint Anthony is good to ask for offspring. In addition, most popular saints are petitioned for all kinds of things. The reputation of the saint and personal devotion decide which should be asked. Most famous in the Tarascan region are the Christs of San Juan, Carácuaro and Araró, the Virgin of Guadalupe, Virgen de la Salud of Pátzcuaro, the Señor del Resgate (an Ecce Homo) of Tzintzuntzan, Saint Anthony of Morelia, and many others.

Sometimes new saints appear, which in a short time become very popular, while some others decline in importance. For this reason the most important saint of a town is in some cases not its patron saint. For instance the Christs of Parangaricutiro, Tingambato, Zopoco, Santa Fe and the Señor del Resgate in Tzintzuntzan have all superseded in importance the patron saints of those places.

796 The cult ceremonies are arranged after the Catholic yearly cycle of ceremonials. Every ceremonial has the rituals prescribed by the Catholic Church, but the popular form of the cult also includes elements of ritual-like dances, which are peculiar to the folk culture. Many other activities of a non-religious character, such as social gatherings, entertainment and trade, are also associated with religious celebrations.

There is also a folk organization of festivals based on the individual sponsorship of the ceremony or part of it. Sponsors are called *cargueros* and sponsorship *cargo* (literally, office). These cargos are related to the town government and economics, and are the main sphere where changes discussed in this chapter take place.

796 The people participate in ceremonials as members of the group (town, trade, etc.) which is having the celebration. Personal
782 participation also is determined by a personal life crisis. A person in need of help will ask a given saint for recovery from sickness, or success in travel or any other enterprise. He will invoke the saint when in danger in an accident or will beg for offspring or for finding a lost animal. A vow (Spanish, *manda*) is usually made in exchange for the saint's giving the supernatural help demanded. This vow is often a promise to sponsor a festival or participate in it as a dancer. Even if the vow is of a different nature, attendance at the saint's festival is generally the rule. The devotee will usually go in pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. Often an ex-voto is taken which records the miracle performed by the saint; these are little figures of silver, usually representing the part of the body healed (Spanish, *milagro*, miracle); or, (although this is more common among the mestizos than among the Tarascans) a picture is
[532] made to depict the miracle and an explanation written *(retablo)*. Votive offerings are kept by the image as proof of its miraculousness. Another common vow is to take an ornament for the image, usually clothes. Thus, personal drive toward religion resolves into sponsorship or attendance at a festival.

796 Folk religious festivals *(fiestas)* and related activities of the cult form the main part of Tarascan folk religion. The description of these festivals and their organization take most of the space devoted to religion in the published community studies.[2]

2. For example, Beals, 1946, 36 out of 47 pp.; in Foster, 1948, 25 out of 35.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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796 Festivals of the different saints and virgins are celebrated at the dates fixed by the Catholic calendar. Most important are the celebrations of events regarding the life of Jesus: Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi are the occasions for the main cult activities. Only the patron of each town and the cult of the Virgin attain similar importance. In all fiestas, mass is said as Catholic ritual prescribes, and other traits of ritual demanded by the Church are also performed.

796 536 The most important folk additions to the Catholic liturgy are dramatizations and dances somehow related to the festival which is being celebrated. The Passion of Christ is the best example. Certain of the villagers dress as Jews, apostles and other characters of the story, and participate in its representation, which takes place in church under the direction of the priest. Some also police the village so that everybody will keep the precept of not working. In some villages a full stage production is performed. The celebration of Holy Week is most renowned in Tzintzuntzan.[3]

796 535 In Holy Week there are no dances. In other fiestas, music and dancing are the most important aspect of the performance accompanying church rituals, and outweigh the spoken play (Spanish, *relato* or *coloquio*).

In Corpus Christi and its Octave, the farmers take their oxen to the churchyard and pretend to plow while the other crafts represented in the village also display their work and make little samples which they later throw to the crowd. A mock market and a greased pole also make this festival an attractive entertainment. Dances of the Conquest and of the Negroes, and a Maypole dance (Spanish *tejedores*, weavers) have been reported for this occasion but seem to be obsolete now.[4]

The most important dances are performed during the Christmas-Epiphany season and on the patron saint's day. The dance performed in most towns on the day of the patron saint is that known as *moros y soldados* (Moors and soldiers) or by slightly different words. It represents the Moors' defeat by the soldiers and their conversion.[5] In some places this dance is also performed on the Day of the Cross (May 3rd).[6]

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3. Foster, 1948, 210-214.
4. León, 1906, 462-4; Beals, 1946, 125-37; Foster, 1948, 216-18.
5. León, 1906, 431 ff; Beals, 1946, 131, 144, 156.
6. For Angahuan, see Beals, 1946, 143; for eighteenth century Tangamandapio and Jacona, see Estado, 1944, 470, 477; León, 1906, 431.

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796 The plays and dances performed during
536 Christmas and Epiphany represent people
who comment on the birth of the Holy
535 Child and come to worship him and to
bring him presents. The usual name for
these dances is *pastorela* (pastoral) and
the main characters are shepherds. Sometimes other characters are added, often wearing masks, such as old men, savages *(apaches)*, Negroes, ranchers, the Three Kings, hermits, angels, and devils. In some places the *pastorela* includes a number of these characters, while in others some of them perform in the pastorela and the others form special dances.

In Cherán, for instance, there is a dance of Negroes, performed on December 25th, another called *melebris* which includes Negroes, old men and savages (December 14-24), a pastorela of shepherdesses (December 24-6), and a dance of old men including the Three Kings (January 6).[7] The only complete pastorela which has been published (unfortunately only in Tarascan) comes from Pichátaro, 1883.[8] It had shepherds, a ranch boy and girl, hermit, angels, and three devils (Luzbel, Sin, and Cunning). The first part, performed by the devils, is followed by the presentation of gifts brought by the other characters to the Holy Child. The pastorela from Capacuaro looks similar for it has first a stage play by devils, followed by a dance with a play by ranchers, shepherds, angels, Europeans, and hermits who act as buffoons.[9] In another published text (from Quinceo, 1912), the characters are old men who not only bring presents to the Holy Child but also discuss other aspects of the Faith.[10] Other villages have slightly different Christmas dances or pastorelas, all with different combinations of the same basic characters.[11]

A dance can become an element of cere-
796 mony in itself. Taking a dance group to a
saint can be an individual vow. In famous
535 fiestas which draw pilgrims from many
villages, dancers come to perform for that
saint although the festival celebrated may
have nothing to do with the original meaning of the dance. For instance, *Santiagos* (Saint James dance) from Pátzcuaro, *Pastorela* from Zipiajo and the Old Men's dance from Cucuchucho (both Christmas dances) come to Tzintzuntzan to dance for the *Señor del Resgate* (an Ecce Homo).[12]

7. Beals, 1946, 144-154.
8. León, 1906, 433-52.
9. Beals, 194, 154-5.
10. León and Contreras, 1944.
11. Beals, 1946, 144, 155, 216; León, 1906, 435; Foster, 1948, 206.
12. Foster, 1948, 208.

796 Different towns have reputations for
giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately,
through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds
further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomias)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
vanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater
than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection
with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
can Indians has always been closely con-
621 nected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 198.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1943.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 26 b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans 175 may have been influenced by Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He [743] tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held [423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hospital had as its patron the Virgin of the [794] Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has [438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 188-194.

2:Carrasco Ξ-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 621 the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 476 Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

175 794 The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuríso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

175 794 575 Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

175 794 575 621 743 This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly
624 elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
743 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young
624 girls, other times older women; they were most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages
624 for which there is information.[20] Many
796 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called colector as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 Besides the cargueros of the hospital
794 there were other religious officers. Sodali-
575 ties other than those of the hospitales with
624 funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes*, *fiesteros*, or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 Financing the cult involved payment of
794 alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep
651 of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua*, custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 In the eighteenth century, many of the
743 hospitales had property devoted to the sup-
423 port of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the
575 village commons. One of the cargueros or
794 a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
423 erty, this financed not only the cult and
575 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
794 hospital officers, such as caring for the sick and paying for masses of the dead. In addition, the carguero could use this same source of income to provide food for the villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
735 the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
794 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring himself out as a muleteer servant [sirviente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very impoverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautivan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacamía, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Relaño, 1944, passim.
29. Ibid., 418.
30. Ibid., 488.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Relaño, 1944, 471, 488.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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735 The effect of excessive cult expenses on Indian poverty was strong enough to lead
794 the subdelegate (Spanish district authority) to give instructions against it. He recommended avoiding those banquets and superfluities based on the pretext of church festivals. In the case of Amatlan, he directed that no personal service should be given the priest other than that of sexton and bellman.[33]

624 The civil administration conformed to general practice in colonial Mexico. Every Indian town was headed by a *gobernador*. There were also one or more *alcaldes* (mayors) and a number of *regidores* (councilmen), according to the size of the town. Minor officials seem to have been more variable: *alguaciles*, similar officers called *katápi* in Tarascan, errand boys *(topil)*, and a scribe.

624 An important characteristic of this civil organization was its close connection with
794 the cult organization. For as long as the union of State and Church lasted (until the middle of the nineteenth century), the obligations of the village toward the priest and the cult had the sanction of the civil authorities who approved the church fees *(aranceles)*. The higher civil authorities also intervened in the regulation of cult activities.[34] The village civil officers had also some religious obligations in sponsoring certain festivals or in contributing to the support of the priest.[35]

The custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder (Spanish, *principal*; Tarascan, *t'aıépiti*) seems also to have been present. Evidence for the eighteenth century is lacking. Only for the village of Cutzeo we know that the principales were those who had passed through the office of governor, and that *atole* (cornmeal) for their Saturday meetings was made by the semaneros in the hospital. Today, however, traits of the surviving religious organization suggest the former existence of this connection between civil and religious officers. The group of elders is called *cabildo*, which originally meant 'town council', although it can also mean sodality council. In Cherán, principales are those who have passed through the offices of prioste and colector. In Angahuan also, religious offices have to be held before one becomes alcalde or member of the cabildo.[36]

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33. Osbourn Ms.
34. Osbourn Ms.; Estado, 1944, passim.
35. The governor in Ario, Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.), Coeneo (Rivera, 1868, 332, 334), San Francisco (Ocampo, 1900, 387); the councilmen in Tancítaro (Osbourn Ms.).
36. Beals, 1946, 132, 143.

624 More detailed information comes from
794 Chilchota. Here a man was first mayordomo of the hospital, then mayordomo of the patron saint, later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

175 At the end of the eighteenth century,
794 then, the heavy cult expenses were causing the impoverishment of the Indians in
735 those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 For the nineteenth century there is no
survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only
794 for the turn of the century is information again available. Since this is the period of
423 further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 215.
38. León, 1906, 427.
39. Beals, 1946, 132 (for Cherán); 218 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 216, 139.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.30a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175
794 duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro
423 was used until a short time ago to buy wax for the church.

Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions
794 from cargueros or the townspeople at large. Indian impoverishment caused by
735 attending to religious festivals is reported again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

The period of Mexican Independence up
624 to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *municipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:304.
42. Beals, 1946, 165; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1902, 404, 414-415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:301.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 30b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the State. This undoubtedly influenced the 175 local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is supposed that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

621 In spite of these changes, which occurred during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 216, 143.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1888.
46. León, 1906, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1936, 191-2.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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621 officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

624 The traditional organization based on the hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but 794 it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kengueria*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

The local priest takes care of the litur- 793 gical celebrations. For their organization and church upkeep he can rely on the tra- 794 ditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

Communal property for the cult of the 794 saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 143.
49. Foster, 1949, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 202-204.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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794 by commissioners (*comisionado, encargado*) named by the priest or the town council for a given task. In this case the time required is less and also the contributions, the expenses being met by the town or ward (barrio) and the commissioner acting as collector.

Changes in recent years have been, on
794 the one hand, the rise of an anticlerical movement among the agraristas, aiming at
668 suppressing the cult. On the other hand,
798 in the conservative communities trying to preserve the cult, changes can be described in terms of the decline of the cabildo, increased intervention by the priest or town council, and the change from individual sponsor to commissioner.

* * *

The accumulation of causes giving rise to a movement against the organization of the cult and the cargos had thus been going on for a long period of time when the Mexican agrarian revolution began to be influential in Michoacan. The local participation of Tarascan villages in the movements for agrarian reform has been outlined in the previous chapter. The local agraristas became supporters of the national revolutionary governments from which they expected to receive lands. Both the national and the local situations also combined to produce an anticlerical policy on the part of the agraristas.

Social studies in Michoacan have been limited to peasant communities, and no good study is available on the haciendas and the cities. Consequently there is no good information as to the way in which the anticlerical policy of the government was evident in Michoacan. In Mexico at large the official Church has been connected with the traditional landowner class, which explains the anticlerical policies of the government. In Michoacan we can assume the same situation prevailed, for we know that the church here, too, opposed the government's agrarian reforms.[51] Anticlericalism appears on the one hand as the influence of governmental policies. On the other hand, the local situation is of paramount importance and only in those places where local conditions provided a basis for it has anticlericalism gained any stronghold.

[735] Financing the traditional cult had been the cause in many villages for Indian impoverishment and the loss of land to a few rich or to outsiders. This fact led the

51. Foster, 1948, 175.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.32a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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668 agrarista groups to identify the cult and
794 the festivals with the land order against
which they were revolting. Thus the local
798 situation tied itself up with the national
anticlerical policy of the government.

The agraristas kept the priest out of town and closed the church. If it had been burned during the Revolution they did not rebuild it,[52] or they used the church and the priest's house for other functions such as social centers or schools.[53] Cargos and fiestas were forbidden as they were seen to be the causes of excessive expenditures and drunkenness.[54]

We have already presented the causes for the failure of the agraristas to maintain their power in villages where small landowners prevailed. The agraristas became
[565] an exclusive privileged minority, opposed to the interest of most of the villagers. Their anticlerical policies also led them to reforms in an aspect of culture—religion and festivals—which were deeply ingrained in the traditional culture. Resistance to their economic policies thus became associated with resistance to culture change. In such conservative villages, reaction against the agraristas was always prevalent,[55] and it had a militant Catholic ideology. Even during the period of the most strongly antichurch policy of the government, some villagers managed to hide a priest,[56] and others, like Cherán, smuggled one in to say mass in private houses without the anticlerical minority's being strong enough to dare speak.[57]

Still in other more conservative villages
791 the lack of a priest led not to obsolescence of religion, but to manifestations of folk religion which the priests would not have allowed. In Ocumicho, a woman called María Doncella (Mary the Maiden) claimed to have heard the voice of God in a slit stone in a ravine near the village. The news spread throughout the region and many people began to come to Ocumicho in pilgrimage. María Doncella baptized the children herself and songs were made to her in which she was called the daughter of God. Once she said that the Virgin of Cocucho had come to Ocumicho and taken the patron San Pedro with her, and she organized a procession of people to go to Cocucho and pray to have San Pedro come back. According to skeptical informants

52. Urapicho: Beals, 1946, 131.
53. Tzurumútaro, Puácuaro.
54. Sáenz, 1936, 96; Simpson, 1937, 467.
55. Sáenz, 1936, *passim*; Foster, 1948, 175.
56. Tzintzuntzan: Foster, 1948, 175, 224.
57. Beals, 1946, 110.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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791 from Cocucho, her reputation and activities evaporated when in spite of her name she became pregnant.

668 Also, during this time of the government's limitation of priests, groups of
794 *cristeros*, in revolt against the government, operated in Michoacan.[58]

178 From about 1940, the agraristas lost control of many villages. They were able to stay in power only where they had been the majority. No study has been made of towns where the agraristas predominated. The communities studied are conservative and the agraristas were a minority. The study of Cherán[59] was made shortly after the agrarista group had been expelled. The author's field work was concentrated in a village where the anti-agrarista reaction was in power and had become affiliated with sinarquismo.

In describing the present economic situation we mentioned how the economic decline of the Indian communities is continuing in modern times. Since this economic decline was the cause for conflict in the sphere of the cult, the question naturally arises about the policy of this strongly religious reaction in regard to the old cargo system.

Following the success of the anti-agrarista reaction, the cult has again been allowed in villages where it had been forbidden, and fiestas are celebrated again, but there is no blooming again of the traditional cabildo; the decay of the old cargo system continues. Within the Catholic reaction to the agraristas we can see differences arising between more traditional and more modern elements; these differences are manifest in connection with religion and cargos.

Through the changes taking place in the political-religious organization, the cabildo became independent of the village civil administration, and, although connected with the priest, it arranged the festivals and the concession of sponsorships independently. As the organizer of the folk cult activities, it can be taken as the organization most purely representing the folk aspects of the local culture. It is in a position to resist national inroads on the folk culture either from the priest, who wants to change the festivals, or from the government, which wants to suppress the religious cult. As long as the elders have any political power within the community,

58. Foster, 1948, 178.
59. Beals, 1946.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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668 the cabildo is neither official nor related
178 to the national or state government.

Correspondingly, there are people — we
shall call them traditionalists — for whom
religion means fundamentally the festivals
794 to the saints, organized by the cargueros
and the cabildo, and their meetings, inaugurations, and ceremonies. They speak of the need to continue the cargos and the fiestas and to resume the meetings of the cabildo. They even oppose the priests who attempt to suppress cargos or to modify the festivals, and they look down upon fellow villagers who do not care to take cargos, considering them unfit for leadership within the community.

These folk values are under attack by individuals who, although religious, are drifting away from the traditional organization and becoming closer to the Church. These may be called militant Catholics.

The trend is primarily against the cabildo as a clique of those who, through wealth and age, have passed through the cargos and reached eldership, and try to control cult organization. Also, the individual sponsorship as practiced by the cabildo included heavy expenses in connection with presents and banqueting for cabildo members. The trend is toward less drunkenness and toward making sponsorship less expensive.

The changes in organization cause the cult to be more strictly dependent on either the Church or the town government, *i. e.*, on local branches of national institutions as against the former almost purely locally organized cabildo.

Thus to some extent the conflict appears as one between the priest and the conservative cabildo. The priest, of course, tries to lead the natives into more orthodox practices so that he attempts to suppress some of the folk customs and excessive drunkenness. The basic point is that he is only the incentive and leading force for those town elements who want the changes themselves.

The initiative often comes from the townspeople, from those whom we called militant Catholics. In Cherán some of the people organized a town meeting to ask that the cabildo be suppressed because of the excessive gifts they demanded from those aspiring to sponsorship, because their festivals and meetings were occasions for drunkenness, and because they stole from the church (a discussion having arisen as to the use the cabildo made of

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 33b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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668 178 794 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking). They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

[793] In Jarácuaro, where there was no resident priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

[656] In some cases the new civil authorities intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. *Ibid.*, 134 ff.
61. *Ibid.*, 143-44, 215-19.
62. *Ibid.*, 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 201-202.

668 178 794 On the other hand, the intervention of the civil authorities reflects increasing secularization of the main festivals. It takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

178 794 The trend of change is not only to shift control from the cabildo to either the priest or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; [624] and instead of the carguero sponsor, there is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan: the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of offce. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero systêm. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 120-127; Foster, 1948, 204ff, 218ff.
65. Beals, 1946, 106, 120.
66. Foster, 1948, 196, 198.
67. *Ibid.*, 198, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 126, 126, 127.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 34b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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794 uals can be found to sponsor festivals. The fact remains, though, that the opposite
178 tendency making for decay of the mayordomías seems to be stronger.

794 In spite of the changes devised to preserve the festivals and the desire to continue them, the old fact of their being an economic burden still continues. During the short time when the field work for the Tarascan project was done, a number of fiestas were not celebrated because nobody was available to see to the expenses or because of the current conflict between the cargueros and the priest. Thus in Cherán, 1940, dances for Santa Nieves, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the pastorela of the shepherdesses were not celebrated.[69] In Tzintzuntzan, the cargueros of La Soledad were not functioning since the priest had suppressed them in 1942.[70] The festival of the patron saint failed in Jaracuaro in 1945 because of lack of enough sponsors.

The new commissioner who substitutes for the old carguero can find his duty too much like that of his predecessor, his contribution being too high. In Cherán in 1940, one of the four commissioners named by the town officials to act as Moro dancers avoided the performance and only three Moros danced.[71]

668 This new trend away from folk festivals and toward a closer dependence on the
794 priest is, therefore, also one toward both more orthodox Catholicism and secularization of the festivals. It finds more ready
178 support among the villagers who have become associated with sinarquismo, and whose relation to the Church is close and similar to that of allegiance to a political party. Conversely, the priest often supports and fosters the spread of sinarquismo among the townspeople. Not only does he attack the old organization of cargueros and try to have a new one under his control, but he uses their influence to attack the government and schools, and to support the sinarquista schools and propaganda.[72]

* * *

The economic developments of the Indian communities outlined in Chapter 2 have been causing the disruption of folk cult celebrations because of the economic burden of their financing.

In connection with the agraristas, a radical trend for change arises which, spurred by the cult rôle in the impoverishment of

69. *Ibid.*, 138, 139, 149.
70. Foster, 1948, 198.
71. Beals, 1946, 121.
72. Foster, 1948, 175, 184-185, 193.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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some villagers and by the anticlerical policy of the government, aims at abolishing the cult. But as in the economic sphere, this movement does not succeed in making change permanent because of the survival of the villages' economic foundation and their folk culture. There is a return to the cult, although the economic situation forces changes in its organization: decline of the body of the folk officers (cabildo); increased control by the priest; abolition of some folk ceremonies; organization of the main festivals by the civil administration as secular affairs; change from organization by an individual sponsor (carguero) carrying all the financial burden, to that of a number of commissioners sharing in the organization and the collection of contributions from the whole community. The decline of folk festivals and the greater control by the priest lead to a more orthodox Catholicism, and the influence of sinarquismo, in which allegiance to the

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Church is of a political nature, brings the local subculture closer to the national culture. These changes show the trend through which the folk religion might disappear completely (lack of cult sponsors, control by the priests, or the success of the anticlericals), but the simplification of ceremonials and the new forms of organization are also a means by which the folk religion survives, on an organizational basis better suited to the changed economic and social order. As in economics, the basic traits of the village community survive. A stable situation, however, is not reached. Conflict continues, because of the same forces which caused the changes described: the economic impossibility or unattractiveness of the festivals, and the ceremonials under attack by the priest. These trends go on disrupting the folk culture, but they are not strong enough to break it completely. As in economics, a state of latent conflict continues.

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RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

000 In the preceding chapter, changes in the organization and ceremonials of folk Catholicism have been examined, as affected by economic and social developments within the local and the national cultures. The trends in religious ideas and folklore will presently be discussed as related to those same factors, and particularly to the political conflict whose relation to religion and the cult organization has been described.

771 An important trait of Tarascan folk Catholicism (as of Catholicism in general) is the ethical nature of its ideology, dominated by concepts of good and evil. Non-ethical concepts are relegated to a second plane constituting mere miscellaneous beliefs, or, in so far as they form a system of ideas, are part of wider concepts dominated by an ethical dichotomy.

771 178 In examining the relation of such a religion to social change, we find an interesting problem of how the social values at stake in the economic and social conflict are reflected in religious ideology. What do religious ideas tell about the agraristas, about the cargo system of sponsoring festivals, about the sinarquistas who are militantly Catholic and yet to some extent are in conflict with the traditional cult system? Is conflict between national influences on the folk culture and folk resistance to change reflected in the folklore? What is the attitude of different political groups toward the existing body of religious ideology?

In order to discuss this relation of religious ideology to social change, an outline of religious ideas and beliefs, as dominated by the good and evil concept, will be presented. This outline is based on folk narratives, mainly myths and experiences with the supernatural, which express religious concepts. A discussion of narrative types will be sketched in order to place them in a wider setting.

The social values sanctioned in religious ideology will then be examined. It will be seen that primarily they endorse the values of the traditional folk culture although they are in conflict with influences from the national culture. Also, in the same way as the ideology of folk Catholicism is part of the wider Catholic religion,

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

771 it also sanctions the national values of the Church. Political conflict mentioned in
178 folklore seems to reflect almost exclusively the conservative point of view. Religious people can put it to use to point out the wisdom of following their party and to present the opponent as wicked.

The tendencies which are disrupting the folk culture do not create a new body of folklore. Even religious people, like the sinarquistas, allied to the church, keep only that part of the religion which is more orthodox, and neglect that which is purely folk. Here, as with the agraristas, changes in the religious ideology and folklore do not create a new folklore but induce changes in the *function* of the old, leading to obsolescence. The different attitudes of belief will consequently be considered.[1]

Main Traits of Tarascan Religious Ideology

538 In contrast to what is reported for other Mexican folk cultures[2] the Tarascans do not classify their folk narratives into well defined types according to the story's characters or the didactical or recreative use of the tale. All tales are called *uandánçkua*, (from *uandáni*, to tell, to speak; in Spanish, *cuento*). Sometimes, at least in Jarácuaro, the Spanish word (pronounced *kuéntu*) is used in Tarascan discourse. Its meaning, however, seems to be synonymous with *uandánçkua*. Everything which is told can be called a tale. This does not mean of course that all narratives are of the same type; it means only that Tarascan culture and language do not recognize standard categories of tales. Different types are to some extent recognized in that some are told as true experiences, usually giving concrete place and personal names, while in others the action takes place in unnamed places and among unknown people. Informants are themselves aware of this possible distinction. Sometimes the word *uandánçkua* (or *kuéntu*) is

1. This chapter is based almost exclusively on the author's field work. A complete field report will contain a full collection of tales. As this is not yet published, references to it are not possible. Most information comes from Jarácuaro, a strongly religious and conservative village, with sinarquismo as the dominant tendency.
2. M. Redfield, 1936.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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used in a more restricted sense to mean fictitious tale as opposed to a true event, while in other cases it can mean anything which is told, including real events. There is no provision, however, for classifying narratives other than to state whether a given tale is considered true or false, and on this point not everybody agrees. One can hear about a given tale a comment like "This is true, it really happened", or "This is what people say, but who knows if it is true." These comments can be heard with all types of tales. The word *cuento* can enter these explanations with different meanings. For instance, on being asked to tell a story (cuento), a man would tell of his experiences during the Revolution, or another would tell how he got lost on a dark night. The following statement was added after a wonder story: "This is not a tale *(cuento)*, this is fiction *(farsa)*." Also in similar situations: "This is not true; it is only a tale (*cuento*)." Thus *cuento* or *uandánçkua* applies to everything told, and can mean both a true or a false tale according to the context.

Yet the folk narratives of the Tarascans can be classified into the following main types: myths, experiences with supernaturals, and wonder stories.

Myths are tales referring to events in the far past when the world had not yet its present shape. The characters are mostly supernatural. There are included tales of the creation of the world, the destruction of the world, and associated events, stories of people living before the advent of Christianity, and the shaping of the world as it is today.

Another very common type of story concerns experiences with the supernaturals. These include experiences with saints, devils, the dead and witches; miracles of saints; cases of men who have seen the Devil or have made a pact with him in order to gain money or knowledge; how people have seen ghosts on a dark night; how a man comes back to life after a serious illness and reports his travel to the underworld; cases of witchcraft; how a sick man was cured of sorcery; how witches take animal form; how a given witch was caught. All these and many more of similar nature are among the stories most often related. All these stories are practically always told giving the names of the places and persons involved. Tales of this sort can be told as current or past events in the town: *e. g.*, cases of

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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witchcraft, how So-and-So got his wealth by making a pact with the Devil, or how X brought a diviner to find out the person responsible for the burning of his house.

When people come back from a trip, they often bring stories of this type. They will come back from market telling how the Devil was seen in X town. The latest miracle of a saint will be told after a pilgrimage. Narratives of this type are really pieces of news relating to the supernaturals.

Myths and experiences with the supernatural, by the very nature of their content, are told as true events or at least as something which some people believe and tell as true happenings. Any attitude of doubt in these stories often indicates doubt of the religious concept behind the story. On the other hand, some tales, which are experiences with supernaturals (mainly stories of saints or of men pledged to the Devil), can be told as fiction, with no concrete names being given, for mere entertainment, and without indicating any lack of religious belief on the part of the teller.

In such cases these tales merge somewhat with wonder stories. These are tales in which action takes place in unspecified times and places and among unnamed people. They are mostly the wonder stories of European tradition. Whereas in the experiences with the supernaturals the action is always in agreement with actual Tarascan culture—in fact they are case histories of some aspect of Tarascan culture—in the wonder stories the cultural content of the tale is sometimes incongruous with actual Tarascan culture. The characters are often kings and princesses, old men who have magical powers, and heroes who use charms which have no correspondence in living Tarascan culture and which appear only in these tales.

These tales are not told as news, as are the experiences with the supernatural, but mainly for entertainment. Most informants consider them fictitious, but this is by no means the only attitude found. Doubt is quite common: "Who knows if this story is true!" In some cases informants think they are true events which took place in some remote past time. Cultural incongruity causes no inconvenience. After all, the towns were known to have been ruled by kings in the olden times; land titles often mention their names. And many people agree that the ancients had

538 greater magical knowledge and were stronger, braver, and cleverer than the modern people.

These are the main types of narratives. Animal stories are another common type, similar to the Æsopian fable. They are considered fictitious and are told for their entertainment value. Usually they are funny and meant to make people laugh. When asked for tales (meaning fiction) many informants think most readily of this kind of story. Other types of tales, such as jokes, sexy stories, etc., are less common and are not used in this work as they do not reflect religious concepts.

Religious ideas are also expressed in
771 what in Spanish are called beliefs (*creen-*
538 *cias*): items of lore giving bits of knowledge of the supernatural, as, for instance, omens or the wondrous qualities of certain animals. Sometimes these beliefs treat of a special behavior; for example, the rules about what a pregnant woman should or should not do, or the magical procedures to follow in a technological activity. These beliefs are to some people rules which have to be followed. For many people, however, they are just sayings one does not have to care about. They say, "This is just a belief," meaning "Some people say that, but it is not true."

Thus, folk narratives, an expression of
538 the religious ideas of the people, can mean different things to different people. To those to whom a given tale is a true happening, it has a moral meaning and may sanction a certain kind of behavior. The same happening or tale may be to others an example of how superstitious people are. It will have no moral meaning, sanction, or behavior, although it may be told as an entertaining tale or piece of information.

The religious ideology expressed through
538 such narratives will now be examined at
779 its face value, while the different attitudes of belief will later be discussed.

* * *

The general concepts of Tarascan folklore and religion are those of Catholicism. The Christian God created the world and the supernaturals, including the Devil and the saints. The fundamental Christian concept of good and evil is also paramount in Tarascan folklore and religion. This opposition of good and evil appears in a number of contrasts. Everything is classified as one or the other: God and the saints, the good supernaturals who inhabit

538 heaven, are opposed to the bad super-
779 naturals, the Devil and the demons in hell; the right Religion and the Church are set against superstition and lack of religion; good behavior against bad (sin); the idea of the good going to heaven at death against that of the sinful being punished in hell.

Ethical values are apparent in the rea-
577 sons given for the destruction of the world
538 and the creation of the Devil, in the actions
[779] of the saints in rewarding good behavior and punishing evil, in the acts of the Devil in sponsoring bad behavior, and in the destiny of the dead.

Taking this concept of good and evil as the main theme, we can give an outline of practically the whole, and certainly the most important part, of Tarascan religious ideas. Nonethical concepts are few and of secondary importance. They are mainly miscellaneous beliefs or tales (in which some natural elements are personified), omens, and so on.

Creation stories are not common among
773 the Tarascans. In those collected, the con-
538 cept of good and evil is apparent. The duality of the supernatural—God and the
577 saints against the Devil—is explained as the consequence of the bad behavior of one of the sons of God who revolted against his Father and was punished by being made into the Devil. Insubordination and lack of respect for paternal authority are the causes of this punishment.

In several myths about the creation of animals, the good animals are created by God while the bad ones are related to the Devil. Thus, when Jesus and the children of the Devil play making mud figures,
[825] those of Jesus become birds while those of the Devil become "snakes and lizards, and scorpions and all sorts of bad animals". The coyote was a dog which deserted his master, the Devil.

Most important are the myths regarding
773 the destruction of the world. In these we have a blend of Spanish and Indian ele-
538 ments in which the Indian motives, nonethical in origin, are reinterpreted and subordinated to the Catholic concept of Good and Evil. A number of stories give two destructions of the world. A first one by water is identified with the Christian flood, although it keeps also some traits of the Mesoamerican flood myth; and a second by fire embodies Indian traits but is identified with the advent of Christianity and the Spanish conquest. Some ver-

538 sions, however, give only one destruction of the world, equating the flood with the
773 advent of Christianity, or depriving this last event of its catastrophic character.

Flood stories include a typical Mesoamerican tale—that the survivor of the flood was transformed into a dog because he started a fire. Since the cause of the transformation was disobedience to the Christian God, who had forbidden starting a fire without his command, the story thus becomes integrated with the good and evil theme:

[539] ". . . down came the angel and kicked him once and again and said, 'This is so that you understand. You have not obeyed me.' And the man began to cry like a dog and the angel said, 'You will be a dog and in punishment you will have to take care of the house.' And this is why there are dogs."

Several stories and beliefs deal with the *k'uaŋári*, or giants, the people who lived before the advent of Christianity. The k'uaŋári had very great strength. They built what are now the ruins of pre-Spanish sites, and also are supposed to have built the churches and installed the bells; bells were their most precious treasure. They did not believe in the true religion but worshipped idols and stones:

[539] "The ancient people killed people when they had a fiesta and made a feast over that body. That was their custom. They also killed an ox and then they ate it. They covered it with flowers and there they made their fiesta. With the fat of the animal they made candles which they lit for their idols."

The kings of the k'uaŋári set the boundaries of the existing towns and placed the border stones. Some of their deeds are still remembered. They named the towns, they left their imprints on a number of stones, and made war on neighboring kings. The point stressed in the stories is the destruction of these beings because of their lack of religion: they were "unbaptized humans" or "big devils". In order to put an end to this state of affairs, God decided to bless the world. This event is described in some tales as a destruction by fire, in others by water, in the latter case being identified either with the flood or with the formation of Lake Pátzcuaro.

The stories in which the giants are alive before the flood attribute the destruction of the world to their heathenness:

773 539 "T'aɹésaɹča are the idols worshipped by ancestors, those who lived before the flood. They had no images [saints]; the t'aɹésaɹča were their saints. When God decided to end the world he told Adam and Eve . . . he believed but the others didn't . . ." [At this point in the story the flood occurs.]

Another short statement says:

". . . With the flood the k'uaŋári were extinguished. Don Antonio Siuangua [Jarácuaro's king] was a k'uaŋári. They didn't believe in religion [i.e., Catholicism]; that's why there was the flood. They danced naked and they had no fear of God. I think it was something like those sexy dances they say they have in Morelia or Mexico City where people dance stark naked."

In other stories the giants were destroyed when the world was blessed. Sometimes this is described as a destruction by fire. In some statements God himself came to bless the world and introduce Christianity. In others this task is ascribed to Jesus, Saint James or Saint Peter. In still others, the advent of Christianity was the work of a priest or of Vasco de Quiroga.

When the world was thus blessed, the giants buried themselves with their implements and they became stones, the idols and tools that now come to light when the land is tilled. The reason for their hiding lay in their old religion and failure to accept Christianity:

"They lived in error." "They buried themselves [because] persecuted by the Belief [i.e., Christianity]." "That happened to them because they didn't want to see the blessing of the world."

The more elaborate stories refer to the particular way in which the kings of the k'uaŋári in Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio fled from the Faith to become enchanted in different places. Those who accepted Christianity were saved and became the ancestors of the present people:

"Some people got the blessing from the priest [Don Vasco] while others died alone because of their ignorance. The former are in heaven now while the others are buried with their belongings."

775 The Tarascans firmly believe in man's survival after death. The basis for this belief lies in man's division into body and soul. The soul for the Tarascan resides in the heart, and the word heart (*minzíta*) stands also for soul; while the other words

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaíri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

753 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is
828 about to leave his body. "My heart [i.e., soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of
775 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God,
773 decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

539 those who die in the lake. God told him He wouldn't give him all those, because so many people die like that that there would be nobody left for Him. He would give him only those with great sin. They also agreed that they would weigh those who die in an accident, and if they were heavier than the Devil he would take them; if lighter, God would take them. And this is the agreement they had. All people who die in an accident have to be weighed to see to whom they fall."

773 775 Other stories and statements elaborate further this myth. Two concepts determine this destiny: a mechanical one, according to the circumstances of death and without moral meaning; and a second one wherein the future of the dead is a consequence—reward or punishment—of their behavior in the present world. This last concept prevails.

In what we call the mechanical concept, we include the idea that those who die in an accident (fall, run over by an automobile, etc.), or drown in the lake, go to hell, or have to be weighed in order to determine their destiny. Other ways of meeting death can determine automatically the destiny of the dead person: *e.g.*, death in fights or as result of drunkenness. In this case, however, a moral factor is involved, in that drunkenness and fighting are considered bad or sinful. Similarly, children automatically go to heaven and become little angels. The reason is that they die before they are old enough to commit sin. As one informant puts it: "They don't say *disparates* [obscene, sinful words; swearing] and they have no sins."

As a general rule, however, the destiny of the dead is determined by their good or bad behavior in this world. A balance has to be drawn between a person's good and bad actions to see if his next abode is heaven or hell. A typical statement follows:

[539] "Those who drown are doomed, and also those who die in drunkenness. Those who kill a person are doomed, and the priests do not allow them to confess, except when they take charge of the dead person's children and dress them and look after them as their own father would. Those dead 'in vice' are doomed, too."

The idea of purgatory is not ommon in folk stories and belief, although of course it is taught in church.

[539] "Dead children go to heaven until the age when they learn to swear; they have no sins.

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[539] Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given [778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one [825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand, [735] if one gives alms to beggars, they will speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized, [788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 still alive in town, and one particular man
775 who had been drowned in the lake was there wrapped in a blanket and dead drunk.

In the experiences of revived people, we also find the theme of coming back to the world in order to correct or help correct bad behavior:

[539] "A woman was dead for three hours. She was ordered to come back to this world in order to go to her son who had abandoned his wife and was living with another woman. She was ordered to tell her son that he should take his wife again and only then would he be forgiven and would he be able to reach purgatory. When the woman saw them living together again, she then died."

In another case the dead person has to come back to life in order to have the mass said which he had promised to Saint Francis.

Besides coming back to life, the dead appear to living persons in dreams or otherwise in order to ask them to correct their bad behavior. In one case a dead man appears to his friend and says:

[539] "Doroteo, Doroteo, don't be afraid. It's me, your friend Refugio. Come with me where I have my money. Hidden as it is, nobody profits from it and God does not want to forgive me because of that money which I have like that and nobody finds it. Come so that you can tell my wife and then you can take as much as you want."

The man (Doroteo) had almost decided to go but suddenly he was scared and ran away.

In another case, a married couple had adopted a boy. The man had promised to [428] give him the kitchen as inheritance, but when the man died the woman did not give the kitchen to the boy:

[539] "She dreamed of her husband; she dreamed he was in hell and was taken to be burned. He told her it was her fault, that because she didn't give the kitchen to the boy they were taking him to be burned and that she should give it to him. Then an angel came and arranged the whole thing so he didn't go to the burning because he had repented. 'That's what I dreamed,' the woman says, 'and I think it's true.'"

A similar case is that of the dead bandit who had buried his money. His ghost keeps calling people to take the money and have some mass said for him.

775 An interesting theme is that of the dead
773 who come back to earth in order to return stolen property. The following case is among the most significant, socially speaking, in our collection:

539 "There was a hacienda steward who was very good to the peons. He used to take handfuls of corn to give them, because at that time the people were very poor and he felt sorry for them. When he died he had no sins, so he went right to heaven, because the only sin he had committed was that of giving corn by handfuls to the peons without the permission of his master. God told him that was bad because he gave away the corn without his master's permission, and he would have to go back to earth to account for what he had done.

"So he fell in the center of the hacienda courtyard and he went to his house where he used to live and said, 'My children, here I am come back.' And his wife said, 'O my dear, how right you were to come back; you are the only one I love. Besides, everyone is unhappy around here because now there is nobody to give food to them like you used to do.' But then he said, 'Look here, I came only to attend to this; you should know what happened to me up there in heaven. I came to pay my master back so that God can forgive my sin. This is why I advise you not to do what I used to do but always act like the master tells you. Now I will have to go to the fields to pay my master back.'

"So he went to see his master, and said, 'Look here, sir, I used to take handfuls of corn and beans to give to the peons and this is why I missed heaven. Now you will have to put me to work so I can pay you back. And this is what God sent me to do, to tell you.'

"He was given the oxen and the plow and he spent all his time working. He never went to his home, and he never ate; nobody could see where he was or where he went, and he was always bareheaded. Until at last he fulfilled his debt to his master. Then he went again to his house and said, 'Now my children, I am through with my debts and I can go up again.' He went to a chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and knelt and said, 'My Mother of Guadalupe, I have already paid this debt I owed my master. Let me go to heaven, show me the road, my Mother.' And the roof opened and he rose right to heaven; everybody could see him.

"And this is why they said it is such a great sin to take what does not belong to one."

775 In a similar story, the woman servant who
773 used to cheat her master had to come back and work for him again until she paid

773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

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776 An outline of the nature of the saints
778 and of the main features of their cult has been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

Saints occasionally wander on earth.
776 The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

Tales about the activities of the saints
776 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding
789 the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

539 next day he got up and left. 'Well, the first person I meet, even if he is the Devil himself, that's the man I am going to ask for money.'

"He walked on and saw a well dressed man [catrín] riding a mule. The latter said, 'Where are you going, my friend?' 'There I go, sir; I left my house and I said the first man I meet I will tell my business.' 'Yes, what is it?', 'Well, this and this.' 'Well, man, I'll tell you something. If you give me the individual who comes out to meet you when you come from work, I will give you what you need.' The man thought he meant the dog that met him every day. He said, 'Yes, of course.' 'Then I will bring you the money, but the day I bring it, don't let your wife out. You must be the only one to come out to receive it.' So he went to his house and told his wife he was getting the money.

"Three nights went by, and at the fourth one he heard the bustle and cries of muleteers, 'Ah, mule!' Then they arrived at the house and the chief himself gave him the money. 'Where shall we put it?' 'There in that box.' And his wife was listening and said to her daughter, 'Listen, how much money. I wonder who he is.' So they poured out all the money and they left, and the mules, snorting, threw out lots of sparks. 'Sir,' the man said, 'I will have to have fireworks and have a bullfight, and bring some music.' 'I will bring you the bulls, toreador and everything. I will bring you the music and I will send you a man to make the fireworks for you.'

"Well, that's how it was. The day before the festival, the fireworks men arrived and there they made the fireworks in a minute. The music and the bulls arrived as well. Thus he made the fiesta. He went to the priest to give him the money for the mass, but the priest didn't want to accept it because he didn't recognize it. He saw it was no good. Well, the fiesta was finished and the day came when he had to deliver what he had pledged. The fiesta was over and he was as poor as before. He was sad when the day came. He had a daughter and it was she he had offered. The Devil when he brought the money told him, 'It's your daughter I want, not your dog as you thought.' 'Well, the money is already here, I will fulfill my pledge,' the man had answered.

"The day came and they left. They took the road the Devil had told him. They were on the road when they saw a little chapel. The daughter was very devout. She said, 'Father, let's go see that little chapel. Wait here for us.' The mother was with them. The man sat down and they went to the chapel. There was a Virgin; they prayed to her and the mother said, 'O most Holy Mother, I don't know where my

539 husband is taking me and my daughter. You are the one who should save us.' Well, they felt sleepy and they fell asleep right there in the chapel. And the image stood up and with another image, they both went out dressed as the woman and her daughter.

"They all went to the Devil's house, they got to a big gate made all of iron. They knocked and a servant came out. 'Is the great man here from his house?' 'Yes, he is here.' He went to the great Devil and said, 'They didn't look right to me, those people.' 'Go, then.' They went to open the gate and immediately after he saw them he turned his face and staying like this, back to them, he told the man, 'You should thank your daughter, because she is so devout; that's what saved you. These you bring me here are images; that's not what I had asked you. Go, leave then.' He shut the door and the man left, very thoughtful.

"On their way back his daughter asked him again to go to the chapel. Then the other women woke up and they went out to the father. When they left, the father said, 'Let's go, my daughter,' and they came to the house. It was then when they talked and the man notified his wife how everything had happened and he began to think and think and think, and it even cost him his life so much thinking of what he had done and what he had seen there in hell where he met the devils."

[This is alleged to be true; the informant does not remember in which town it happened.]

* * *

"A very poor man took the cargo of San Antonio. He said, 'Where am I going to get the money?' He went out to ask for money and he met a man on the road who asked him, 'Where are you going?' 'I am looking for work to see how much I can get in advance because I have a cargo.' 'Well, I will give you some money, come with me.' He was a well dressed white man [*catrín*]; he took the man to the cave and there he asked for what he needed. They told him, 'Don't worry. From here you will get the music, fireworks, and everything.' He came in and he saw the cave fixed up very pretty. He came and the music arrived, And the white man asked, 'Will you have a bullfight too, so that I can send the bulls?' 'Yes, we will have bullfighting for two days.' The catrín sent the bulls.

"When the fiesta was over the man went back to the cave in order to work and redeem his pledge, but in the place where he first was given to eat there were some old women grinding dirty things. They had told him he would have to spend some time in there and he thought he would like it. They told him,

539 'The first job you will have to do is to go fetch wood. Put these sandals on. When you wear them out you are free.' And the sandals were made of iron. He left very thoughtful and on his way he met a bearded man who asked him where he was going. The man told him the whole story. Asked the bearded one, 'Well, have you repented? Take the sandals off and go to the wood and when you come back I will give them back to you already worn out.' This bearded man must have been God; He made a miracle for him and He gave him the sandals all thin, so that man could get out very soon.

"The people in that place where they were grinding were the souls of the dead and they were as in hell or purgatory."

[776] In other miracles, God or the saints punish bad actions, mainly failure to comply promptly with the cult requirements. Nonfulfillment of a vow brings about an accident, caused by the saint as punishment. For example:

A man was going in pilgrimage to San Juan Parangaricutiro when he thought he had better go to Tingambato. He fell over a ravine with his donkeys and died shortly thereafter.

A woman was going to visit the Christ in Carácuaro when she felt tired and sat down and regretted having started the trip. She became enchanted in a nearby hill.

Another woman in a similar predicament became a stone when she complained of the trip. Dancers who perform before reaching the saint also become stone.

776 Other miracles punish sacrilegious actions of the sinners. For instance, a revolutionary colonel tried to chop off the head of the image of the Christ of Carácuaro. It bled and the colonel repented, but he became sick and suffered without being able to die until he asked for pardon.

Lack of concern for the saints is also punished. A man obtained wealth from Saint Anthony, but lost it when he forgot about the saint. Another man could not enter heaven because he found no saint to sponsor him, as he had no devotion.

* * *

In opposition to God and the saints, the Devil appears as the bad supernatural and advocate of bad behavior. The creation of the Devil has been mentioned before.

The Devil appears together with a host of demons of which he is king. These demons seem to be those given to him by God when he was created, the doomed souls. The pre-Christian people (k'uaŋári)

776 and some natural elements also are called demons. As there is only one word (*no-ambákiti*, evil one) both for the Devil and the demons, it is used sometimes as if the Devil were omnipresent, and at other times as if there were many different demons.

776 The Devil inhabits hell under the earth
778 where he rules over the doomed dead. He also attends "ugly" places—woods, caves, ravines, volcanos, the places where the
[772] pre-Christian giants were buried, etc. In these places the Devil appears. It is said that in those places "they frighten", because the appearance of the Devil causes fright. Places where the ancient people became enchanted are called *encanto* (enchanted place), and this name is used for all places where the Devil appears regularly at a given hour when music is heard or a peculiar-looking animal is seen.

776 The distribution of souls between God and the Devil has been mentioned. As the
775 Devil gets the wicked souls, that is, those who have sinned, his activities are directed
773 towards provoking bad behavior and thus winning souls for himself. The Devil goes after drunkards. Wherever there are drunkards, there is the Devil. He induces people to drink by appearing to them in human form. Or he persecutes drunkards in order to take them to hell with him, or mixes among them in order to make them fight. Similarly the Devil tries to make everyone quarrel and fight. Experiences are told of how one, while drunk, saw the Devil or how an animal (i.e., the Devil) was seen leaving a place where there was a fight.

Another way of getting souls is for the Devil to take the form of a woman and go after men. Many men tell experiences of this type. Going to see a sweetheart during the night, the boy suddenly realizes she has hairy hands or goat's feet, or some other beastly attribute which makes him realize that it is the Devil he is with. Walking in the streets during the night, one sees a pretty woman and follows her, but at a certain movement sees some of her beast-like features. The Devil disguised as a woman tries to take the man out of town and take him to some ravine or cave in the woods which is the way to hell. To women, the Devil appears as a rich man (*catrín*) who marries the girl, which means taking her to hell.

In these experiences of drunkards or lovers, the victim prays when he realizes

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɕakurin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

Other than those of wealth, most pacts
754 with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witch-
776 craft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

775 The evil dead who go to hell (or at least
776 some of them) become devils or devil-like spirits. This is an important concept in Tarascan folklore. We saw, for instance, how those people drowned in lakes or wells go to hell. Places where such accidents have happened are very dangerous because the drowned "pull people in, and cause canoes to capsize so that people drown". In some cases the water spirits died long ago in the past. They are mythi-
[773] cal characters, like the three daughters of the king of Tzintzuntzan, who were hidden in order not to see the blessing of the world; or the well spirits in the mountain towns, who discovered the springs but were plunged into the water by the people in the remote past. These spirits are called devils by informants, when asked about spirits' nature, and in some stories their devil-like attributes are clearly seen.

When a man has been murdered, a heap of stones is placed on the spot where the event took place. The stone on top of the head is marked with a cross and is called *krús únimiri* (Tarascan from Spanish, cross of the soul). Anyone can put this soul to his service by getting hold of the cross. The cross is taken home and the soul haunts the house and scares intruders away. A soul's cross can be prayed to in order to ask the soul for help in getting a relative out of prison, or finding a lost animal.

The middle finger of a very brave dead
778 man can also be used to put the soul at one's service. The finger placed in front of
775 a door has the virtue to open it, although one has to be brave enough to stand the sight of the dead man who appears on the door sill.

Many beliefs treat of hidden treasures. In one of these it is said that when a person wants to bury money to keep it secure, he kills a man or has one killed by somebody else and buries the dead man with his money. The dead man keeps the money, and frightens anybody who comes along. Only a very brave man could take the money out.

In the case of the soul's cross, the dead man's finger, or the dead man buried with money, it seems clear that we deal with the dead which do not reach their abode and are put to service by someone. In our material, however, this concept is not explicitly given. When asked about the nature of these dead persons, informants

775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.
Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame-devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (a) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (b) be-

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183 havior against the interests of a certain class or institution.

(a) Among the behavior which is considered bad, we find activities which are harmful to the social body in general without regard to special group interests. Thus, drunkenness is incited by the Devil. He leads drunkards to disregard friends and family and to quarrel. The dead as a [775] consequence of drunkenness go to hell. In the same way, fighting is incited by the Devil and both the killed and the killer are doomed.

Behavior against the family and disapproved sex relations loom large under this heading. Rebelliousness against the [773] father (God, in this case) in the creation myths caused the Devil's damnation. Killing the father equally dooms the murderer in one story; and one of the causes for the outbreak of the volcano in Paricutin is said to have been punishment for a patricide which had happened there. Disobedience toward parental authority is also condemned in a prodigal son type of tale.

Deserting one's wife and living with another woman bar entrance into heaven. In a story where a man agrees to lend his wife to a friend, they are taken away by the Devil. Marriage between brother and sister among the mountain spirits occurs in one story, and their son is half snake, proof of his devilish nature. When blessed, they disappear amidst thunder and whirlwinds.

Cain, by killing his brother Abel, caused [773] the flood in one creation story. The *llorona* is the spirit of a woman who killed her son; she is condemned to wander on earth crying for her baby.

Failure to become godparents (*compadres*) according to proper custom is punishable by having to look for the other person after death in order to perform the ceremony. Similar punishment awaits the woman who does not take proper care of her children; she will have to do so after death.

Sex is a powerful bait the Devil uses to trap his victims, although not quite bad in itself. Thus the Devil appears as a seducing woman to draw men into the woods; or when a boy goes to see his sweetheart in the night, the Devil takes her form to catch him. A boy who used love magic powder loses his heart (i. e., soul) to the Devil.

Disobedience to the father, killing the father, deserting the wife and living with

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183 another woman, lending one's wife, marriage between brother and sister, killing a brother or a son, failure to become *compadres* according to custom, not taking good care of children—such are the sins against the family.

Witchcraft is learned from the Devil by 754 selling him one's own soul or even one's children's. Consequently, witches are doomed to hell and all their activities are definitely evil; they make people sicken and die, they ask for the help of the devils, and they deal sacrilegiously with the church.

183 (b) Behavior against special interests or groups, which is considered evil in Tarascan folklore, can be arranged under two main headings: (1) that relating to money and property; and (2) that relating to the Church and organized religion.

(1) All the evil associations of money come out very clearly in the very common theme of the man who sells his soul to the Devil, money being the main cause for his doing so. The same moral is found in other stories: In a number of tales, a poor girl's marriage to a rich man leads only to her damnation. The cupidity of the people of San Juan Parangaricutiro in connection with the pilgrims to their fiesta leads to their destruction by the volcano of Parícutin. The priest who wants to keep the money a boy found and took to him to be blessed is turned into stone. Those who do not fulfill promises regarding inheritance find their failure to do so an impediment to entering heaven.

The bad association of money is thus clearly established. Poverty, work (richness and idleness go together in Tarascan world view), and resignation are the good qualities opposed to those associated with money. "If you marry a rich man, you will not love God; you better marry a poor man and think always of God." Marrying a rich man "you profit only for a while and then you have to pay for it in the other world." For the rich, it is good to give away property. Beggars will speak favorably to God. In the story of the rich man who gave corn to the poor in times of scarcity, God rewards him by making him the spirit of rain.

This censure of wealth and praise of poverty, however, form but one aspect of the attitude towards property. Certain tales clearly stress, on the contrary, the rightness of property, and damnation is brought to whoever dares attack it. In one

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Paricutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the wrongness of anything that is against the 183 Church and organized religion, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People
[773] who lived before the blessing of the world
[172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and
183 folklore primarily sanction the values of the folk culture. They support the family
771 (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The
[776] Devil giving money always appears as a

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well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

668 against the traditional cargo system is
798 again discernible, although this time under the cloak of a more orthodox Catholicism. Thus people are divided according to their appreciation of some cultural institution: for cargos (traditionalist) or against them (agraristas and some militant Catholics); for the Church (traditionalists and militant Catholics) or aganist it (agraristas).

Since the ethical religious ideology sanctions those institutions thus in conflict, let us see how supernatural sanction of political groups is evidenced in folk narratives.

Corresponding to the general anti-agra-
183 rista trend, we find in the tales use of the good and evil theme in order to prove the
668 wickedness of the agraristas. A number of experiences in which people see the Devil take place in towns where the agraristas dominate, doubtless a reflection of the connection between the two evils.

At the time of our stay in Jarácuaro, the level of the lake was falling, leaving considerable extensions of land dry. At that time in Ihuatzio, which is strongly Catholic, an agrarista group was formed to get this land for themselves instead of sharing it with the whole town. News soon reached Jarácuaro that the Devil had been seen in Ihuatzio. The following market day in Pátzcuaro brought more complete news:

[539] "In Ihuatzio they saw the Devil. He came out of the mountains and he crossed the town
[776] through the center. He looked like a human, but had feet like those of donkeys. The people wanted to hit him, but they were not able to reach him. They say he came out because many have now become agraristas. In order to get the land at the lakeshore the town has split."

A similar story is told of another town:

539 "This is what happened to a man from Tócuaro when agrarismo was so powerful. This man remembered an errand he had to do at Pichátaro and he left; this was about eleven o'clock at night. He went down right to the road and there he saw a man on horseback. They greeted each other: 'Good evening.' 'Good evening.' 'Where are you going?' 'To Pichátaro.' 'I am going to Puácuaro. Shall we travel together?' 'All right. Let's go.'

"'Where do you come from?' the stranger asked. 'I come from Tócuaro, and you?' 'Well, I am here and there, sometimes in Tzurumútaro, sometimes in San Pedro, San Bartolo or Puácuaro; those are the towns where they like me best.' 'And what about Tócuaro?' 'No, you don't like me at all; you have there an old

539 man who does not let me in.' [This is Saint Francis.] And the man from Tócuaro did not realize whom he was talking with. So they arrived at Arócutin where their roads separated and the stranger asked: 'Don't you want a cigarette?' 'Yes.' 'Here it is.' And when he lit the cigarette the man from Tócuaro saw his eyes which seemed to be burning, so bright they were. He threw the cigarette away and left. He had only walked a few steps when fright caught him. His hands and feet were sweating and he left the road and spent the night in the open. He did not arrive at Pichátaro until the next day and then he told what had happened to him."

668 776 San Bartolo, San Pedro, Tzurumútaro and Puácuaro are agrarista towns on the lakeshore; the Devil is welcome there. In Tócuaro, however, they are not agraristas; they follow their patron saint (Saint Francis), and the Devil cannot get in.

Similarly, in Tzurumútaro, another agrarista town, "there appeared an old woman who used to talk to men on the street corners. When she left she went to a ravine. She was a devil."

In Huecorio 'the Enemy' (euphemism for the Devil) came out one night roaring like a bull. The dogs went after him and he became a black dog dragging something like a long skin. He appeared one night after the church had been blessed and mass had been said for the first time. This was three years ago (*i. e.*, 1942).

Agraristas are also mentioned in an experience of a man who, having come back to life after being dead for a few hours, reports having seen in hell the place prepared for burning the agraristas working the land in Copujo, Jarácuaro.

In one incantation, the spirits of the agrarista leader, Zapata, and the revolutionary bandit, Chávez García, are mentioned as bad spirits whose help is asked: "You brave spirits, which are now in the other life. Now, in this moment, come to me. You, spirits of Chávez García and Zapata."

In the following story, the supporter of the Church is miraculously saved from the agraristas:

539 "At the time when the priests were being persecuted, there was a man who defended the church very much. Nobody did anything to him; he was not burned nor anything. The agraristas put him in jail. He had spent three days in jail, and they wanted to convince him that if he would go on defending the Church

539 they were going to kill him, but if he did not, they would let him free. He said they had better kill him. So they were going to kill him. They told him: 'Tomorrow we are going to kill you; make up your mind.' And he said he had already made up his mind. It was night. An angel came and opened the doors. The man was asleep and the angel told him: 'Come, then. Get out.' So the man went out after him and he walked through where the soldiers were and not even one woke up. Next day the light broke out and the soldiers went to kill him and nobody was there and everything was locked up tight. Our Lord Saint Peter had left him on the outskirts of Rome. He went into the city and when the call for mass struck there he was. He heard the mass and he told the Pope everything that had happened, and the Pope said, 'Right now in your town they want to kill the soldiers because they did not pay attention. I am going to send word that you are here, not to kill them.' So, they did not kill them."

[668] [823] The anti-agrarista theme appears important in the tales about the Parícutin volcano.[3]

"At that time there were many agraristas. One man from Corupo spoke to a man from Parícutin, to another from San Juan, to still another from Zacán, and to a fourth from Zirosto. They got together and said, 'Let us go and steal the Holy Sacrament.' They went to San Juan and took it out from the church. And in the whole town only one man noticed that the Holy Sacrament was no longer there, but he was afraid of saying so lest the people blame him. He noticed on three days during mass that the Holy Sacrament was not there and at last he told some friends whom he trusted. The agraristas took the Holy Sacrament to Zacán and they wondered what to do with it. They spent some days in Zacán; then they went to Zirosto, and finally they took it to Parícutin in order to hide it. The owner of a land plot there was an agrarista, and he said, 'Well, as you don't know what to do with it, let us take it to my plot.' And they hid it there.

"And the Eternal God said, 'What shall I do with those people? They are the most wicked in the world. I don't know what to do with them.'

"Then the Devil appeared and said, 'There is a way.' 'How?' 'Sure, there is a way so that they shall suffer, but they will not be the only ones to suffer.' Then God said, 'Go then, but let me think it over for a month.' The Devil asked for too much, but at last they drew the line within

3. Tarascan stories about the volcano have been discussed by the author in a previous paper (Carrasco, 1946).

539 which the people had to suffer. Then God gave His permission and the Devil made the volcano at once."

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"In the plain where the volcano burst forth there was a cross which the missionary fathers had buried because there was a danger in that plain. A man from Paricutin was working that land; when he was plowing he saw the cross. He did not approve of it, he called a friend, dug, and took an arm from the cross; he chopped it off. Inside was a golden cross to keep the volcano from breaking forth. They took it out and broke a wooden cross which was on top of the golden one and the agraristas burned it. Then the volcano erupted. They say that because the people from Paricutin were so bad and broke the cross, the volcano broke out. Before the volcano broke out, little figures were seen dancing, city-clothed people (*catrines*), and also four whirlwinds. Dionisio was getting close and felt the earth was hot so he said, 'Now it is going to break out; I better go.' And he heard a noise, *fu!* and smoke came out. When he arrived home it was already roaring."

* * * *

"Once when the people of Paricutin had a land dispute with those of San Juan, a priest had told the people to gather a lot of money and bury it there. So he put the money and on top of it a cross and he blessed it because he said that to him who hurt the cross or took the money out, God would send a punishment. Some agraristas felled the cross with an axe and took the money. Shortly thereafter the volcano broke out. And that is the reason."

* * * *

"The volcano appeared because the agraristas from Paricutin had felled a cross which had Holy Hosts inside. The cross was placed by a missionary father that same year so that no water snake [tornado] would fall there. They felled it and, the day after, the volcano was there."

668 798 538 The political conflict and the agrarista anticlericalism have thus produced an increase in the use of some themes of the traditional religious ideology, namely those which point out the wickedness of the people who oppose the Church and the cult.

On the subject of cargos the folk ideology maintains that they are necessary in order to enter heaven. However, we did not find this belief elaborated upon by the more traditional people in opposition to the militant Catholics who reject the car-

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668 gos.[4] Conversely, the militant Catholics do
798 not seem to use folk ideas in order to argue
538 their stand; we simply find disbelief in the idea that the cargos have supernatural sanctions. These Catholics are supported by their priest who holds the same views.

Full agrarista material is lacking, for our collection was gathered in conservative villages. A volcano story was told by an agrarista from Charapan who had taken refuge in Cocucho. The tale demonstrates belief in religion and clearly condemns fiestas, making them the cause for the volcano, instead of blaming the agraristas as do most other stories. The agrarista policy of suppressing fiestas finds in this story a neat ideological justification:

539 "A bearded man appeared near San Juan before the eruption had started. He found a cowboy and asked him, 'Where are you going?' 'I am looking for some oxen,' he said. 'Well, haven't you seen them where you have been?' 'No, I have not.' 'Well, look here. After all, nobody is going to take them. I want you to do an errand for me. There is a hole back there where you were. Go and step on it and you will find a man. Tell him that I need him.'

"The cowboy went there, but the hole was too small to get into, so he went back to tell the bearded man. 'Sure you can get in,' he replied. 'You just step hard on it.' The boy did so and he sank. He arrived at a big house, where he told the man there what he was ordered to say: 'A bearded man sends me to tell you that he needs you.' 'What is the matter, then?' 'I don't know. I was looking for some animals when he found me and sent me on this errand.' 'Let's go then.'

"And they went out and they arrived where the bearded man was. He said that he wanted this man from the underworld to destroy the town of San Juan before the time came for the fiesta. 'But I cannot do that!' 'Sure, you can. You must destroy the town before the holy day so that no fiesta will be made.' And so they left, and the cowboy left, too, and he found the oxen where the bearded man had told him.

The bearded man was God and the other one was the Devil. God didn't want any more fiestas in San Juan, because the poor people went there and spent so much money because everything was very expensive. Besides, they were robbed even within the Church, and so the poor people were left without any money at all. That's why God destroyed everything."

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4. It should be noted that no particular effort was made to obtain them. Neither, however, was an effort made to get the anti-agrarista motives which so often appeared.

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668 538 Not enough data are available for us to say whether or not stories of this type are as common among the agraristas as the anti-agrarista motifs are frequent among the opposite party. The existing material suggests that such is not the case. Agrarista informants tell the same stories and experiences as the more conservative informants, whose stories sanction folk culture values. Their political position shows rather in the attitude with which they tell the story, one of disbelief.

* * *

771 538 Tarascan religious ideas and folklore sanction the Church and the proper observance of the cult, both in their local (folk culture) and national aspects.

The stories and case histories collected show an abundant use of religious motifs to point out the wickedness of the anticlerical agraristas. Those stories are told from the point of view of the traditional folk culture. The militant Catholics who are partly in conflict with that folk culture also tell such stories, for they attack their agrarista adversaries and sanction allegiance to the Church with which they are closely connected. In that aspect (cargos) in which they oppose the traditional folk culture, they do not use religious motifs except in that they support the priest who denies the need for this activity. Their attitude is one of lack of belief in those traditional ideas which sanctioned the sponsorship of festivals. They, like the agraristas, show a lack of belief in the traditional concepts of folk religion.

The Ideology of the Folk Religion in Decline: Attitudes of Belief

771 The social content of the religious ideology having been examined, we can now discuss how the change in this ideology is expressed in different belief attitudes which consequently involve changes in the meaning, use and function of a given religious concept or myth. We shall find different attitudes as to belief, and we shall try to correlate them with the economic and political tendencies discussed in previous chapters. We shall see how the breaking down of a folk religion involves a change from total belief in the content of the folk religious concepts and myths, towards skepticism, disbelief, and acceptance of outside (national) opinions. This change is not gradual and uniform, but results in extreme attitudes which can be

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771 correlated with the different parties in the political conflict.

In the previously presented outline of that part of the religious ideology which is related to the concepts of good and evil, the material was arranged by the author and discussed as though it were a single body of opinion, attitude, and beliefs. Actually, what any single Indian knows and believes is not so well integrated. In reality there are great differences in the kind of material any one individual knows and is able to supply. A discussion of variability in folklore could be made in terms of individual participation in this aspect of culture; the different individuals' knowledge of folklore could be related to sex, age, status, personality, and other factors. Such a discussion is not attempted in this paper.

One also finds great variability in the
538 attitude toward the folklore material any one particular individual knows. This has already been pointed out in discussing types of narratives. What to one informant may be a true happening which God allowed to take place so that men can learn how to behave, to another is a fictitious story told for fun. What some tell as powerful and true manifestations of the supernatural, others tell jokingly as something which superstitious people do and believe.

These different belief attitudes are re-
771 lated to folk and national levels of culture (particularly in religion), and to the social
668 and political groups described in previous chapters.

We have been describing the change processes in terms of three main tendencies: (1) the traditionalist — following and advocating strict adherence to the values of traditional folk culture, even to the extent of opposing the priest; (2) the agrarista (agrarian reformer)—anticlerical and the most closely connected with policies of the national government; and (3) the militant Catholic. The last, reacting against the economic and religious agrarista policies, but partially in conflict themselves with the traditional folk culture, tend to follow a more orthodox Catholicism, and in national politics, connect themselves with the Church and the sinarquista movement.

In the ideological realm, as to the question of how much people believe in the content of their folk religion, we can also describe three attitudes which correspond to the above socio-political tendencies: (1) Correlated with the traditionalist group is an attitude characterized by total belief in

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771 the folk religion and the content of folk-
668 lore. Most people, however, show a certain degree of disbelief. Among some (2) this goes with criticism of the Church and with the acceptance of the rational point of view taught in school. This attitude can be correlated with the agrarista position in politics. Among many people (3) some items of lore and religion are doubted or dismissed but always under the acceptance of basic religious tenets and of Church authority. The trend is thus towards a greater orthodoxy within Catholicism, by abandoning beliefs of the purely folk level. This is paralleled by the militant Catholic position in politics.

These three attitudes are ideal types in terms of which we describe individual behavior. In reality they are not necessarily pure nor does every individual connected with a particular political tendency have in every way the attitude which we correlate with that tendency. Individual differences are determined not only by political affiliation but also by personality and cultural participation in general.

771 In order better to see the balance of change we will discuss first the traditionalist position. This represents the folk culture point of view of the village community.

In the formal aspects of religion, the more conservative, traditionalist individuals or towns attach greater importance to private rituals like those connected with agriculture or witchcraft. Also, the religion based on the folk cult of the saints is the most important. These people insist on the need to continue cargos and fiestas. They oppose the priests who attempt to change this and scorn Catholics who do not care for cargos. In the field of belief, total belief in religious concepts and tales corresponds to the above attitudes. Cargos are believed to be a way of serving God and the saints, necessary to reach heaven.
[773] Myths are believed. Experiences with the supernatural are told as true happenings and even wonder stories are supposed to be true.

A few examples will illustrate this attitude:

539 Maximino tells how he has seen the Devil on two occasions, once as a woman and another time as a donkey. Once he discovered an attempt to bewitch him and in another case he caught a witch who had taken the shape of an owl. Once a heavy plank fell on him while he was building a house. He became unconscious

539 and when he came to. he tells how he has been dead in the other world but was sent back to life because his time had not yet come. Once in the night he was followed by a ghost trying to harm him. As a young man, he owned a dead man's finger which can be used to unlock doors. He did not want to tell the author the prayer which has to be said in order to use the finger. He did not want to have it published, because then people would use it and he would be responsible for their sins.

He thinks corn should be carefully handled; it's bad to throw it on the ground. "Corn is one's own life. That is what God Our Lord said: It is our Life. Adam sinned because Eve made him sin, and the Lord told him, 'Now you are going to work and sweat; take this adze, this spade, and this seed so that you can eat from your sweat.' When corn lies on the ground, it cries and that is not good. We mistreat it and that is bad, because it is our life, our food. Some people say they earn their living with their work, but that is only because God allowed us to be able to work. Were it not for that we would do nothing."

773 824 This explanation contrasts strongly with the attitude of other people who laugh when asked if it is bad for corn to lie on the ground.

Maximino draws morals from his stories:

[539] A man who tries to reach the end of the world dies very old before he can reach it. This teaches man that he should not attempt to learn certain things which are only God's. He tells the story of the rich man's son who leaves his house to become poor and has to be taken back home by his father. Also that of the man who tries to kill his wife he wrongly thinks unfaithful because of a friend's slander. She survives, dresses as a man, and manages to become king. Then she finds that her former husband, who has repented, has become the town drunkard.

Are these stories true? Of course; "these stories are real happenings which God allowed to happen in order that we might learn how to behave." (Mateo, on the other hand, tells this last story as fiction.)

539 Clemente tells how Saint Peter came to town descending from heaven. No doubt about it; his grandfather saw it.

Agustin tells how the ancients of Ihuatzio were enchanted and the treasures buried in the ruins. A boy had a chance to disenchant a girl and the money, but he failed when he could not carry to church the girl who had turned into

539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found
181 only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credul-
178 ous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

"Who knows, really?" or "Who knows
821 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world,
812 the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

538 Mateo likes to tell long and elaborate entertainment stories. When a myth is not quite believed and becomes entertainment, wonder stories seem to be preferred. Also stories learned in school or read from books are highly appreciated. In Jarácuaro (874 inhabitants) two copies of the *Arabian Nights* were located in the possession of literate informants. Some other informants gave stories from that source, considering it among their best. Some were aware of the provenience of the story, but not others.

Experiences with the supernaturals which express this attitude of doubt are often told. Manuel, after telling of a supposed magician, says, "I wonder if this is true or if they just go around playing the suckers." Not only are some experiences doubted; one hears "false experiences" which ridicule certain beliefs. They cause great hilarity and it is to be supposed that they spread skepticism. Some examples follow:

539 771 A woman once told her brother that her husband had gone to the mountains in order to ask the Devil for money. Her brother thought, I am going to answer. He went after his brother-in-law and he heard him shouting, 'Devil, Devil. I want money.' His brother-in-law spoke to him. 'Come here then.' And when he came near to him, he beat him with a whip and he told him, 'Here you have your money.' The other fellow ran to his house and he was so ashamed that when his brother-in-law arrived he went to the attic.

• • •

A widow asks the sexton if the dead really come back at Hallowe'en, so that she can wait for her husband. The sexton instructs her to wait for him and have ready brandy and other things he liked to eat. In the night the sexton goes to the house and passes as the husband and asks for money and brandy. When he leaves he is drunk and falls asleep on the street. Next morning the woman leaves the house and finds that the man she thought was her husband has not been able to go back to the dead. She sees it is the sexton. "You damn —. This man made a fool of me." She takes a stick and beats him and the sexton runs away. And from that day she does not ask any more questions about the dead.

• • •

A boy's sweetheart gives him some food. He suspects she might be trying to bewitch him and takes the food to BA (the town's best known witch). BA tells him the food is dangerous and he keeps it to bury it. When

771 the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an easy life, that of a sorcerer.'
[539]

This basic trend of change is found in both convinced agraristas and militant
771 Catholics, but there are also differences which warrant a discussion.
178

The disbelief attitude is sometimes pushed to an extreme, including doubt as to
668 religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

These people scorn the others as super-
178 stitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experi-
771 ences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

> ". . . And as in this town there are a lot
> [539] of superstitious people, the following day . . .
> the woman praying the rosary began shouting
> and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of
> [781] blood because Saint Peter had left . . . And
> what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

For the militant Catholics, agraristas
771 are nothing but atheists. They describe them as people who have no religion, as is
668 proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

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influence of the Government and its anti-Church policies.

In another agrarista informant, we find also the attitude that the saints are good but the priests are bad. This Ichan informant, although an agrarista, advised the people to hide the saints when he learned that the agraristas of other Cañada towns were coming to burn them.

The available material suggests that in the agrarista party, we would find among some people (mainly those with more outside connections and education) opinions approximating almost complete lack of belief in God, the saints, and dogmas of the Church, although perhaps believing in witchcraft. Some others would oppose the Church and the priests for political reasons but keep withal a fair amount of belief. This would compare with the existence of both traditionalists and modern tendencies in the Catholic reaction against the agraristas.

The fact remains, however, that among some people the trend away from folk religion goes with opposition to the Church and lack of belief in it. Just the opposite is observed among the militant Catholics.

The dominant milieu in most Tarascan towns — including Jarácuaro where most of this material comes from — was formed in the struggle against the agraristas. This reaction we have described as not uniform but embracing both the more conservative people, who are decidedly for the folk culture values, and the more modern, in part opposed to the folk culture, who have lately come under the influence of the sinarquista party. It is this more modern tendency within the Catholic movement which we will briefly characterize here. In it the folk ideology is in decadence, but, for political reasons, people in this group are strongly religious both in allegiance to the Church and in belief.

These are two extreme positions. It is not possible to fit every individual into one or the other group, as many people are not politically active, and both groups work together against the agraristas. They both favor religion. Differences occur when those of the more 'modern' point of view try to change the fiestas and cargos, and follow the priest who also wants to change the folk religion better to fit Catholic orthodoxy. The position against cargos among leading sinarquistas in Jarácuaro has been mentioned before. This position

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
[782] oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japingua* to operate", *i. e.*, compacts with the Devil.

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754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
778 behind the Church to make a compact with
the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
condemned them together with other devils to
539 go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
storm destroyed the cave. They said many
783 people were seen leaving the mountain; they

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821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

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and the cult is also part of the national Catholic cult, we find acceptance of two kinds of outside opinions. Some people rely more than before on the authority of the Church in questions of belief, while others criticize the Church in the same manner as the anticlericals throughout the country.

With the decline of the purely folk aspects of the local culture and the community's becoming increasingly part of the external world, come the decay of religious beliefs centering around and sanctioning these folk elements, and the growth of national aspects of culture, either through connection with the Church or with anticlerical groups.

To the decline of some local cult forms and of cargos as their manner of organization, corresponds (in the realm of ideology) a lack of belief in folk concepts, resulting in either the acceptance of more orthodox Catholicism or doubt in religion in general.

This is the trend by which the folk culture seems to begin to disappear. But as in the village economy and organization of religion, these trends are not carried to the end. The traditional folklore which sanctions folk culture still has meaning, and evidence that for some people it is still alive is seen in its being used against the disruptive tendencies personified in the agraristas.

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128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

185 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a
177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national
621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

Catholicism, the state religion, was also
771 the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the
[796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government.
794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

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794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

These communities began to decline in
621 the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and
178 tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

The loss of Indian lands to haciendas
423 diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within
182 the Indian communities the economic im-
178 pact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be
[794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a
[735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

The factors disrupting the folk culture
182 are evident in the folk ideology as it con-
178 demns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

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178 greater acceptance of outside authority in
182 questions of ideology. Also the institutions, such as sponsorships of festivals, sanctioned by the folk ideology, were now against the interests of people within the community.

178 The former forces of change led to con-
668 flict within the villages incited by the Mexican Revolution and subsequent agrarian reforms. Different political trends became discernible within the villages and the people in them had different religious aspirations and policies.

Agrarista groups were formed. In Mexico agraristas are peasants who receive land (usually from former haciendas) under the terms of the agrarian reforms. Such groups exist in some Tarascan villages which were close to haciendas, but in the conservative villages studied, agraristas are groups within the village, organized to take over lands which had been lost to outsiders, or which either belonged to larger landowners within the village or were communal property. In religion they aim at abolishing the cult. They particularly forbid the sponsorship and celebration of festivals, for they see in them the cause for the loss of their lands. Consequently the body of officers organizing those festivals is also suppressed. Belief in God and the saints may be kept and folk narratives are still told which express the old local community values but there is a considerable lack of belief in an ideology which sanctions what they oppose, including the Church. Some can be easily convinced by the anti-religious teachings of outside radicals.

In the conservative communities studied, since the agraristas formed a privileged minority, a reaction arose which finally prevailed. This reaction suppressed the privileges of the agraristas, gained control of the local government, and restored the cult. Within this reaction two trends in religious policies can be discerned. One group, which might be called traditionalist, favors following the cult as of old with the earlier system of sponsorships and a revival of the political and social importance of the sponsors within the community. In ideology it correlates with total belief in

178 the content of folklore and this folklore is
668 used to prove agrarista wickedness.

The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church
178 politically. This group restores the cult
668 but the old causes for decline of the folk
771 religion are seen in their policy. They sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

One can see clearly the forces of change
178 which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of
182 sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.

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GLOSSARY

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Agrarismo. Agrarista movement or ideas.

Agraristas. Peasants who received lands under the terms of the post-revolutionary agrarian reforms (usually from haciendas). In many Tarascan villages this term is also applied to peasants who did not receive lands from the government but who nevertheless organized themselves to occupy lands taken from the community or from private landholders.

Alcalde. In colonial times, the mayor of a Spanish or Indian town.

Cabildo. In colonial times, the town council (and perhaps also, sodality council). Presently, the non-official group of cargueros and former cargueros in charge of the ceremonial organization.

Cargo. Yearly office in the religious organization of a town. It usually implies sponsorship of a saint's festival.

Carguero. Person holding a cargo.

Catrín. Person in city clothes. This term refers particularly to clothes but it also conveys the idea of a wealthy non-Indian city-dweller.

Compadres. Godparents of one's child or the parents of one's godchild.

Corregidor. In colonial times, the government official with authority over a city or provincial subdivision.

Ejidatario. Ejido member.

Ejido. In colonial times, the communal pasture lands of a village. Since the agrarian reforms after the Revolution, this term is applied to lands distributed to peasants for their use but with title held in common by the community of ejido members.

Hospital. Originally, hospital supported by a sodality and the sodality itself. This sodality also organized a substantial part of the religious cult and this function became the predominant one. Thus, hospital means today a ceremonial group and its chapel.

Japiqua (Tarascan). The king or owner of an animal species (usually fish or cattle); also, an animal which excretes coins. Often identified or connected with the Devil.

Jefe político. Chief authority of a district during the Porfirio Díaz regime.

K'uzari (Tarascan). Giants, legendary people who lived before the advent of Christianity.

Mayordomía. Office of a mayordomo.

Mayordomo. Originally, steward of a sodality. Presently sponsor of the festival to some saint; also, one of the officers in the hospital. Mayordomo is not synonymous with carguero. Carguero is the general term for religious officer; only certain cargueros are also called mayordomo.

Pindecuario (Spanish from Tarascan). In colonial times, a list of the financial obligations of a village and its officers toward the financing of the Church and its festivals.

Priosta. Main officer of the hospital.

Principales. Originally, Indians of noble status. Today elders or members of the cabildo.

Regidor. A member of the town council.

Semanero. A lesser official of the hospital, serving for a specified number of weeks.

Sinarquista. The Catholic, nationalist party (or a member of the party) which is strong among the peasants.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 1

HOUSES AND HOUSE USE
OF THE
SIERRA TARASCANS

by

RALPH L. BEALS, PEDRO CARRASCO, AND THOMAS McCORKLE

[Title Page]
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., June 21, 1944.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans," by Ralph L. Beals, Pedro Carrasco, and Thomas McCorkle, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 1 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Director.*

DR. C. G. ABBOT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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FOREWORD

000 The Smithsonian Institution published recently Doctor Charles Upson Clark's translation of the "Espinosa Manuscript," which he discovered in the Library of the Vatican.* This work contains the detailed report by a keen observer of conditions in Latin America as they were soon after the Spanish Conquest.

121 The Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology now begins to give an even more detailed account of life and conditions prevailing at the present time among the Sierra Tarascans in Mexico. It can readily be foreseen that not only may this study lead to improvement in these social conditions, but that it will be read by anthropologists of the future with the same type of interest which attracts them in the Espinosa Manuscript.

C. G. Abbot,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution,
June 22, 1944.

*Compendium and description of the West Indies, by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa. Translated by Charles Upson Clark. Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. 102, 548 pp. 1942.

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PREFACE

000 The Institute of Social Anthropology is one of the many tangible responses to the growing sense of a need for closer cooperation and greater understanding between the peoples of the United States and of the other American Republics. It was created within the Smithsonian Institution to carry out cooperative research and teaching in the field of social anthropology as part of the broad program of Cooperation with the American Republics under the State Department's Interdepartmental Committee.

The purpose of the Institute of Social Anthropology is to send scientific personnel to those countries which have expressed a desire to undertake a cooperative program of teaching and research in social or cultural anthropology. Social science methods are developed and a body of important data is obtained through university training of selected students followed by a period of field training in connection with a research project. The field program is carried out by the cooperating institutions, but other persons or institutions with special interest in the project are invited to collaborate, so that advantage may be taken of many diversified skills in subjects relevant to the problems.

Research interest centers in broad, social science studies of selected communities which represent samples of the basic populations of the country in question. Such studies will be thought of as "anthropological" because they principally concern peoples whose blood is partly or wholly Indian and whose culture, though not strictly aboriginal, contains an important element of indigenous practices and is often still organized in native patterns. But the studies are not restricted to preliterate cultures, which is the traditional field of anthropology. On the contrary, they follow certain modern trends in the analysis of contemporary cultures, which they seek to understand in terms of the environmental, historical, and other processes that have produced

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PREFACE

000 their modern content and organization and of the potentialities they contain for future change.

An important part of the cooperative program of the Institute of Social Anthropology is the publication of research results. The publications will serve three purposes. First, the information they contain will contribute to a scientific formulation of the developmental and functional processes of culture. Particularly, it will contribute to an understanding of the formation of modern cultures. Second, the publications will provide specific and accurate data on which any successful action programs affecting the peoples concerned must be based. Third, they will afford an accurate picture of the peoples who constitute so great an element of many of the American Republics. Existing publications on these countries represent them disproportionately in terms of the city dweller or of special classes. There are extraordinarily few books from which the general reader can obtain an adequate and scientifically accurate account of the diversified peoples of indigenous ancestry.

One of the cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela
114 Nacional de Antropología of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. This program involves teaching anthropology, cultural geography, linguistics, and related subjects at the Escuela and field research among the Tarascan Indians of the State of Michoacán in Mexico. The research program for investigations among these Indians had already been formulated and partly carried out in recent years by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in cooperation with the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas of Mexico and the University of California. It is fortunate that the Institute of Social Anthropology will be able to further the work begun by these institutions not only by direct participation in the field research but by publishing some of the results already obtained.

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114 The present paper, "Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans," by Ralph L. Beals, of the University of California; Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, California; and Pedro Carrasco, of México, D. F., is the first monograph to result from the work of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. Future monographs on other aspects of the program will be published under various auspices as opportunity arises.

"Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans" is also the first of the publications of the

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114 Institute of Social Anthropology. Subsequent publications of the Institute will include papers covering the work in Mexico and elsewhere. These will be published in English, Spanish, or Portuguese, and in Washington, D. C., or in the country in which the research was done, as circumstances dictate.

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Director,*
Institute of Social Anthropology,
Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

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PHONETIC NOTE

104 The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of Mexico in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel ʌ is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

ʧ is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
č is the equivalent of English *ch*.
ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing".
ɹ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
ř is equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
š is equivalent of English *sh*.
ʧʰ, *čʰ*, *kʰ*, *pʰ*, and *tʰ* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.
f, *l*, and *ř* occur only in foreign loan words in Tarascan; *b*, *d*, and *g* occur primarily in words of Spanish origin but occur sometimes in purely Tarascan words.

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Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans

By Ralph L. Beals, Pedro Carrasco, and Thomas McCorkle

INTRODUCTION

[p. 1a]

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114 The present paper is the first substantial publication resulting directly from the Program of Anthropological Investigations Among the Tarascans. The Program originated as a cooperative undertaking entered into by the Escuela Nacional de Antropología (formerly, Departamento de Antropología, Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now part of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia), the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. The program provided for the cooperation of other interested institutions, and the collaboration of the Institute of Social Anthropology is a logical extension of the plan.

The general features of this Program are set forth in "The Tarascan Project: A Cooperative Enterprise of the National Polytechnic Institute, Mexican Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the University of California," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla and Ralph L. Beals (Amer. Anthrop., vol. 42, pp. 708–712, 1940). Two short papers based on field research have already been published: "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher (Amer. Indígena, vol. 3, pp. 295–304, 1943), and "Games of the Mountain Tarascans" by Ralph L. Beals and Pedro Carrasco (Amer. Anthrop., vol. 46, pp. 516–522, 1944). Other papers are in preparation. These include "Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals, which will appear as the second paper in the publications of the Institute of Social Anthropology. A number of other papers have also appeared which contribute to the objectives of the Program but which are the

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114 result of work which was undertaken independently. These include: "Tzintzuntzan-Ihuatzio, Temporadas I y II," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 3, pp. 99–121, 1939), and "Exploraciones Arqueológicas Realizadas en el Estado de Michoacán Durante los Años de 1937 y 1938," by Jorge R. Acosta (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 4, pp. 85–98, 1940).

The purpose of the Program is to provide a
121 coordinated and integrated plan of investigation of the Tarascan Indians for the dual purpose of: (1) Making a comprehensive scientific study of a little-known major Mexican Indian group, and (2) providing a body of fundamental data for the administration of the Tarascan area. For both purposes of the study, it is felt that certain non-anthropological studies are essential. As the Tarascans have been a farming and fishing people into a remote past, and since Spanish times began have also been a woodworking and cattle-raising people, a thorough understanding of the environment and its potentialities is essential, not only in order to understand the past and present culture of the Tarascans, but also to provide an adequate basis for intelligent administration. To this end, geographical, botanical, and zoological studies are planned as well as a thorough soil reconnaissance followed by more detailed studies of agricultural methods, problems, and potentialities, together with similar studies of forest, grazing, and animal husbandry techniques. In a similar fashion, understanding of the present population requires the collaboration of medical and public-health workers with the physical an-

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Sierra Tarascans

121 thropologist. At the same time, understanding of the contemporary culture and the processes which led to its formation requires a knowledge of the Tarascan past. The Program consequently includes plans for archeological research to illuminate the prehistoric period and for historical research to determine the events of the Contact, Colonial, and Republican periods.

Put in another way, the Program may be said

[Continued on p. 26]

THEORETICAL Background

The present paper is a frankly experimental effort to reconcile scientific and applied objectives in anthropology. The Tarascan Indians of Michoacán, Mexico, are one of the large Indian groups of that country and so are the object of great concern on the part of governmental agencies devoted to Indian problems. Housing is one of the usual subjects considered in programs of social welfare and, hence, is a suitable topic for discussion from this point of view. On the other hand, the Tarascans are very little known scientifically. Housing, as one of the important aspects of cultural activity, is, therefore, a legitimate subject of scientific study. The problem is whether these two purposes may be combined, either in the process of field study, or in the manner of presentation of data, in such a way as will be useful and satisfactory to individuals interested in either subject.

Interest in applied, or "practical," anthropology has been increasing in recent years among large numbers of anthropologists. In Mexico, results capable of application have long been regarded as one important end of all anthropological research in the country, although it must be confessed that there has been more tendency to consider purely scientific research to be a necessary prerequisite to the adequate solution of practical problems than has been the case with administrators in the United States. In the United States, the growth of interest in applied anthropology is evidenced in the recent birth of a journal devoted to this subject. Moreover, many anthropologists who have been reluctant to concern themselves with practical problems in studying the Indians of the United States, have confessed that it is undesirable and perhaps impossible to ignore the practical problems in such countries as Mexico where the Indian

[p. 2a]

121 briefly to envision a pooling of the techniques of all the various branches of anthropology with those of the other social sciences and the more pertinent natural sciences to the end of understanding the Tarascans and their past and present problems as fully as possible. The Program is anthropological only insofar as anthropology provides the central core of essential studies and is the integrating discipline.

Theoretical
BACKGROUND

question vitally affects the entire national welfare. It would, consequently, seem important to attempt a reconciliation of the objectives of "pure," or "scientific," anthropology and "applied," or "practical," anthropology.

As this paper will attempt to reconcile the two different approaches, a consideration of the abstract problems involved seems desirable. It is obvious that scientific ends in anthropology are often varied in character, but all depend to some extent upon the primary problem of description. It is obviously impossible to discuss anything related to Tarascan housing without first knowing its characteristics. Description, then, necessarily provides the raw data for any scientific objective. The amount of description necessary to any particular objective may, of course, vary, but unless a precisely limited problem is set in advance, the fullest possible description is apt to be of the widest use to the most people. To the applied field, description is likewise necessary. We cannot decide whether a people are adequately or poorly housed until we know how they are housed, what natural resources are available, or are used, and what skills exist for the utilization of these resources. So far, then, we may say in general that description of housing and house use is necessary both to applied and to scientific objectives, even though the amount and kind of description needed conceivably may vary.

As indicated, scientific study may be directed toward several objectives. One scientist may set himself the problem of discovering the history of the Tarascan house type, another may wish to learn the history of the Tarascan *use* of the house rather than the history of its construction. Yet another may wish to know what the functions of the house are within the total culture partly or

121 wholly aside from its use for shelter or storage, or he may wish to study the interrelations of the house and its use with other aspects of culture. It is possible, for example, that houses may represent prestige values or be symbols of status quite apart from any utility they may have. Yet others may wish to study the house from the standpoint of culture change: how changes in houses occur or how they are occurring, the effect of a dominant culture in close contact with Tarascan culture upon housing, and so on.

The foregoing suggests that an aspect of the scientific approach, aside from description, involves in part the setting of problems. However, this is not the exclusive property of the pure scientist; in the applied field, problems also exist or are set up. The nature and phrasing of the problems in the applied field, though, are apt to be different from those of the "pure" anthropologist, although in many cases they may be closely similar. In the applied field, the problem may be: "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" A pure scientist could well ask a similar question, but his purpose in so doing would be different. The pure scientist asking a similar question probably would be doing so in order to ascertain how good a "fit" the Tarascan had achieved in his adaptation to his physical environment. The student in the applied field would probably go somewhat further. He would perhaps ask: "What other type of house would be better suited to the needs of the Tarascans?" In addition, his final question might be either: "How may the use the Tarascan makes of his present house be improved?" or "How may the Tarascans be induced to change to a better type of house?"

Some of the questions of the applied anthropologist superficially seem to be of quite different character from those asked by the "pure" scientist, but it perhaps must be conceded that, theoretically, at least, they are capable of scientific approach. Even a problem involving change in use or type involves, for its successful solution, an understanding of culture processes and culture dynamics. At the same time, it is obvious that the applied anthropologist has introduced the whole field of values in his use of such terms as "suitable," "needs," "better," and "improved."

[p.3a]

|2| It must at once be asked whether these value terms are capable of scientific definition or not.

Before proceeding to the discussion of this point, it should be remarked that the pure scientist also frequently utilizes value terms in his work. Unfortunately, the "pure" scientist all too frequently either ignores this fact or is completely unaware of it. I have already pointed out that, in somewhat different context, the question, "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" could be a thoroughly respectable question in pure science if the objective were to determine the relations of the Tarascans to their environment. Anthropological literature of excellent scientific repute is full of appraisals of the adaptations primitive peoples have made to their environments. Actually, every such appraisal requires the existence of some sort of value standard on the part of the anthropologist. If he is a "pure scientist," however, he apparently considers himself above the necessity of explaining these values or else he takes them for granted. Actually, of course, he is often using "common sense." Other things being equal, a house that keeps its inhabitants warmer in cold weather, most people will agree, is a better adaptation than one affording less warmth. For the "applied" scientist, however, such "common sense" approaches are not permitted. He must make his value statements explicit and justify them.

Once an attempt is made to bring values into the open, the difficulties pyramid. How, for example, is one to determine what is "suitable?" An expression of an ideal on the part of the investigator usually will not be meaningful in terms of the realities of a given social situation. What is suitable housing is not alone a question of adjustment to climate. Realistically, what is "suitable" involves a complex balancing of what may be deemed most desirable taking into consideration such things as available raw materials, available technological skills, economic resources, and so on. It might be perfectly possible to arrive at the conclusion that, under given temperature and humidity ranges, a brick and frame construction with a slate roof, steam heat, modern plumbing, and a bedroom for every member of the family represents what is suitable, but among most Indian groups such as the Tarascans this

121 would be mere fantasy at the present time. Not only would materials be lacking, but there would be an almost complete lack of skills available for the construction; economically, it would represent an unattainable ideal even for the wealthy, and the Tarascans would have no idea what to do with such a house if they had it.

There are not wanting opinions that the establishment of values is entirely too complicated a business to be feasible. This seems, perhaps, too drastic a view to take. Admittedly, it is not possible with our present techniques to arrive at a complete statement, and, for the purpose of the approach to be used in this paper, it is not particularly necessary that we do so. What should be possible is to establish certain minimal standards of value which will be generally accepted and some of which are susceptible of empirical determination. In the last analysis, the decision as to how far beyond the minima it is desirable or feasible to go with respect to the Tarascans is a matter to be decided by administrative agencies in terms of the data which may be presented by research. This is, of course, begging the question of the ultimate establishment of desirable values, but, for the present, we wish only to establish the main categories within which value problems exist. Using these categories, it should be possible for the scientist to present the problems and data in such a fashion as to serve the interests of both the "pure" and "applied" fields.

The following categories of value problems are offered as representing the basic assumptions on which we may proceed:

1. A reasonable number of square feet of floor space and cubic feet of room space per person are necessary to good health. This assumes that good health in the population is a desirable goal, but we must make some assumptions if this discussion is not to be unduly protracted. The amount of space needed should be possible of empirical determination by medical experimentation, taking into account variations in climate, living habits, clothing, and similar factors.

2. The degree of ventilation necessary for health may be determined.

3. The housing should be sufficiently dry to preserve not only the health of the inmates but any furnishings, food, or other belongings kept in the house.

4. If the climate demands, some method of providing heat is needed, conditioned again by clothing and living habits.

5. The housing should be rodent and insect proof, again to protect health and property.

Other factors of a more complex nature could be brought into this list. Any mention of esthetic

121 satisfactions is also purposely avoided. It is hoped that, in the ensuing sections of the paper, it will be demonstrated that data on Tarascan housing can be presented sensibly in terms of these problems relative to costs, materials, skills, habits, and economic resources. Such a presentation should make it possible for administrators to set goals, and at the same time permit the scientist to establish the relative adequacy of the Tarascan adaptation to environment more explicitly than is usually done.

It perhaps must be emphasized that in the last analysis any system of values or goals chosen must rest with the administrative agency or agents, not with the investigator. It is obvious also that these values may be unduly influenced by the cultural background of the agents. Thus, a southern Californian might show a predilection for frame and stucco construction (or, if he is sensitive, a pronounced antipathy to such construction), while a New Yorker might prefer brick, and a Mexican might lean toward adobe or lime and stone. Such problems lie outside the immediate scope of our purpose. Rather we are concerned with ascertaining whether the data may be presented with reference to problem categories in such a way that the administrator can make a reasonable choice of values and a decision as to the means to be employed in achieving them.

An additional question is whether these data may be presented in such form as to be scientific in character and to meet the needs of the scientist in the pure sense. This is really a dual problem. The first is whether the collection of data for the two ends may reasonably be combined. The second is whether the presentation of data can be combined in a single report. It is our impression that the latter is more difficult than is the first. In any case, we believe we are in a good position to make the attempt. Although some of the funds used in the field work were supplied by a government agency, the Departmento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, absolutely no restrictions were attached to their use, and no efforts were made to influence the place or the direction of the study. We also have little direct personal interest in the solution of the problems posed and can have little hope of influencing any administrative decisions on value standards. Consequently, our attitudes toward values or goals should be relatively neutral. With this lengthy discussion of theoretical problems, we turn now to the concrete attempt to put these ideas into practice.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

131 In the 16th century, the Tarascans occupied the State of Michoacán and some adjacent parts of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Guerrero. Today they are reduced to part of central Michoacán, including the regions of Lake Pátzcuaro, Zacápu, La Cañada, and the Sierra. The present area extends from Lake Pátzcuaro on the east to near Los Reyes on the West, and from La Cañada south to Uruapan (fig. 1).

114 This study refers solely to the region where Tarascan is still spoken, and, more particularly,

SCOPE OF
THE STUDY

114 to the Sierra. The town of Cherán is taken as the basis of investigation. Beals and McCorkle spent nearly 8 months in Cherán, in 1940–1941, although visiting other towns briefly. Carrasco spent some time in Cherán in January and February 1941, but spent most of his time in Angahuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Carrasco also spent part of January and all of February 1942, in the field, working especially in Paracho, but visiting extensively in the Lake Pátzcuaro region. Towns visited for varying lengths of time

[continued on p. 6a]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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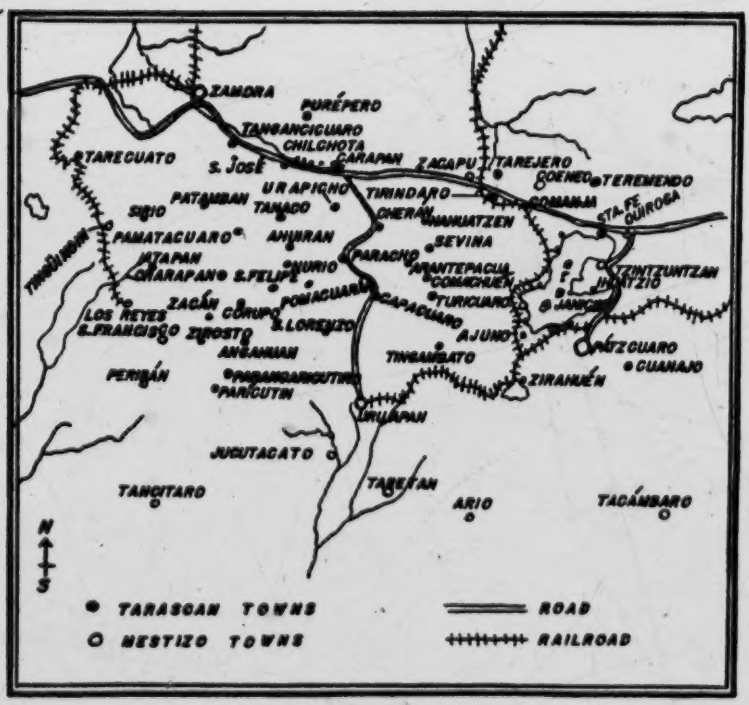

FIGURE 1.—Map of the modern Tarascan region.

[p.5c]

114 by one or more of the authors included the following:

Sierra region:
- Ahuiran
- Angahuan
- Aranza
- Capacuaro
- Charapan
- Cherán
- Cocucho
- Corupo
- Nahuatzen
- Nurió
- Paracho
- Parangaricutiro
- Paricutín
- Patamban
- Pomacuarán
- Quinseo
- San Felipe
- San Lorenzo
- Tarecuato
- Urapicho
- Zirosto

La Cañada:
- Acachuén
- Carapan
- Chilchota
- Huáncito
- Ichán
- Santo Tomás
- Tacuro
- Tanaquillo
- Urén
- Zopoco

Lake Pátzcuaro:
- Cucuchucho
- Huecorio
- Ihuatzio
- Janicho
- Jarácuaro
- Tecuena
- Tzentzénhuaro
- Tzintzuntzan
- Tzurumútaro
- Yunuán

[continued on p. 6b]

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 Tarascan towns tend to be located on level, or relatively level ground. Exceptions are found only in a few villages located in the higher mountains such as Quinseo, Cocucho, and others. Ex-
[363] cept where the irregularities of the terrain prohibit, the towns are subdivided by streets forming rectangular blocks oriented approximately to the compass points (pl. 1, upper). This is undoubt-
[177] edly a reflection of the Spanish origins of these towns; in many of the settlements traditions of former locations still exist. The blocks are subdivided into lots, or *solares*, of quite variable size, which are used both as building sites and gardens. Usually, the lots are fenced, particularly on the side facing the street. Houses either may adjoin the street line or may be located well within the lot away from the street. In the center of the larger towns, structures are more apt to adjoin the street, but the doors of living quarters almost always open on the yard rather than the street.

In the Lake region, the fishing villages tend to
[363] be on the edge of the water. As a result, some of the smaller villages, such as Tecuena and Yunuán, do not have streets but merely paths. Where the ground is very uneven, as at Janicho

[p. 6a] [continued bottom of page 6-b]

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

Tarascan words are written in the alphabet 104 approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most [764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

Two clearly defined types of construction exist 342 in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

342 where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

[continued on p. 7b]

The Town of Cherán **THE TOWN**

361 The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley
133 floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine
[312] afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring 9½ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center.
[135] At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

363 Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north–south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

[p. 7a] [continued bottom of page 7-b]

342 tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo [177] influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

OF CHERÁN The Town of Cherán

361 The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding 363 paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 361 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. 351 The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

The lots are all owned individually. They may 351 be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in 423 various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

[p. 76]

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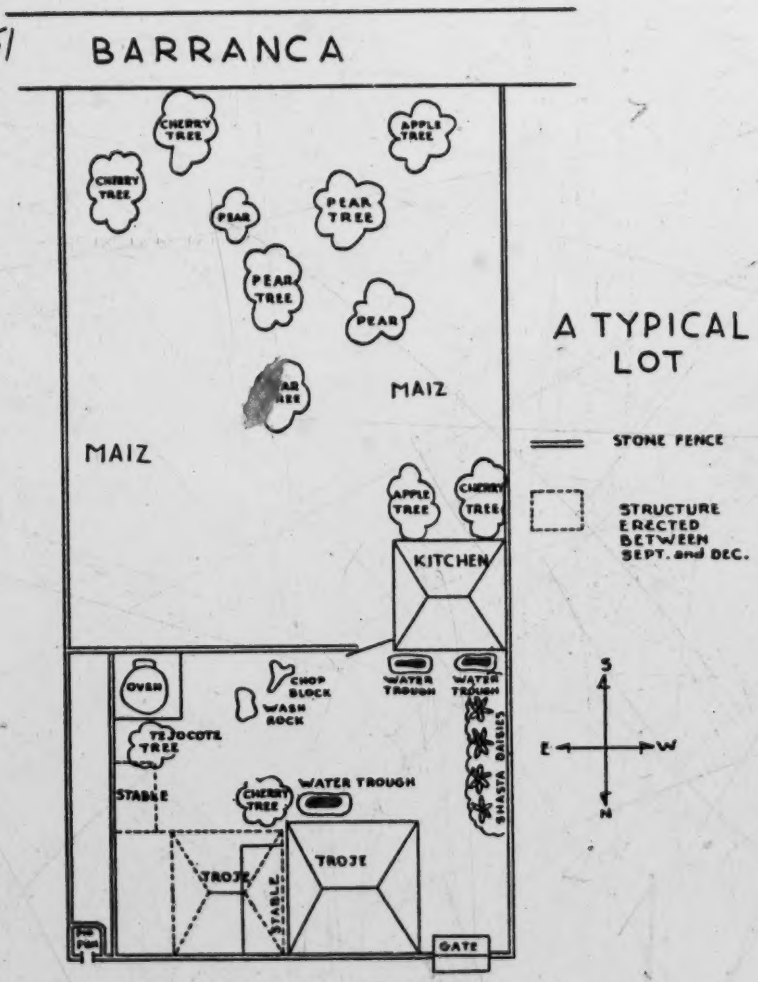

FIGURE 2.—Plan of a typical Cherán lot in the southeast section.

[p. 8]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU84
Sierra Tarascans

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

313 All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
656 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
most entirely on public lands considered to belong
[423] to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort
was open to all residents who had paid a small fee
to an administrative committee. The fee was
used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently,
the Department of Forestry of the Federal Gov-
ernment has restricted exploitation of the forests
for any purpose other than the collection of fire-
wood to persons having permits. In Cherán this
apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut
[474] lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a
local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry
has refused to give permits to any other group
or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activ-
ity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks
and beams. Shake making is even more special-
ized, and men who make shakes may do nothing
else except look after whatever farm lands they
may own. Only a very poor person would attempt
to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if
he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut
poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
137 tinguished, red (iaíni), the heartwood of large
trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or
wood from young trees. From these woods are
made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over
2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or
tablas.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak
wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in
this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or
adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-
handled saw (k'eréri aiákutarakua). Logs des-
tined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the *vara*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *vara* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

[p. 9a]

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

313 by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of
412 poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.[2]

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

Several types of shakes are made. In Anga-
313 huan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches
438 wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (tasámbani sapírati), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (tasámbani iórati), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (tasámani tiápiti), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (irépita).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety
412 of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable
339 earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist
333 climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

[2] A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iauárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought
333 from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[492] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of

[Continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ꞓarímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*"[3] (pꞓéekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*

[Continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "*pulinas*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*ꞓaxtu*).

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

353 Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly fin-
439 ished on the inside and, less frequently, on the
[338] outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

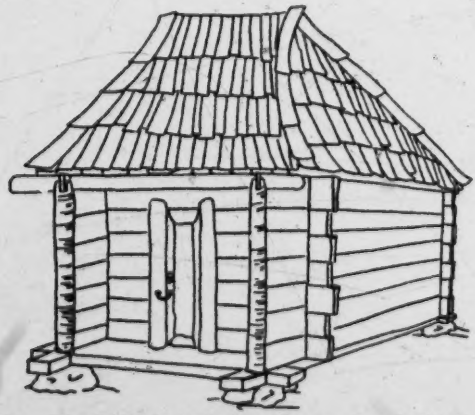

FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la tarima*" (uanájɨukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

343 crosspiece, "*atravesaño de la tarima*," are placed
335 first, then the two remaining foundation beams. The lower beams are notched at each intersection to half their thickness on the upper side; the upper beams are similarly notched on the lower side. Very frequently the front and back beams are notched to receive the ends of the floor planks (fig. 4; pl. 4, upper, left).

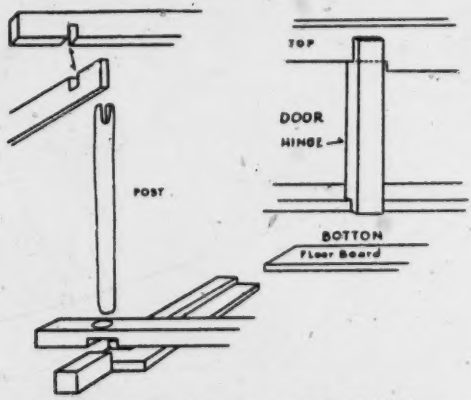

FIGURE 4.—Details of construction of the "*troje*" shown on figure 3.

Upon the foundation beams are placed the floor planks, "*tarima*" (tarújpani) (pl. 4, lower, right). Upon the floor planks are laid one or two more beams, "*planchitas*." One marks the line of the front wall with the door. If there is a wooden floor to the veranda, a second, somewhat heavier beam is laid at the outer edge (pl. 4, upper, right). These beams are morticed to received tenons on the lower ends of the pillars of the veranda and the side frames of the door.

The walls are of logs or, more commonly, of heavy planks set on edge. Both logs and planks are notched to interlock at the corners in the manner of the log cabin of North America and Europe. Assembling planks or logs in this fashion is spoken of as "to chain," "*encadenar*." Two methods of notching planks are used (fig. 5). The number of planks varies somewhat according to the total size of the house. The door is 9 *cuartas* (72 in.) in height, and the front wall up to this point is made of short planks. When four or five planks are in place, giving the required height for the door, the side frames of the door

[p. 11a]

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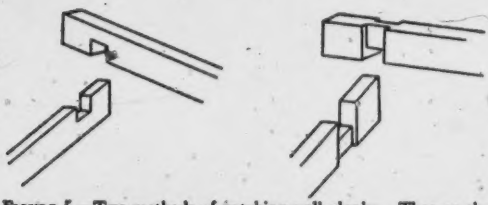

FIGURE 5.—Two methods of notching wall planks. That on the right is more recent and is a tighter fit.

(aŋamárakua) are put in place (pl. 4, lower, left). Each frame has a tenon at the bottom, fitting into a mortice in the "*planchita*," and a groove at the side to receive the wall planks.

Various methods of completing the doorframe are used. The simplest way is to notch the top of the doorframes to receive a long plank extending across the front of the house. Sometimes this plank is ornamented with carving; in this case it may be cut so the lower part is red heartwood, the upper part white sapwood. More often, the doorframe is finished with one or even two special pieces, "*arco de la puerta*" (uiímukua). These pieces are grooved to receive the upper wall planks (fig. 6).

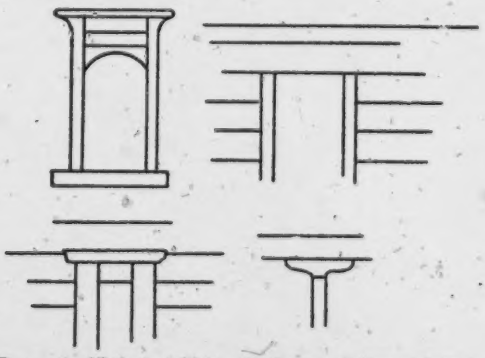

FIGURE 6.—Methods of finishing doorframes, windows, and pillars.

If the veranda is floored, usually four pillars rest on the forward "*planchita*." The pillars are made of heartwood and are usually round but occasionally spindle shaped. Each end has a tenon, the bottom tenon fitting into the "*planchita*" (pl. 4, upper, right), the upper into a capital, *zapata* (fig. 6), or directly into a roof beam, "*arco del portal*" (uanárukua). If no capital is used, the roof beam is often carved into an arch between

[p. 11b]

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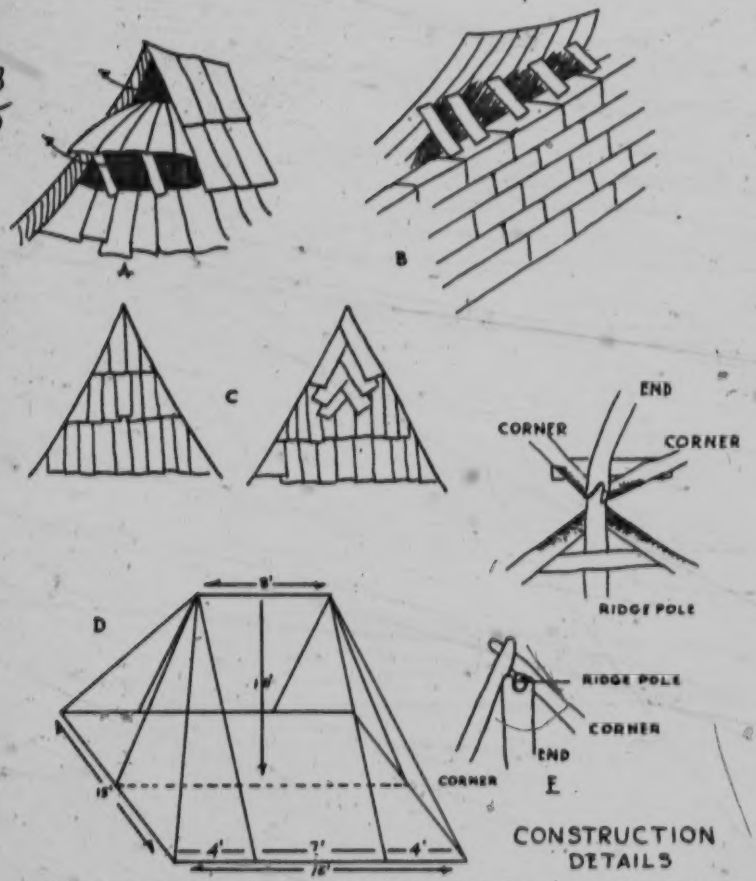

FIGURE 7.—Details of roof construction. *a*, Vent in roof of kitchen; *b*, lean-to kitchen built against an adobe wall with ventilation arrangement; *c*, two ways of finishing shakes at apex of an end roof section; *d*, arrangement of rafters in a small Cherán house; *e*, joining of rafters and ridge pole viewed from outside roof frame; and (above) same seen from inside roof frame.

[p. 12]

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335

each pillar. In any case, carved ornamentation is common, often covering roof beam, capital, and even the upper part of the pillars (pl. 5, lower, right). The pillars at each end of the veranda usually have a groove to receive the ends of the side-wall beams.

The topmost two wall planks and the beam above the pillars are usually one *vara* longer than the others, and the ends are cut into a curve and often carved. In addition, a special carved piece of red heartwood called a "*cornisa*" may surmount the usual wall.

The top of the wall and the beam supported by the pillars in front of the veranda must now be carefully leveled again. A morticed cross beam, "*atravesaño del tapanco*" (uanáoekua), is generally placed in the middle of the room at the top of the walls. The ceiling is laid directly over the tops of the walls, and wooden pins attach the two outer planks to the walls. As the ceiling serves as the floor of the attic, the planks are usually of the same thickness as the lower floor. In one corner, almost always over the veranda, but occasionally inside the room, an opening is left to provide access to the loft or attic.

Upon the "*planchas*" is erected the frame of the roof. First are placed the "*tijeras*" (jauárakua) consisting of pairs of fir poles about 1½ *varas* apart. Half of the upper end of each pole is cut away, and the two are nailed together or, more commonly in Cherán, they are fastened with a wooden pin. The lower ends rest in sockets cut in the "*planchas*." Two pairs of rafters are now leaned toward each other and fastened together. Usually, three groups of rafters of four each are used. At each end of the house another rafter is now placed with a deep notch in the upper end. Within this notch is fitted a ridge pole (fig. 7, *d*, *e*). For further strength, pairs of rafters may be braced by crosspieces nailed to them below the apex of the roof.

In other towns the ridge pole is not used (pl. 5, lower, left). Additional smaller rafters may also be added after the main framework is erected, but in Cherán the house normally has 14 rafters of equal size, 3 groups of 4 and 1 at each end supporting a ridge pole.

Stringers, "*fajillas*" or "*costillas*" (látasa), are fastened horizontally to the rafters. The distance apart depends upon the length of shakes used. Nails are ordinarily employed now to fasten the

[p. 13a]

343 stringers, but wooden pegs (tarúju) of pine heart-
335 wood or wild crabapple, or string of maguey or
[824] bark fibers, may be used. The method of attachment is such that each shed of the roof is a separate unit and, by removing the wooden pins, may be lifted off intact in case it is desired to move the house to another location (pl. 5, upper, right). The stringers are crudely made with ax or saw. They are not measured, but after fastening, any surplus length is cut off.

The shakes are laid in two layers with the thick sides facing in opposite directions (fig. 8). They

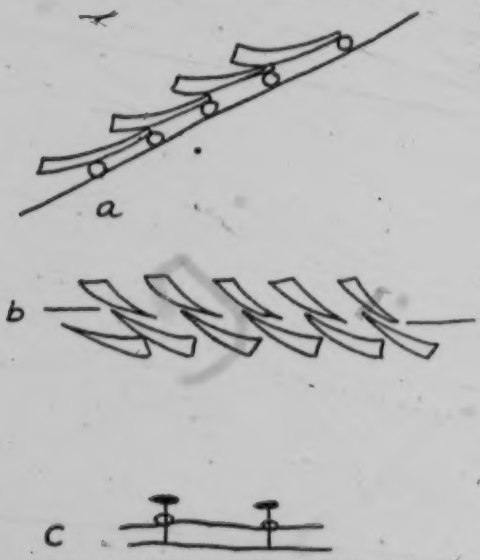

FIGURE 8.—Methods of attaching and laying shakes.

are fastened down now usually with 2- or 3-inch nails. However, they may also be fastened with
[824] small pins (piréna) of red-pine wood, or, preferably, of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. If pins are employed, a hole is made with an awl. The shakes must be put on while green; otherwise splitting is excessive. If it is necessary to use old shakes, they are first soaked in water.

In addition to the above methods, shakes may be held in place by long thin strips of wood placed on top of the shakes. Stones are placed on the wooden strips at intervals. This method is rarely used now on houses, where the steep pitch of the roofs makes it rather insecure, but it is common on the roofs of sheds and stables and is not infre-

[p. 13 b]

343 quent on the roofs of kitchens. If the much
335 inferior pine shake is used, the nails usually are not driven all the way in and a length of wire is run from one nail to another, a turn being given about each nail (fig. 8, *c*). This may be done with fir shakes also, in which case the nails are driven all the way in after wiring.

The door is usually carefully made and is bought from a master carpenter. The hinges and latch are usually of metal, although the hardware may be crude. If a well-made door cannot be afforded, however, the door may consist merely of loose upright planks fitting in grooves at top and bottom.

A hinged trapdoor is placed in the opening to the loft. This is usually a well-built door bought from a carpenter and fastened by a stout padlock. A ladder gives access to the door. Sometimes the ladder is a notched log (kékua).

Thirty days is considered the minimum construction time for a house.

343 Some further general comments on houses, or
531 "*trojes*," may be made. Houses with carved ornament are called "*trojes labradas*." The parts
335 decorated may include the beam over the front pillars, the piece over the door, capitals, the upper part of the pillars, and "cornices," or special pieces along the upper walls. A "*troje labrada*" usually is carefully made throughout. Undecorated houses, "*trojes lisas*," may be made crudely with only ax and adze as tools. Small "*trojes lisas*" are virtually the only ones to lack a veranda. Occasionally, heavy planks are not used for the ceiling. Instead, light boards are laid over several cross beams, which also support the "*planchas*," or frames, holding the roof.

343 The size of the "*troje*" is taken from the length
335 of the rear wall. Other dimensions vary according to table 1. Lengths in the table are in *varas*.

TABLE 1.—*Proportions of the houses, or "trojes"*

Length of long side	Length of short side	Height of wall	Rafters	Length of rafters	Shakes
Varas	*Varas*	*Varas*	*Number*	*Varas*	*Number*
5	4½	2½	14	5	400
6	5½	2¾	14	4½	500
7	6½	3	14	5	1,000
8	7½	3	18	6	1,300
9	8	3½	18	6	1,800

[p. 14a]

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

493 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
[602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

343 A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The
342 simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína
335 tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (aʋájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

[p. 14 b]

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A KITCHEN

FIGURE 9.—Kitchen of simpler style (kosína tórueri).

wall planks or boards. The side-wall planks run horizontally, while those at the two ends are vertical, resting in grooves cut in the foundation beams or made by strips of wood nailed to the beams. The door is in one end (center of a short dimension of the structure) and is framed in the same manner as is the house door.

The tops of the corner posts are notched to receive two "*remates*," planks longer than the planks of the side wall and forming the top of the side walls. The vertical planks forming the front and back walls fit into grooves cut in rectangular rafters supported by the corner posts.

If the roof has no ridge pole, the frame is formed by pairs of rafters resting on the top planks of the side wall and joined together at the top. To the rafters are fastened stringers to which the shakes are nailed. In case a ridge pole (uanájpikua) is used, it rests in notches cut in triangular pieces cal d "*burro*" or "*zoquete*" which are placed above the door and the center planks of the rear wall. The rafters then rest on the ridge pole and the top planks of the side wall. Such a kitchen takes about 15 days' labor to build.

In "*cocinas de horcon*," four square posts (ašáma) are set in the ground. Construction of the walls then proceeds in the fashion described above. This type of kitchen always has a ridge pole which is supported by two additional posts, one at each end. The door necessarily is at one side, not in the center as is usual in the "*cocina*

[p. 15a]

342 *de pie derecho.*" Both types have an earthen
335 floor.

The above types are by far the most common and constitute the actual dwellings of the great majority of the Tarascans. Many variations from the described types occur due to differences in the skill of the builders and the economic resources of the owners. Dimensions vary according to table 2.

TABLE 2.—*Relative dimensions of kitchens in varas*

Short side	Long side	Height of wall	Length of rafters	Number of shakes [1]
4	4½	1½	3	600
5	6	1¾	3¼	1,000

[1] This figure applies if a double layer of shakes is used; often only one layer is used, in which case the number of shakes is halved.

The more elaborate of the two types with its foundation beams, morticed corner posts, and roof without ridge pole, is said to be relatively modern. Formerly, no foundation beams were used; the corner posts were set in the ground, and a ridge pole was always present. The stringers were fastened to the rafters with wooden pins, while the shakes were fastened with wooden nails. Another way of fastening the shakes was to let the stringers project. Another stringer was then laid on the top of the shakes and the two tied together at the ends. Alternatively, the upper stringer might be held down with rocks.

Another and better type of kitchen is known as trója kosína or kosína uirípiti (round kitchen),[4] and more closely resembles the house, or "*troje.*" The ground plan is square. The construction differs from the "*troje*" in only a few details. There is no loft and no veranda (pl. 6, upper, right). Two horizontal planks are morticed into the rear of the side walls and extend across the back of the kitchen to form two shelves. These shelves often occur in simpler kitchens, too.

The absence of the loft floor requires some change in the roof frame. Resting upon the uppermost planks of the wall are several cross beams. The simplest way is to place three beams running from front to back, one in the center and

[4] The term round is also applied to a type of square house (see p. 17). After much questioning, Carrasco was told the term round is used because the structures are square rather than rectangular. This sounds like a rationalization. Round houses probably occurred anciently, although apparently they were not common (see p. 33).

[p. 15 b]

342 one over each side wall. Upon these are placed
335 the "*planchas*," and construction of the roof proceeds as in the "*troje*." In other cases, four squared beams are used. Two run from front to back, while two shorter beams run from the middle of each side wall to the nearest long beam (fig. 10). The "*planchas*" again rest on these. As in the "*troje*," the roofs have four sheds. A ventilator may be built in one shed (fig. 7, *a*, *b*).

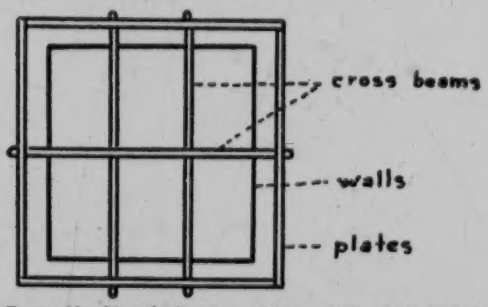

FIGURE 10.—Plan of ceiling in an elaborate kitchen (trója kosína).

The floor of these "round" kitchens is usually of earth owing to the character of the fireplace. In Paracho, however, a raised fireplace, called a "*chimenea*" (fig. 12), permits a wooden floor. Two additional foundation beams are placed as in figure 11. A wooden floor is then laid, leaving a space one meter square open for construction of the fireplace.

This type of kitchen varies from 4 to 7 *varas* in its longest dimension. As in the house, the topmost wall planks and the "*planchas*" are a *vara* longer than the other wall planks.

Although the kitchens, particularly the simpler type, are relatively inexpensive, they still may cost more than a man may be able to pay. In this case, he may construct one without the services of a carpenter. As a result, one sees all sorts of approximations of the types described. Perhaps most common is a structure in which the roof is supported by four posts set in the ground and the walls filled in with any convenient material—planks, lumber fragments, old shakes, and so on. A lean-to against a wall may also be used (fig. 7, *b*).

In Angahuan, and to a lesser extent in Paricutin and San Juan Parangaricutiro, storehouses (called úmutakata in Angahuan) are built on four posts some two meters (6 ft.) in height. Often these

[A16a]

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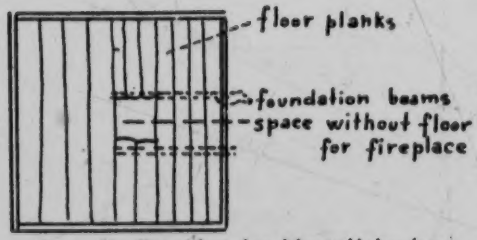

FIGURE 11.—Plan of floor of an elaborate kitchen (seen only in Paracho).

structures are at the entrance to the lot, but may also be inside (pl. 6, middle (right) and lower (left)). Two beams connect pairs of posts and a floor of planks is laid across these. Upon the planks rest four "*planchas*," supporting a roof similar to that of the "*troje*." The entrance is either through the floor or one of the gable ends. The floor plan is always rectangular.

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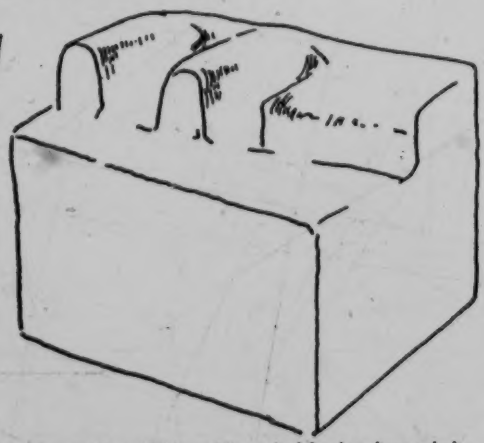

FIGURE 12.—A "*chimenea*," or raised fireplace (seen only in Paracho).

In Angahuan, the lower part of these structures is often walled and the structure then serves the function of a "*troje*." Often the walls are made simply of shakes or old boards, but sometimes the posts rest on foundation beams and the wall planks are well fitted (pl. 6, lower, center). In this case, the floor plan is square and, except for this, the structure is a "*troje*." Such square structures have a wide distribution and are called "*trojes*" in some towns, such as Paracho, but in Parícutin

[p. 16 b]

9/2 they are called round houses (k'utá uiípiti). The
935 latter term is known but not used in other towns.

In Capacuaro occur storehouses, called "hacal" (uaktáli), made of four walls of interlocked logs or planks with a simple roof of two sheds (pl. 6, lower, right). In some other towns, the same type is made in the fields. The structures are used to store wheat before threshing or to store straw for animals.

Occasionally, houses built on the edge of the street have the street wall of stone or stone and adobe, while the remaining walls are of wood.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada towns, a few old "*trojes*" are found. They resemble those of the Sierra but, except for two cases in Janicho, the roof is different. At either short end a triangular structure of adobe, "*capiesyo*," is erected on the wooden walls and sustains a ridge pole. Rafters run from the ridge pole to the "*planchas*," or plates, in front and back. Stringers attached to the rafters support a roof of either shakes or tile (pl. 6, middle, left).

ADOBE-AND-MASONRY HOUSES

9/2 In its simplest form, the house with walls of
333 stone (*ŧanŧákata*), "*casa de pared*," or stone and adobe, has one rectangular room with the door on one of the long sides. Occasionally, houses of more than one room are encountered or even of two stories. The latter seem very recent and commonly belong to Mestizos.

Masonry is always used as the foundation, "*relleschido*," of an adobe wall. In some cases,

[p 17a]

342 masonry is used to complete a wall; in others,
333 the upper part of the wall is completed in adobe brick. In the latter case, the stonework wall is carried up at least half a meter (20 in.) above ground level.

Masonry is always extended about 50 cm. (20 in.) below the ground surface, whether used only as a foundation or for the complete wall. The
[316] stone used is the volcanic tufa brought from a nearby cinder cone The walls are usually about 50 cm. (20 in.) in thickness. Larger stones are set with relatively flat faces outward. The flat faces will be dressed if this is imperative but no other shaping is done. To fill in irregular spaces in the wall face, stones of proper shape with one flat face are sought in the pile of materials. Small stone spalls are also employed abundantly to fill in any spaces between rocks. The mortar is of adobe mud mixed with animal dung, and the central part of the wall is filled in with irregular rocks and considerable quantities of mortar.

If the upper part of the wall is to be of adobe bricks, these also are laid in adobe mortar (fig. 13). Two sizes of brick are employed; the larger size results in a somewhat thicker wall. The mortar is the same as that employed for masonry. In the Sierra and on those islands in Lake Pátzcuaro where adobes are not made, the stone base is usually higher than elsewhere.

In construction, a professional mason is employed. He erects a frame to which strings are attached to keep the wall straight. He also uses a plumb line to keep the wall vertical. A trowel

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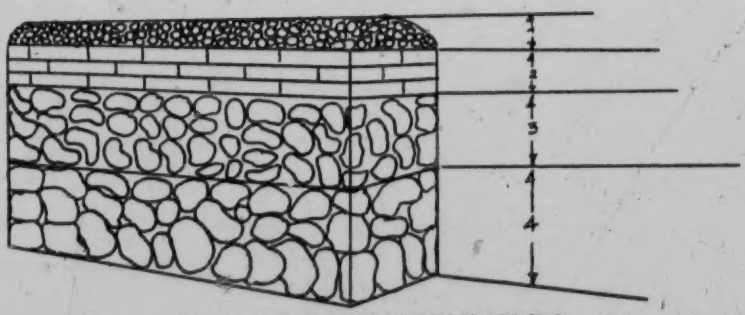

FIGURE 13.—Well-made masonry and adobe-brick wall in Cherán.

[p. 17c]

342 and a hammer are the other needed tools. As the
333 wall increases in height, a crude scaffolding is erected, usually on each side of the wall, and the mortar is placed on a small portable platform of planks (pl. 7, upper, left [5]).

Adobe-brick walls are frequently finished with
[338] a coating of adobe plaster, plentifully mixed with animal dung if the wall is to be used for a house. Somewhat less frequently, a lime-plaster coating is used to cover the wall.

In Cherán, usually only front and side walls of
342 houses are made of brick or masonry. The back
335 wall, and sometimes one side wall, will be of upright planks fitting into grooves in horizontal beams at top and bottom. Doors have door-jambs of stone and the doorposts rest on a stone base with a mortice to receive a tenon on the lower part of the post. A lintel at the top is morticed to the doorposts and extends beyond them on either side, being surrounded by masonry or bricks and supporting the wall if it continues above the door. Windows are made in the same way, but no stone is used.

Upon the leveled tops of the wall are laid wooden plates, or "*planchas*" (in this case also called "*plantillas*"). Across these are square joists, extending 2 or 3 feet beyond the walls. The ends are ornamentally carved. Across the ends of the joists, a second plate is sometimes laid and fastened to the joists with wooden pins, which sometimes pass through the joists and extend below them. The rafters are set into sockets

[5] The making of adobes and tiles will be described in another paper.

342 in this plate, or may be pinned directly into
335 sockets in the joists. The frame consists of a ridge pole supported by pillars from the walls and joists. The rafters are in pairs resting on the ridge pole. In large structures with tile roofs, additional pillars or braces may support the rafters (pl. 7, upper, right). The ends of the gable roof thus formed are usually closed with shakes. Sometimes a floor is laid over the joists to form a loft. Yet another common variant is a shake roof with four sheds similar to the roof of the "*troje*" (pl. 7, lower, left).

The wide eaves of this type of house usually extend to the edge of the sidewalk, a very convenient arrangement in a rainy country, although the purpose probably is to keep moisture away from the walls. No other feature so strikingly sets off the architecture of central Michoacán from that of the remainder of Mexico than do these wide eaves (pl. 8, left). Structures fronting on the plaza often have a corridor with supporting pillars.

342 Many structures of masonry and adobe brick
[177] are approximating Mexican architecture in their ground plans, particularly if they are of any size. Usually two or more large rooms front on the street. A large entry way with double front doors, wide and high enough to permit the passage of animals, usually will be between two of the rooms. On the side facing the inner yard, there is a wide earth or brick-floored veranda (fig. 14). Doors and windows may open on both the street and the yard. Floors of such structures

[p. 18b]

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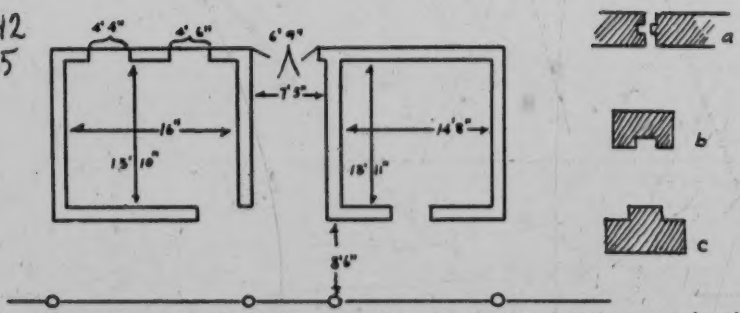

FIGURE 14.—Plan of house of Pedro Chávez, Cherán. Combination masonry and wooden walls. *a* shows tongue-and-grooving of vertical plank walls. *b* and *c* show notching of beams at top and bottom to receive wall planks, and (*c*) floor planks.

[p. 18c]

342 occasionally are of brick or cement but ordinarily are of wooden planks. There is also usually a kitchen of wood in addition to the masonry-adobe structure. The latter is more difficult to maintain in order and there is a reluctance to smoke up the interior.

Certain customs connected with the erection
423 of masonry-adobe walls should be mentioned.
333 Often a division wall is erected between the forward part of two lots which may later be used as a house wall by either or both lot owners. If the cost of such a wall is shared, half the wall rests on the land of each owner. As frequently happens, however, one householder pays all the cost. In this case, the entire width of the wall is on the land of the person not contributing money. The latter, however, may use the wall as part of a house wall at any later time.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions,
342 house walls are almost always of adobe on a low
333 stone-masonry foundation. Usually the houses
335 have a veranda or corridor. The walls are erected as described. Five heavy planks then serve as plates, "*planchas*," one on top of each wall and one supported by pillars at the outside of the veranda. Sometimes there are capitals, *zapatas*, between the pillars and the plate. The plates at the two sides extend from the wall to the pillars, or the side walls are extended to the edge of the corridor. In this case, no corner pillars are needed (pl. 7, lower, right).

Upon the plates on the two shortest walls is erected a triangular adobe structure, "*capisayo*" (kenzéjtakua). Across the other plates are laid joists, in the more elaborate structures extending well beyond the rear wall and edge of the corridor, and carved at the ends. If the joists do not extend beyond the wall and corridor, the plates on the short sides may go only from the outer edge of the corridor to a point part way to the opposite side of the house. In this case, the "*capisayo*" may be partially an upward extension of the house wall.

If the loft space is not used, shakes may be
342 laid on the joists to form a ceiling; often this is
335 done only over the veranda. Alternatively, a plank floor may be laid.

Should the house lack eaves, two heavy planks, "*pisos*," are placed on the ends of the joists. Upon these rest the rafters. If the eaves pro-

342 ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, sup-
335 ported by the adobes of the "*capisayo*," and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*piso*," the upper by a ridge pole (pirijtakua in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito*," or "*zoquete*," forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-
[171] and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

351 Supplementary structures consist of fences,
333 gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called sérka. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (uatótakua)
351 are employed to divide lots, or especially in the
335 outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called tirindikua.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

[p. 196]

351 are connected by a piece of wood at top and
335 bottom. Almost invariably they have a small gable roof (úmutakata in Angahuan, the name of the storehouses on posts already described). Two pieces are supported by the gate posts at right angles to the gate. The ends of these are connected with two pieces which support rafters. Construction is like that of a gabled house roof in miniature. Sometimes a light floor is laid, and the space is used to store maize husks for tamales or some similar, not very valuable, material. The gate roofs keep the gate from rotting or warping from rain. They are an inevitable part of the Tarascan landscape and may be seen sometimes in open fields over the entrance to the field even though there be no gate (pls. 3, right; 7, lower, left). In the Lake region, they are roofed with tile, a practice sometimes seen elsewhere (pl. 7, middle, right).

In some cases, however, simpler constructions are used. The gate may simply be upright planks resting in a groove at the bottom and held by cord loops at the top. In the fields, gates are often made by planting two posts with holes chopped in each to receive bars. Such gates are sometimes seen in town also. They are called "*agújas*" in Cherán, but in Parícutin they are called jarášurita.

[continued on p. 20b]

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 While a high degree of specialization is characteristic of the Tarascans in comparison with most primitive people, such a term is always relative. Actually almost any man in Cherán is first of all a farmer; only landless men, which means also poor men, are not farmers. Probably most Cherán men are fairly skilled with an ax, sufficiently so to do a reasonably competent job felling a tree, trimming poles, cutting fence posts or ties, and hewing out rough timbers. On the other hand, to make a living at woodworking occupations requires more skill and speed than would be possessed by many men. In the same way, any man might do a fair job of building a dry-stone field wall, but he would not be as fast as a specialist, nor could he put up a masonry wall or lay adobe bricks in a fashion that would meet Cherán standards of fitness. Nevertheless, these facts make an absolutely correct assessment of the

[p. 20a] [Continued bottom of page 20b]

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestoña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

354 In some house yards there are large domed
[427] ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND
DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

[p. 206]

463 specialists. The situation in other Sierra towns is similar. In the Lake region as well, nearly every one can make adobes and erect a house of sorts, but good work requires a specialist.

000 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually em-

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 No complete survey of construction types has
184 yet been made but some general data are available. It is clear that many fundamental features of the architecture extend through not only large areas of the Tarascan country but also into adjoining regions settled by Mestizos. The type of masonry construction with tile or shake roofs and wide overhanging eaves extends far beyond the limits of Tarascan settlement, and the wide eaves are characteristic of even such a town as Morelia, the State capitol. In general, the higher, more heavily forested areas from at least as far west as Tingüindin to near Morelia show a predominance of wooden construction, usually with shake roofs. The lower and, in some instances, drier regions show a predominance of masonry-adobe structures with tile roofs and wide eaves. In some cases, shakes replace tile as roofing material. Distribution of the wide-eaved masonry-adobe style extends beyond the present Tarascan boundaries. It ends sharply west of Zamora, and it disappears east of Morelia.

The following tabulation shows the present

335 465 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually employed on a contract basis. Often the carpenter employs a helper. In addition to their pay, the carpenter and helper are given their food. Adobe or stone structures are also built under contract, but in this case the workmen are not fed.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 184 known distribution of types within Tarascan boundaries:

Mostly wood	*Mostly masonry-adobe*	*All masonry-adobe*
Ahuiran	Cuanajo	Cucuchucho
Angahuan	La Cañada (all towns)	Huecorio
Arantepakua	Puacuaro [2]	Ihustzio
Aranza	Tarecuato	Janicho
Capacuaro	Uruapan [1] [2]	Jarácuaro [2]
Charapan	Zacápu [1]	Naranja
Cherán	Zamora [1]	Pareo
Cocucho		Pátzcuaro [1]
Corupo		Quiroga
Nahuatzen		Santa Fé
Nurió		Tarejero
Paracho		Tecuena
Parangaricutiro		Tiríndaro
Parícutin		Tzentzénhuaro
Patamban		Tzurumútaro
Pomacuarán		Yunuán
Quinseo		
San Felipe		
San Lorenzo		
Sevina		
Tucutacato		
Tingüindin		
Urapicho		
Ziroeto		

[1] Indicates Mestizo town showing influence of styles.
[2] Indicates shake roofs common.

[p.21b]

HOUSE

FURNISHINGS

342 The terms "house," or "*troje*," and "*cocina*" as
343 employed in the Sierra refer to the construction
196 of the house rather than to its use. Normally, each family has a house and a kitchen. In the kitchen, the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The house serves as a storage place for all types of property. In it also is kept the image of the family saint. Sometimes in place of a "*troje*," a "*cocina de torito*" is floored and used for storage. Despite this shift in use, the structure is still called a "*cocina*," or kitchen.

343 The "*troje*" contains a minimum of furnishings.
353 The loft is used purely for crop storage and usually
778 has no furnishings whatever. The lower floor

3;Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

HOUSE
FURNISHINGS

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778 generally has a table against the wall opposite the door upon which is placed the image of a saint, if the family owns or is carring for one. If not, a picture of a saint will be found behind the table on the wall. Usually, a variety of religious
[353] pictures are tacked or pasted behind or around
[373] the picture or image of the saint. Often candles and a pottery incense burner are on the table; in addition, the table may have a varying number of miscellaneous objects placed there temporarily for safekeeping. The ceiling, especially over the
[353] altar table, may be decorated in colored tissue paper and strings of miniature household objects. Several wooden chairs with arms are kept in the

343 room, the number depending upon the economic
352 status of the family. They are rarely used except to seat visitors. Tin trunks or wooden chests are usually found for storage of clothing. Clothing may also be hung on a pole extending from front to back wall. A sewing machine is a fairly com-
[404] mon item of equipment. Rather rarely, the room will contain a wooden bedstead; this again is used

[354]

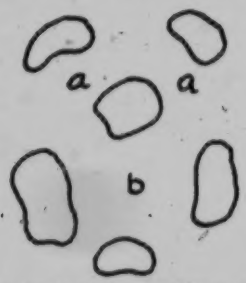

FIGURE 15.—Fire hearth of stones. *a*, Space for pots; *b*, space for *comal*.

only for guests, when mats are spread over the bed. In emergencies, the room may also be used for the storage of harvests. A portion of the veranda may also be boarded for this purpose. The second floor is customarily used to store maize on the cob.

[p. 22a]

354 The kitchen always has a hearth on the ground, usually made with six stones (parángua), arranged as in figure 15. Infrequently, the hearth or stove is of clay (fig. 16). Space is provided for three fire places, one (fig. 15, *b*) for the *comal* or tortilla baking dish, and two (*a–a*) for cooking pots. This hearth is usually at one side of the structure. Near the fire a branched stick (čuríŋgu) is set in
[373] the ground; on this stick pitch-pine splinters (k'uerámu) are burned for light at night. At the back of the kitchen are one or two shelves,
415 "*tinajera*," (plátu jatákua). On the upper are
352 the old ollas and large vessels. On the bottom are new ollas (pureči), plates (plátu), jars (iɢamatarakua), wooden spoons (ioɹésa), and knives (kučó). Below the shelves on the ground, are the three-legged metates (iɢuári), *molcajetes* (jiúmatakua), *comales* (eróksa), and large water jugs (k'amúkua), including one set on a fiber ring (uanɢari) containing drinking water. Also on the ground are baskets (ɢakiáta), tortilla baskets ("tascal," kuatása), and gourds (uɹáni). Either on the floor or on the shelf may be wooden bowls (batieča), other types of baskets (ɢakiáta kanímu
[439] and šúndi, "*chúndi*"), and fire fans (p'unítatarakua). All the manufactured articles are imported.

352 The metate, when in use, is placed on a plank
[513] beside the fire. At night, it is removed and mats are spread out for sleeping.

[p. 22 b]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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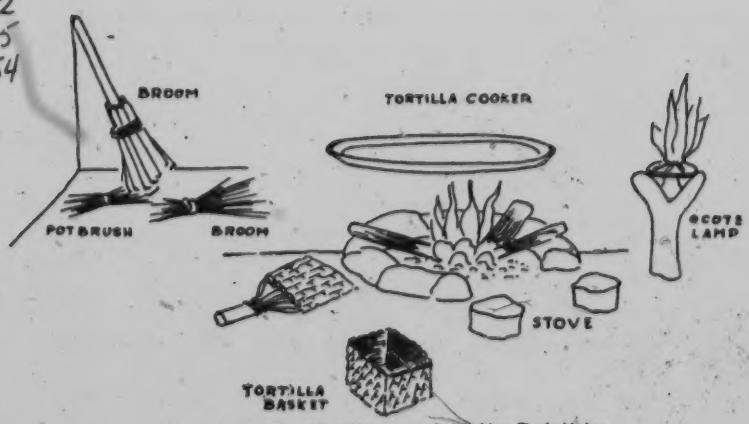

FIGURE 16.—Utensils and furnishings commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

[p. 22c]

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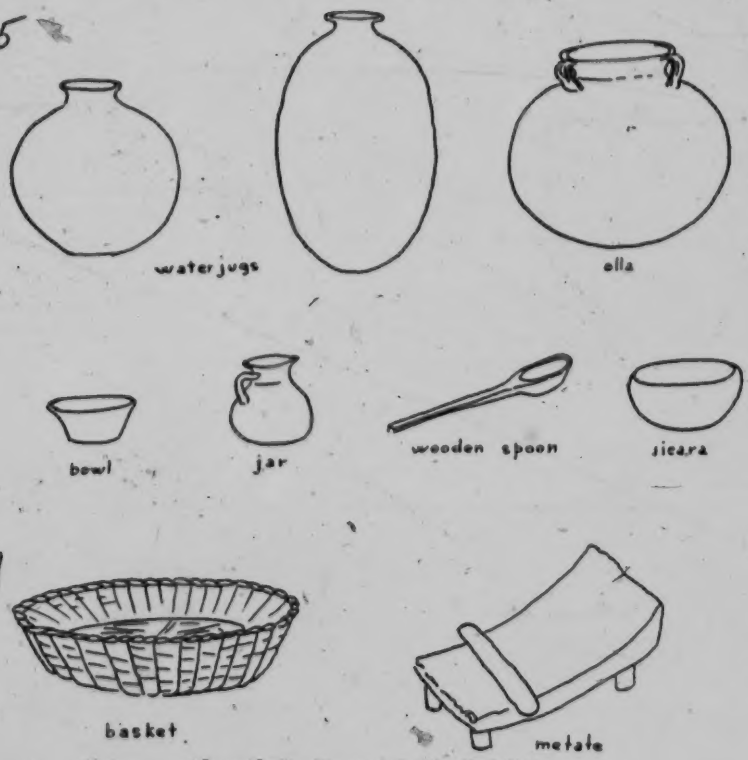

FIGURE 17.—Utensils commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

[p. 23]

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánčakua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tirípatarskua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.²) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.:[1]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-vara (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[1] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 2-inch planks, which are adzed.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro

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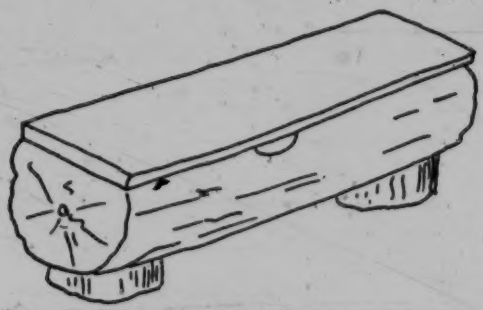

FIGURE 18.—Hollowed log with wooden cover used for storage of water outdoors.

354 "*chimenea*," is more common, and there often is also a special fireplace for the comal, a circular ridge of clay with an opening on one side to feed the fire similar to that shown for Cherán in figure 16.

ECONOMICS OF THE

TARASCAN HOUSE

	Price in pesos
435 Heavy square beams, each, f. o. b.	1.50–2.50
Delivery charge, each	1.50
342 Veranda pillars, each, f. o. b.	1.25–2.00
Delivery charge, each	1.25–1.50
Shakes, bundle of 400	5.00
Rafter poles, dozen	4.00
Roof stringers, dozen	2.50
Trap door	1.50–3.00
Door	2.00–8.00
Foundation stones, delivered average (2.50 each)	9.00–22.50
Nails, per kilo	1.00

Planks at Paracho were more costly in January 1942. Boards, six *varas* long, cost 0.75 to 1.25 pesos each, depending on width. Heavy planks cost according to length:

Length in *varas*:	Price in pesos
5	1.50
6	1.75
7	2.00
8	2.50
9	3.00

Shakes, 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length; cost, 6 pesos per bundle of 400 (irépeta).

COST OF CONSTRUCTION

Table 3 represents the most accurate account secured of the materials, labor, and costs of a wooden house, or "*troje*." This house was built in July 1940 at Morelos 31. Its outside dimensions were 16 by 14 feet (6 by 5.2 *varas*), and it was raised off the ground about 18 inches (46 cm.)

[p. 24 b]

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on nine large stones of hard gray rock brought from the barranca north of town. The porch was not floored. Other materials used were pine beams and planks, fir shingles, and nails. Doors were purchased ready-made.

TABLE 3.—*Materials, labor, and cost of constructing a wooden house, or "troje," at Morelos 31 in June 1940*

House parts	Materials used	Labor		Cost in pesos	
		In days	Description	Labor	Materials
Foundation	9 big stones [1]	½	Ox team and driver to haul.	[2] (2.50)	2.50
Foundation frame.	5 beams, 10×10 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.25×4.9m.).				2.50
Roof base	4 beams, 8×8 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.20×5.5 m.).				2.00
Floor	20 planks, 8×3 in.×16 ft. (0.20×0.067×4.9m.).	15	Straightening planks.	[3] 22.50	10.00
Walls	44 planks, 10×3 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.067×4.8m.).				20.00
Ceiling	24 planks, 8×3 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.067×5.5m.).				12.00
Door	1 wooden				3.00
Trap door	1 wooden				3.00
Porch-roof supports.	4 pillars, 9×9 in.×8 ft. (0.226×0.226×2.45m.).				8.00
Roof	15 poles				1.50
	18 stringers, 4-16 ft. long.				3.50
	2,400 shakes, (6 irépitas).				30.00
Labor					
Carpenters		35	Contract	50.00	
Total		50½		72.50	103.00
Grand total		50½		175.50	

[1] Presumably quarried by builder.
[2] Included under cost of materials. *See* rocks for foundation.
[3] At rate of 5 pesos per dozen.

As in all other cases, informants did not include the cost of nails for fastening the roof shakes, the only place nails are employed. In this case, the builder made some of the planks, charging the value of his product into the estimates above. However, no costs were included for haulage, except possibly in the case of the pillars. If this was the case, the pillars were secured rather cheaply. We may, therefore, add the following items omitted in the above statement:

Additional costs:	*Price in pesos*
Nails, 3 kilos (probably a little generous)	3.00
Hauling beams and planks	60.00
Fiesta for roof raising	25.00
	88.00
Builder's estimate	175.50
Probable total if all labor paid for	263.50

In this case, probably the haulage was all done

[p. 25a]

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342

by the builder, and there may have been no fiesta for the roof completion. The builder sold the structure for 200 pesos and estimated he had made a profit of 25 pesos, plus payment for his work as a plank maker.

To gain a clearer idea of the cost of a house, a summary of all detailed estimates is given below. Unfortunately, these may cover different-sized structures, but they are said to be for average-sized buildings. Items the owner may have provided are indicated, in which case in some estimates the low entry might be considered zero; however, as we are anxious to get an average cost, this point is omitted for the present.

TABLE 4.—*Summary of detailed estimates of cost (in pesos) of a house, Morelos 31, June 1940*

Item	Estimates	
	Lowest	Highest
Foundation stones	[1] 9.00	22.50
7 dozen planks	42.00	63.00
9–10 beams	4.50	15.00
1 door	2.00	8.00
1 trapdoor	1.50	3.00
4 pillars	4.00	6.00
13–15 poles (rafters)	[1] 1.50	4.00
19–42 roof stringers	[1] 3.50	15.00
5 to 6 tirépitas (bundles) of shakes, best-quality fir	25.00	30.00
2–3 kilos of nails	2.00	3.00
Haulage of planks	[1] 49.00	49.00
Haulage of beams	[1] 15.00	15.00
Haulage of pillars	[1] 4.00	6.00
Straightening planks	21.00	30.00
Carpenter's fee	50.00	50.00
Roof raising fiesta	[2] 20.00	[3] 50.00
Total	254.00	358.50

[1] Items owner might provide himself.
[2] Without music.
[3] If relatives do not help.

The lowest figure given here may be further reduced, as suggested, by the owner doing part of the work. If we reduce the lowest figure by deducting all the items which the normal Cherán man might do himself (if he owns oxen to do the haulage or may borrow them from friends or relatives) and eliminate the fiesta, we get the figure of 152 pesos. This is the least for which it would appear a Cherán resident may secure an averaged-size wooden house, or "*troje*," approximately 14 by 16 feet (4.27 by 4.88 meters).

This estimate of 152 pesos may be compared with gross estimates secured by McCorkle and Beals. These ranged from 180 to 300 pesos. Carrasco secured estimates of from 250 to 300 pesos. However, in every case where a gross

435 estimate was obtained and then an itemized
342 statement secured from the same informant, the total of the itemized statement ran well below the original gross figure given. A careful check of material costs indicates that the lower estimates probably are more nearly correct.

Detailed estimates on kitchens were not secured. A home-made affair could probably be made by any man by the purchase of two bundles (irépitas) of shakes for about 11 pesos (shakes 10 pesos, nails 1 peso).

One of several approaches used in getting costs was to secure estimates on a given section of wall for different types of construction. These estimates indicated that a 16½- by 16½- foot (5- by 5-m.) house, exclusive of roof, would cost 138 pesos; and a well-built kitchen the same size, 75 pesos, exclusive of the roof.

Carrasco secured estimates of 20 to 25 pesos for a poorly-made kitchen of the "*torito*" type in Cherán. The materials probably were second-hand. Even without any delivery charges, new materials would cost over 20 pesos, exclusive of labor. However, a "*torito*" could be built by most men without hiring a carpenter. A well-built "round house" kitchen, Carrasco was told, would cost about 100 pesos. This seems reasonable in terms of material and labor costs.

Carrasco secured comparative prices for Paracho which, considering the slightly higher cost of materials, probably are above the prices in Cherán. The figures also were obtained from a master carpenter, who obviously would have an interest in establishing higher prices.

Size of "*troja*" in *varas:*	*Labor cost*	*Total cost in pesos*
5	$60.00	250.00
6	90.00	300.00
7	110.00	400.00
8	130.00	500.00
9	150.00	600.00
Size of trõja kosína in *varas:*		
4	30.00	60.00
5	45.00	85.00
6	70.00	125.00
7	100.00	182.00
Size of "*torito*" in *varas:*		
4	25.00	50.00
5	30.00	72.00

[p. 26 a]

MASONRY-ADOBE STRUCTURES

435
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The costs of materials and labor in building masonry-adobe structures are as follows:

	Total cost in pesos
Adobes:	
Small size (2½ spans long) per 100 [1]	2.50
Large size (3 spans long) per 100	3.00
Laying adobes, average cost, small size, per 100:	
According to one informant	2.00
According to another informant:	
To shoulder height	1.00
Shoulder height to 9.8 ft. (3 m.)	1.50
Above 9.8 ft. (3 m.)	2.00
Manure for mortar (2 sacks per 100 adobes) per large sack (this may be furnished by the mason)	0.25
Stones:	
Quarrying, per 100 [2]	2.00
Transporting, per 100	2.00
Mason's charges per sq. m. (householder to furnish water and materials)	1.00
Roofing tiles, per 1,000	25.00 to 30.00
Bricks (mostly used for flooring or corners and doors in masonry structures) per 1,000	32.00

[1] 100 adobes will make 43 sq. ft. (4 sq. m.) of wall; large-size adobes make a somewhat thicker wall.

[2] "100 stones" really means 50 burro loads and will make 42 to 52 sq. ft. (4 to 5 sq. m.) of wall.

Masonry appears to be somewhat more expensive than adobe construction. A wall 8 feet (2.46 m.) high, 16.5 feet (5 m.) long, and of normal construction with 1½ feet (½ m.) of masonry buried, would cost as follows:

	Price in pesos
Masonry-adobe (2 estimates)	19.65 to 21.00
With large adobes	23.00
All masonry (1 estimate)	27.00
The same extent of wall in the usual wooden house construction	23.00

The best indication of costs of masonry-adobe houses is supplied by a study of the house of Pedro Chávez, school teacher of Cherán, under construction during 1940–41. The costs were checked in every possible way, in terms of materials and labor and also in units. It probably represents as accurate an estimate of costs as can be secured.

The house itself presents certain peculiarities. The front and side walls are of adobe brick on the usual masonry foundation. The ground plan consists of two rooms with an entryway, or

[p.26b]

342 435 *zaguán*, between them. The walls facing the *zaguán* and the patio are of wood. A foundation of morticed beams resting on stones supports a wooden floor and walls. These beams are grooved as shown in figure 14. Wall boards are tongue-and-grooved, a type of construction used in Uruapan but new to Cherán. The wall boards are vertical and fit in a channel in the ceiling beams. One room has two windows opening on the street (fig. 14). The roof is of shakes. Chávez actually paid for only half of one side wall and nothing for the other (which rests entirely on his land), as his neighbor paid all the cost. In formulating the cost estimate, however, the wall was carefully measured, the number of adobes counted, and the cost of all masonry-and-adobe work was included in the total. All the woodwork was done on a [675] definite contract which included wood materials, so it is unnecessary to itemize this.

	Costs in pesos
Masonry, 32 m. (106 ft.):	
Stone	24. 00
Mason's charges	32. 00
Adobe [1]	70. 00
Four stone bases for veranda pillars	10. 00
Zaguán door (not included in carpenter's contract)	25. 00
Carpenter's contract	275. 00
Shakes, best grade, 8 bundles	40. 00
12 kilos of nails	6. 00
Total	482. 00
Roofing fiesta (not including contributions of relatives)	30. 00
Total costs	512. 00

[1] 1,633 adobes were used; door and window openings make a lineal estimate impractical. This figure takes into account different mason's charges at different heights.

Two "*trojes*," or houses, of approximately the same size would cost between 500 and 600 pesos, but the above-described structure has much more loft storage space through utilization of the area over the entryway and veranda. The cost probably would be less if the interior walls were made of masonry and adobe. A tile roof would have cost between 100 and 120 pesos, adding 54 to 74 pesos to the cost. Its longer life would make it cheaper in the long run, however. The owner probably will lay a tile roof when the shake roof needs replacing. It should be remembered also that a kitchen will be employed apart from this structure.

[A 27a]

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

435 The main supplementary structures to be con-
351 sidered are fences, gates, and sheds. The only fences involving expenditure are those of masonry-adobe. Costs are the same per meter as for a house wall.

The gate will vary in cost. Often it may consist of only a few planks, which may be second-hand material secured without cost, or even merely a pole or two laid horizontally across the opening. A well-made *zaguán* gate bought from a carpenter will cost about 17 pesos and up, depending on size. The balance of the gate, including the roof over it, will usually be constructed by the house owner. Ordinarily, the few shakes needed will be left over from house building or may be secured for a few cents.

435 Sheds are usually built by the householder. A
343 sizable shed roof might require a bundle of shakes costing 5 pesos. No nails would be used, the shakes being held down by rough-hewn strips of pine and stones.

COMPARISON OF COSTS

435 It is clear from the foregoing data that a ma-
342 sonry-adobe structure is as cheap or slightly cheaper than a wooden house, or "*troje*." It also has more storage space. On the other hand, it requires somewhat more care in upkeep and also more expense to make it look "right" to the Tarascan. The interior, for example, should have a coat of plaster of either adobe or lime and sand. Preferably, so should the exterior. Both should also be whitewashed or kalsomined. None of these costs are included in the estimates.

435 An interesting comparison is made in table 5
342 of the costs of the following four categories of Tarascan houses:

511 (*a*) What the Tarascan would conceive to be the minimal shelter, which would be far below the Tarascan standard of decency.

(*b*) Housing considered a poor standard but not impossible.

(*c*) A respectable standard for a small family.

(*d*) A high standard for a small family.

Only people of some wealth normally use masonry-adobe structures; consequently, only in this category have I shown costs for this type of housing, without including any "frills" for decoration or finishing.

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TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "tarite" kitchen	25-50
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosina, or one "tarite" kitchen and one small "traje."	175-200
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosina or "tarite" kitchen and one medium "traje."	275-300
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosina and two good "trajes."	550-600
	One trója kosina and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on p. 28 b]

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

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Only in a general way is there correlation between house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28 b]

435 a relative or friend to permit him to use a bit of
342 land—as many do—the cost of minimal shelter
511 could be as low as $11. By begging scraps, even this figure could be reduced. Such a housing situation would, however, be regarded as "frightful" by all Tarascans.

At the other end of the scale, there are numerous Cherán residents who have much more costly establishments than those represented under *d*. Relatively few are in the condition of *b;* the great majority of Cherán residents would fall in category *c* and a fair proportion in category *d*. The discussion of house use will illustrate this point.

RELATION OF HOUSES TO

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 2. A special occupation, such as storekeeping, may be
556 followed.

3. There may be definite social pretensions. Of these three causes, the last seems least operative. Wealth is a necessary prerequisite to anything more elaborate than class *d* housing but wealth is often concealed. Numerous families in class *d* are far from wealthy by Cherán standards.

These judgments are somewhat subjective, but case material could be cited to support them.

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

STORAGE

343 The Cherán house is really a storehouse. The
251 loft and, sometimes, the lower floor are employed for storage of crops and food reserves. The lower floor is used for the storage of clothing, furniture not in immediate use, and for the family altar and the image of the saint. On occasion, it may be used as a sleeping room for guests. Supplementary sheds also may be used for crop storage, especially for fodder for animals.

SLEEPING AND COOKING

362 Cooking and eating is all done in the kitchen.
574 Guests may be fed in the kitchen, outside, on the house veranda, or in the house. Female visitors are usually entertained in the kitchen. Male visitors are more apt to be entertained outdoors or on the house veranda, depending on the
362 weather.
513 In mountain towns, sleeping is always in the

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

362 kitchen. With few exceptions, the entire family
513 sleeps on mats about the fire. Cold weather and lack of bedding are given as the reasons for this. Even where a masonry-adobe structure with a bed exists, the family normally sleeps in the kitchen.

On ceremonial occasions modifications occur.
362 The house to some extent becomes a center of activities, while cooking will move into the open or under supplementary sheds. These occasions are not many. In the main, family life takes place outdoors when the weather permits; in the kitchen when it does not. The term "house" in practice is a euphemism, and some members of the family may not enter the structure for days at a time.

592 HOUSE SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE
362
A survey of Cherán houses was made to deter-
125 mine the relationship between size of buildings

[p. 28d]

592 and the number of persons in the household. A
362 sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent
125 of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

592 It is evident that in an appreciable number of
362 cases more than one family occupies a lot. This
[735] situation may be due to several causes. In some instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty.
[591] In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

362 In those cases where no house existed, 15 out
[735] of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however, that cases may exist where the person may be relatively comfortable financially and has not built a house because he has no agricultural land and hence no great need for storage space. In most cases where more than 1 family occupied a lot, there is a separate kitchen for each family. In the 22 cases in which more than 1 family occu-

362 pied a lot, 6 had no house. These cases must be ascribed to poverty in all probability. The same is true of the 4 cases where single families occupying a lot had no houses. The housing situation suggests, then, that 19.2 percent of Cherán residents are inadequately housed according to Cherán standards.

Considerable inequality in the amount of living space per person is evident, even when averages from the different *cuartels* are compared. This difference is even more marked in terms of the individual families. Individual households may vary from 179 square feet of living space per person to as little as 22 square feet per person. This inequality appears less marked, however, if only kitchen space is considered. In view of living habits, the amount of space per person in the kitchens is a more accurate indicator of living conditions. This also varies appreciably from household to household but the range appears to be from 14 square feet (1.3 sq. m.) of kitchen space per person in cases with a house also—or from about 20 square feet (1.85 sq. m.) in cases without a house—to as high as 95 square feet (8.82 sq. m.) per person. The smallest kitchens, with relation to number of persons, appear in cases with a house as well. However, the largest kitchen space appears in connection with households also having a house or houses.

It is probable that a number of these families are inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards, but no minimum figure can be set from present knowledge. An abstract minimum of the proper number of square feet per person

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TABLE 6.—*Data on Cherán houses showing relation between size of house and number of persons in household in comparison with similar data on Sevina houses*

Town and cuartel	Data													
	Lots	Houses measured	Families per lot		Persons per lot		House size per lot		Average living space		Average storage space per lot	Average kitchen area		Remarks
			Average	Range	Average	Range	Average	Range	Per lot	Per person		Per lot	Per person	
Cherán:	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*Feet*	*Feet*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	
Cuartel 1	190	16	1.7	1-3	6	3-11	12X14	9X9-18X18	286	50	134	107	40	6 out of 10 lots had no house.
Cuartel 2	280	13	1.6	1-3	5	3-18	14X15	11X9-28X40	340	68.5	178	143	28	4 out of 13 had no house.
Cuartel 3	300	17	1.65	1-3	5.67	3-10	15X17	12X13-36X32	480	80.3	300	164	30	3 out of 17 had no house.
Cuartel 4	270	13	1.6	1-3	5.25	3-9	13X11	9X9-32X28	229	45	78	90	19	2 out of 13 had no house.
Sevina	------	15	1.4	1-3	4.67	3-6	13½X13½	9X7-34X22	452	97	286	------	------	

[p. 29 c]

362 could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

362 184 Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

[continued on p. 30b]

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

CEREMONIES

342 Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "*combate*," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

342 431 476 On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing.

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is com-
476 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated
[531] with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Parícutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

342 owner, the master builder, and his helpers, and the nearer relatives of the house owner are now decorated with festoons of pieces of bread, some in the shape of animals, toasted wheat tortillas, and flowers. These are brought in a procession from the house of a relative. Women carry baskets on their heads and dance in the streets. The musicians accompany the party. The various articles are tied to the women's belts and then are hung about the necks of the men. These strings are called "*cuelgas*" (pl. 8, right). As a special guest, Beals was decorated with the others, and care was taken to explain to him that it was customary to return the belts. The master builder and, particularly, the house owner received several festoons of this kind.

Following this ceremony there was dancing, which lasted until late at night. In the particular [273] ceremony described, the householder drank very little. The next day several of the relatives returned with liquor and insisted that he get drunk with them as he had not drunk the day before.

The other major occasion on which ceremonies 483 occur in connection with houses is when a house is 342 moved from one location to another. A man wishing to move a house to a new location hires a 476 master builder to supervise the work. He also invites all his relatives, who are obligated to come. The women aid in preparing food, while the men take apart the house, carry it to the new location, and erect it again. The house owner takes no part in this work; in fact, he is apt to become drunk and be something of a nuisance. The relatives are fed at midday and again in the evening, but they do not ordinarily drink much until evening. Even then most of them are apt to go home before eating or immediately after eating. Ordinarily, a house will be moved completely in 1 day; sometimes, however, part of the roof will be unfinished, in which case a few men will return the next day to complete the work.

A special feature observed at a house moving, but nowhere else, was the serving of tobacco from the lowlands and corn husks for rolling cigarettes. At all other ceremonies the host frequently passed around cirgarettes, but they were of the usual commercial type.

342 The house is the center of numerous other festivities and ceremonials, but they do not pertain to the house directly. The major occasions are

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it Another special
342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth
585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a
[608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses.
591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com-
651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re-
364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
574 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT
CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

574 609 with whom especially friendly relations exist, normally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

— 351 574 184 So far as is known, customs in other mountain towns are similar in all respects except for the attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN

HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 136 The major insect pests are fleas. In some villages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 164 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to [515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

362 mitted by contact and particularly respiratory
164 and pulmonary infections. Although data are lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is suspected. There seems little to choose between various house types for health.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance,
184 seem to have similar conditions. Local varia-
362 tions, of course, occur as the result of differences in rainfall and temperature (functions of location and altitude) and the number of animals kept (causing variations in the number of flies).

[Continued on p. 33b]

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 In this section we try to determine the antiquity
173 of modern house types. We do not include all the data found in early sources referring to pre-Spanish houses and house uses, but base our study of the history of the Tarascan house on modern tradition and especially on the writings of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply useful data concerning the last century or so. The houses of stone and adobe are usually considered to be relatively recent introductions in the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake area.[8] This view is supported by the relatively greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake region, it is remembered that wooden structures once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred to the older custom of building houses in the center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types discussed, kitchens of poles and "*trojes*" and the trója kosína of logs are regarded as the oldest types. Tools, until recently were limited to the ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of a few generations ago are merged into "*los antepasados*" and, unless an historically known event is referred to, it is difficult to know to what period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

[7] This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

[8] In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish word adobe, while in the Lake area a native word (isuírukata) is known.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro
Cañada

362 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada,
184 where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

HISTORY OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE[7]

342 houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would
[173] be untrustworthy.

Some of the data available from the 16th
342 century refer to a wider area than that covered
127 by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"[9] of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.[10] The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.[11]

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."[12]

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (iauárukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*" (today k'uta', in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza*, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxcata."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j*, *k*; *m* is described in the text as a provisional

[9] Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

[10] F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

[11] Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y governación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

[12] Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 135. Mexico, 1938.

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FIGURE 19.—Representations of houses in the plates of the "Relación de Michoacán."

shelter). The roofs appear to be of straw or palm, in some cases with a very large comb or crest undoubtedly resulting from the manner of interweaving the palm at the ridge of the roof. In other cases, the roof is pyramidal or conical and is surmounted by something which may be an inverted pottery vessel. This is what may be referred to by Gilberti: "hucahtsiqua, *un remate que se pone encima de la casa,*" and "*chapitel de casa pajiza,* hucahtsiqua."[13] Verandas are depicted in the plates and references to them are made in the text.

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177

It is evident that modern houses do not correspond to those of the 16th century. Adobe walls may be pre-Hispanic, but the present methods of construction reveal Spanish influence.

[13] Hucahtsiqua (in the alphabet of the "Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas" pátzkuan) can be interpreted as "a thing placed on a remate."

[4.34a]

342 Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and
177 the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

342 Wooden houses are not mentioned in the "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the
127 *cabeceras* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identificable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the úmutakata, for in Gilberti occurs "tsirimba *troje asentado en cuarto palos*." The houses of canes and poles (tsirindacata of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

The principal historical problem is to deter-
342 mine whether the shake roof and the log wall
177 with interlocking corners is of European or pre-Hispanic American origin. Both elements are
171 well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil*, tasámani) are both derived from the Nautl tlaxamanilli, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,[14] and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.[15] A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

[14] In shepherds' huts of the Basque country. Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español, vol. 1, p. 91, pl. 7. 1923.
[15] Papeles de Nueva España, vol 6, p. 281. Madrid, 1905.

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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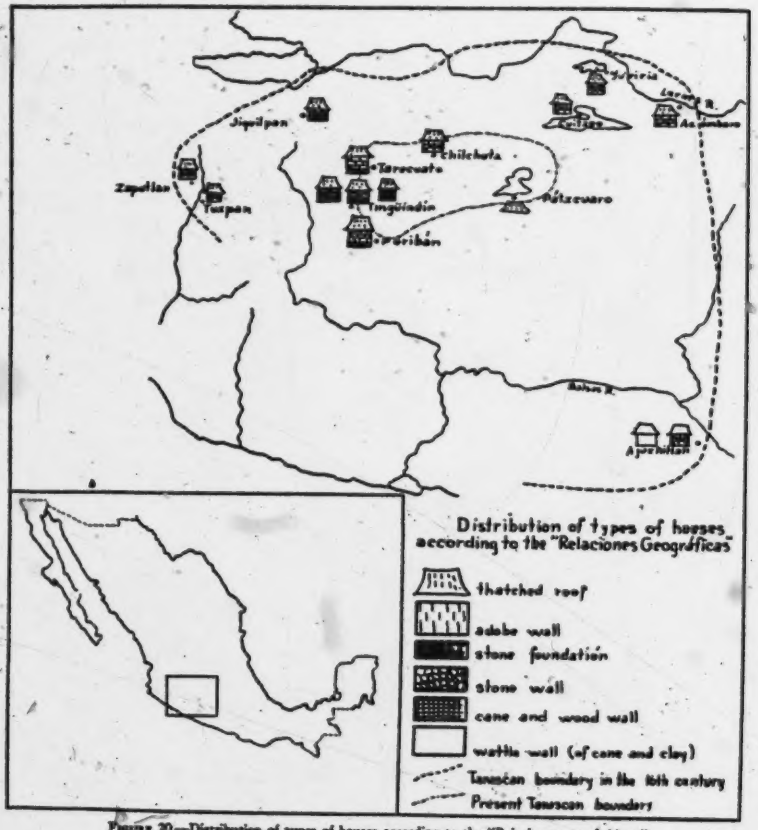

FIGURE 20.—Distribution of types of houses according to the "Relaciones geográficas."

[p.35]

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for
177 their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
[171] It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

342 The history of shakes and of interlocked log
171 structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

343 The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
127 the Tarascan *tarímba* (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

343 de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing
127 food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-
342 Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe,
174 with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards
177 introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

362 plished: changes in construction methods, and changes in living habits and house use.

One needed alteration in construction methods is in the direction of better ventilation for living quarters. This means more ventilation for masonry-adobe structures and better controlled ventilation for wooden structures (including adequate smoke-venting). Moisture-proof concrete foundations for masonry-adobe structures would remove a major drawback to this type of construction. Neither of these changes would increase costs beyond the reach of most of the 80 percent who approach present Cherán standards of adequate housing. In less prosperous towns, however, the added expense of concrete foundations would be more serious, particularly in towns not accessible by road.

In Cherán, living habits are a more serious drawback to adequate housing conditions than are economic factors (always excepting the lower 20 percent). As has been shown, actual living goes on in the kitchen, which serves for both eating and sleeping. Much potential living space thus is unused. Whether a wooden or a masonry-adobe house is owned, it is not used for any part

[p. 37a]

362 of healthful living. The problem, then, is to secure use of more of the available living space. This may prove more difficult than providing additional living space. It is our impression that the answer to this problem lies partly in introducing practical, economical, and cleanly ways of heating parts of the buildings other than the kitchen, partly in persuading Tarascans to purchase and care for additional bedding and clothing. Economically, the introduction of heating would be easier for the Sierra Tarascans (who can cut their own wood) than would the purchase of more bedding and clothing. Introduction of adequate care for bedding likewise would be difficult.

Essentially, then, for the majority of the Cherán population, improvement of housing conditions is not an economic problem. Rather is it a problem of altering basic patterns of culture. It may be concluded, therefore, that in addition to the economic betterment of the lower segments of the population, a program of education and directed acculturation is required. The housing problems consequently merge into the wider problems of education and culture change.

[p. 37 b]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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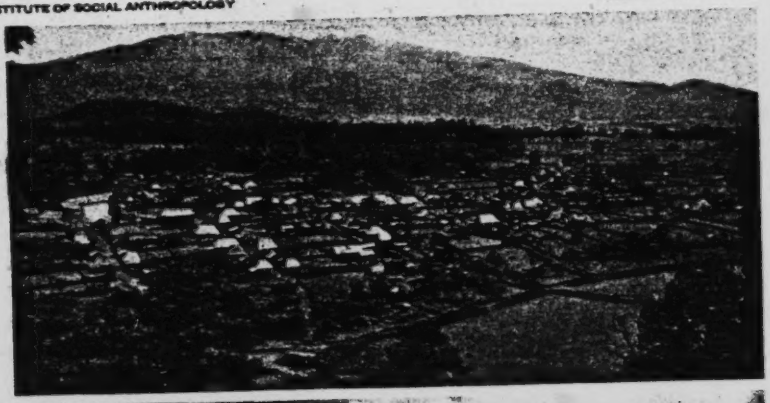

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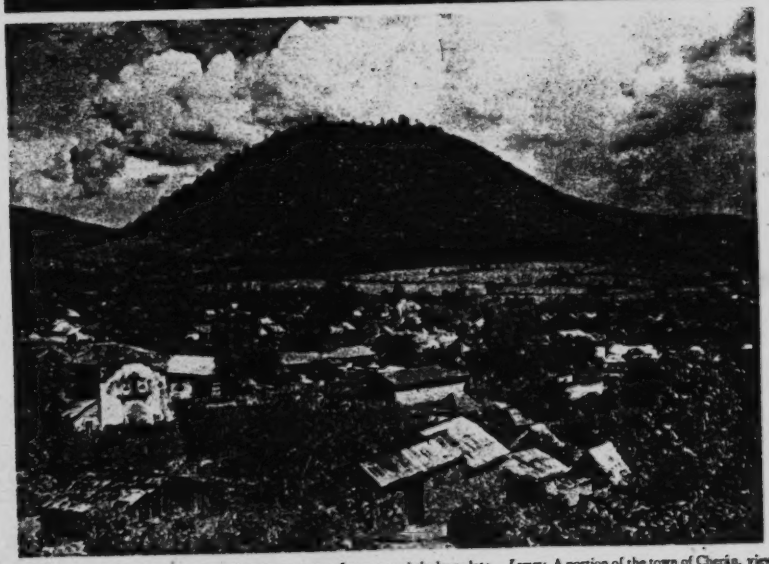

Upper: Angahuan, showing the rectangular arrangement of streets and the large lots. *Lower:* A portion of the town of Cherán, viewed from the hill in the northwest section, which furnishes most of the stone used in building.

[End plate 1]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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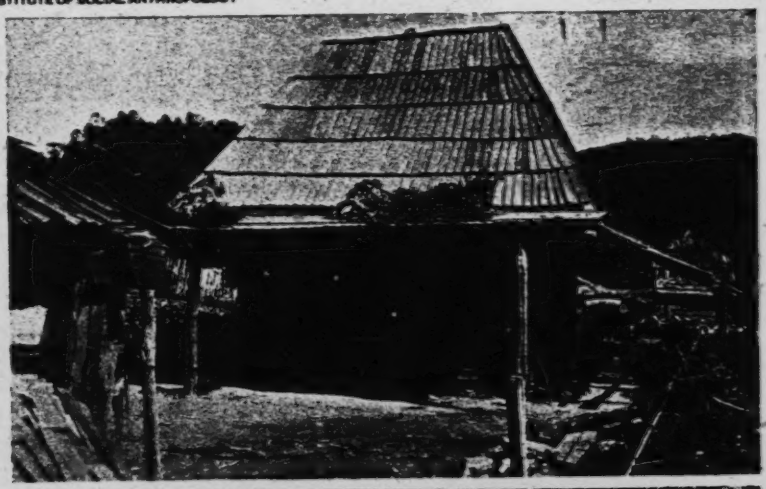

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Upper: "*Troje*" in Angahuan with adobe in front in place of a veranda. *Lower:* A street on the outskirts of the town of Cherán. Fences are carelessly built of dry stone, supplemented by poles.

[End plate 2]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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Right: Street near the plaza in Cherán. A stone-and-adobe whitewashed structure is visible near the church. The center shows a well-built stone-and-adobe fence capped with straw and shakes, while the houses are of wood. A typical roofed gate is visible left of center. *Left:* Two types of pole fence in Capacuaro. In Cherán such fences are usually found only between lots.

[End plate 3]

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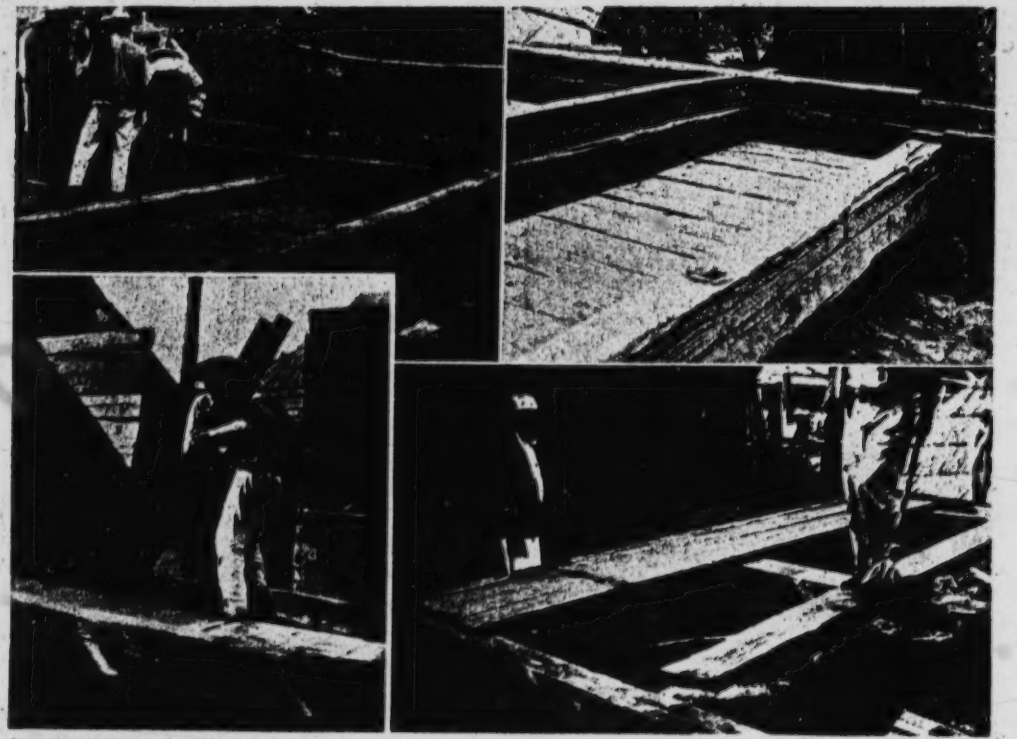

Upper (left): Leveling the foundation beams for a house. *Upper (right):* The "*plancha*" in position. Two side wall planks and one front wall plank in place. Notice the mortice for a pillar in the front "*plancha*." *Lower (left):* Placing one of the doorframes. *Lower (right):* Laying the floor boards of a house.

[End plate 4]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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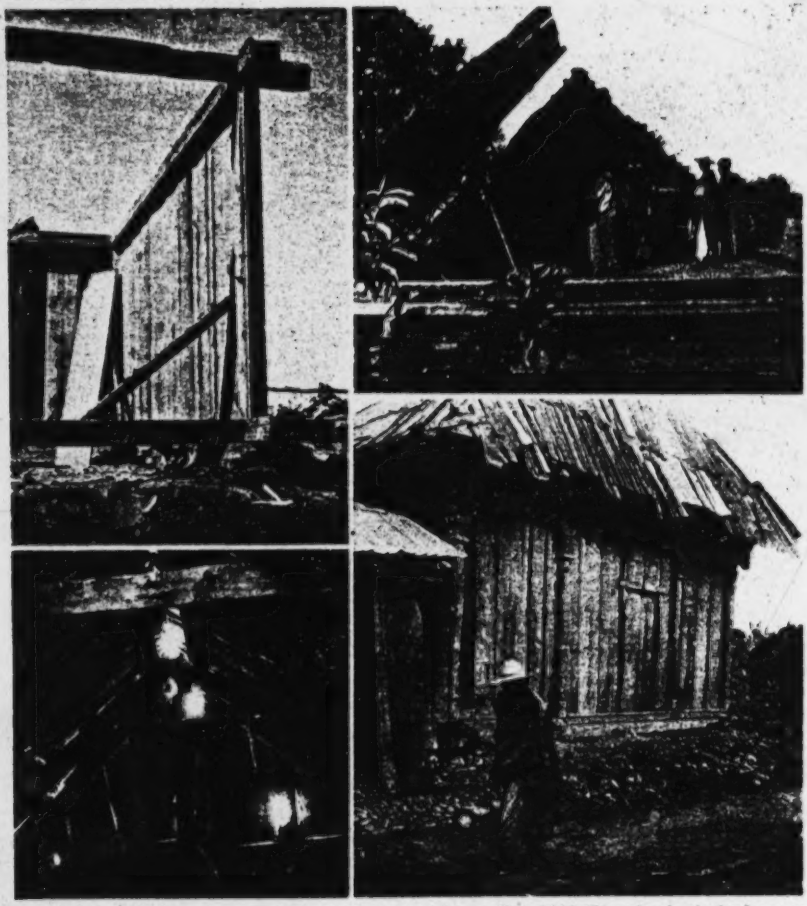

Upper (left): Simple kitchen under construction in Cherán, "*pie derecho*" type. *Upper (right):* Two roof sections in place in process of moving a Cherán house. *Lower (left):* Arrangement of rafters in Paracho house without ridge pole. *Lower (right):* Old house in Paracho of unusual style. The elaborate carving and absence of capitals of the pillars should be noticed. The walls are of vertical planks rather than the normal horizontal construction.

[End plate 5]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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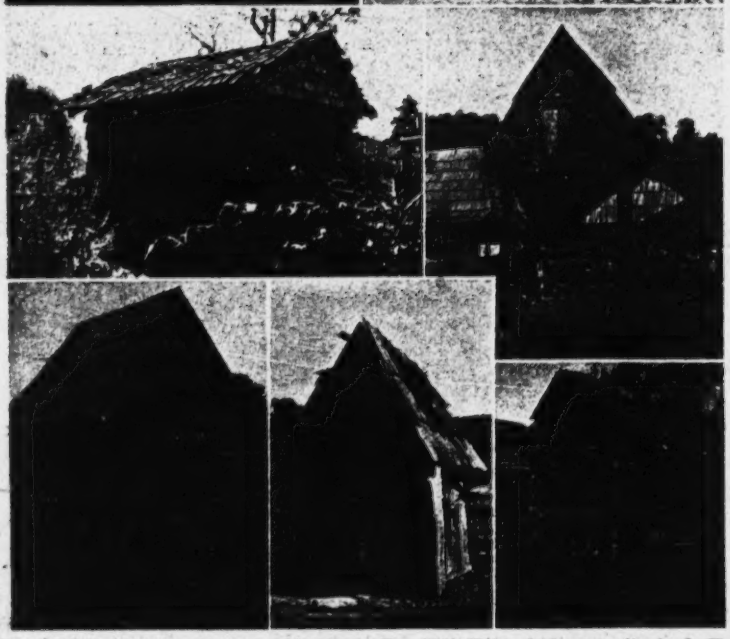

Upper (left): Kitchen of simple type with corner posts (Angahuan). *Upper (right)*: Kitchen of elaborate type (Angahuan). The gate or half door is rare in Cherán. *Middle (left)*: Wooden "wall" at Huatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro, with tile roof and adobe support for the ridge pole. *Middle (right)*: Storehouse of style found mainly in Angahuan (Ismitzhan). *Lower (left)*: Large storehouse (Ismitzhan) over gate. *Lower (center)*: Storehouse (Ismitzhan) with lower part made into a room. *Lower (right)*: Storehouse (milhá) in Capacuaro.

[End plate 6]

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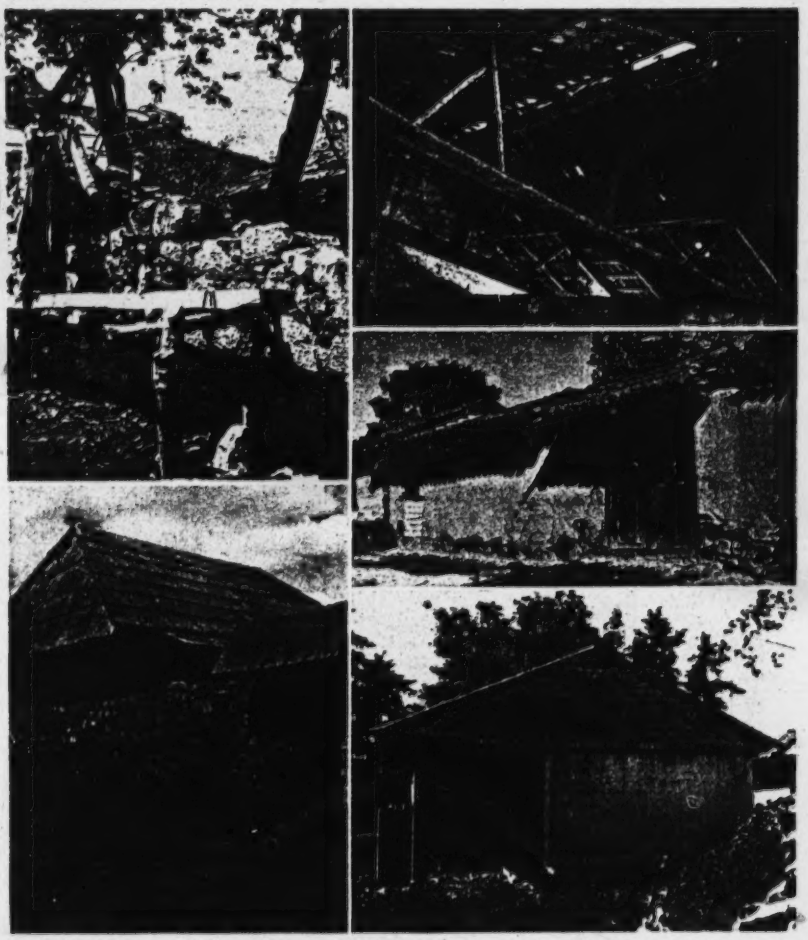
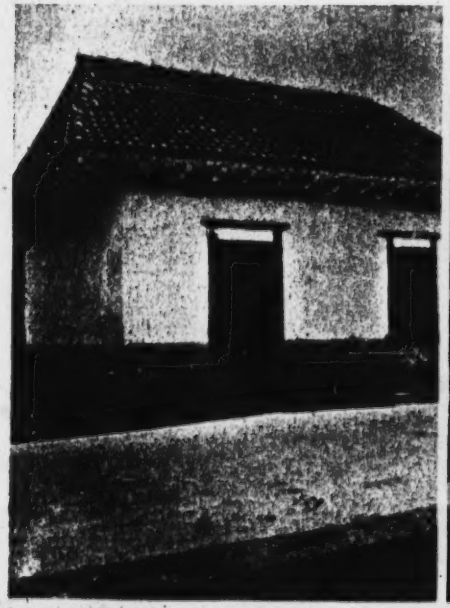


Upper (left): Mason at work in Cherán. *Upper (right)*: Fairly elaborate roof construction at Ihuatzio typical of adobe structures. *Middle (right)*: Gate roofed with tile, Ihuatzio. *Lower (left)*: Stone house at Paracho with shake roof of "*troje*" style. *Lower (right)*: Ihuatzio house with veranda, seen from one end. The "*plancha*," or plate, is carried clear across the house in this case and doubled at the ends. The wooden support, or "*barrio*," for the ridge pole is clearly seen.

[End plate 7]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans



Left: A well-built stone structure in Paracho with the wide eaves characteristic of Central Michoacán. *Right:* Scene in a house-roofing fiesta in Cherán. The house owner is in the foreground bedecked with strings of bread and flowers; the relatives are in the background.

[End plate 8]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[Title Page]
[p. i]

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 7

000

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE MODERN TARASCAN AREA

by

ROBERT C. WEST

Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

One of a series of monographs describing the results of the joint field investigations of the Institute of Social Anthropology and the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of Mexico in the Tarascan area of Michoacán, Mexico, 1945–46

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE • WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Price [illegible]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. ii]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., June 13, 1947.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area," by Robert C. West, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 7 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. FOSTER, *Director*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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[p. iii]

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[P. V-a]
[P. iv contains no text]

PREFACE

121 The present study was done under the auspices of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smith-
[122] sonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F. The study proposes to serve as a background for the various detailed pueblo monographs executed in the Tarascan area by other members of the Institute.

Being a report on the cultural geography of a region, the present paper is chiefly descriptive, although a developmental treatment has been employed wherever the scanty historical materials would permit. Physical background is only briefly considered; emphasis is on material culture, particularly modern Tarascan economy: agriculture, handicrafts, and trade. In addition, an attempt is made to describe the areal recession of Tarascan speech since Spanish contact.

Field work was done in April, May, and June
114 of 1946. With the exception of Cheranátzicurin, all Tarascan towns were visited. Many neigh-

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[P. V-B]

PREFACE

114 boring mestizo pueblos (formerly Tarascan) were inspected to obtain comparative data. Approximately two-thirds of the field season was spent in the Sierra. Archival research was done in the 127 Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán, Morelia, the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F., and the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F.

115 I am especially indebted to Sr. Pablo Valásquez G., a native Tarascan and anthropology student, who accompanied me in the field. His intimate knowledge of the Tarascan Sierra, its language, and many of its customs was an invaluable aid, not only in the field, but also while the report was in preparation. Velásquez read a large part of the manuscript and corrected the use and spelling of all Tarascan words employed in the text.

ROBERT C. WEST.

MEXICO, D. F.
March 1947.

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[P. vi]

PHONETIC NOTE

104 194 The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of México in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel *ʌ* is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

- *ʧ* is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
- *č* is the equivalent of English *ch*.
- *ŋ* is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."
- *ǰ* is the equivalent of French *j*.
- *ɾ* is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
- *ř* is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
- *š* is the equivalent of English *sh*.
- *ž* is the equivalent of English *z*.
- *ʧʰ*, *čʰ*, *kʰ*, *pʰ*, and *tʰ* are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.

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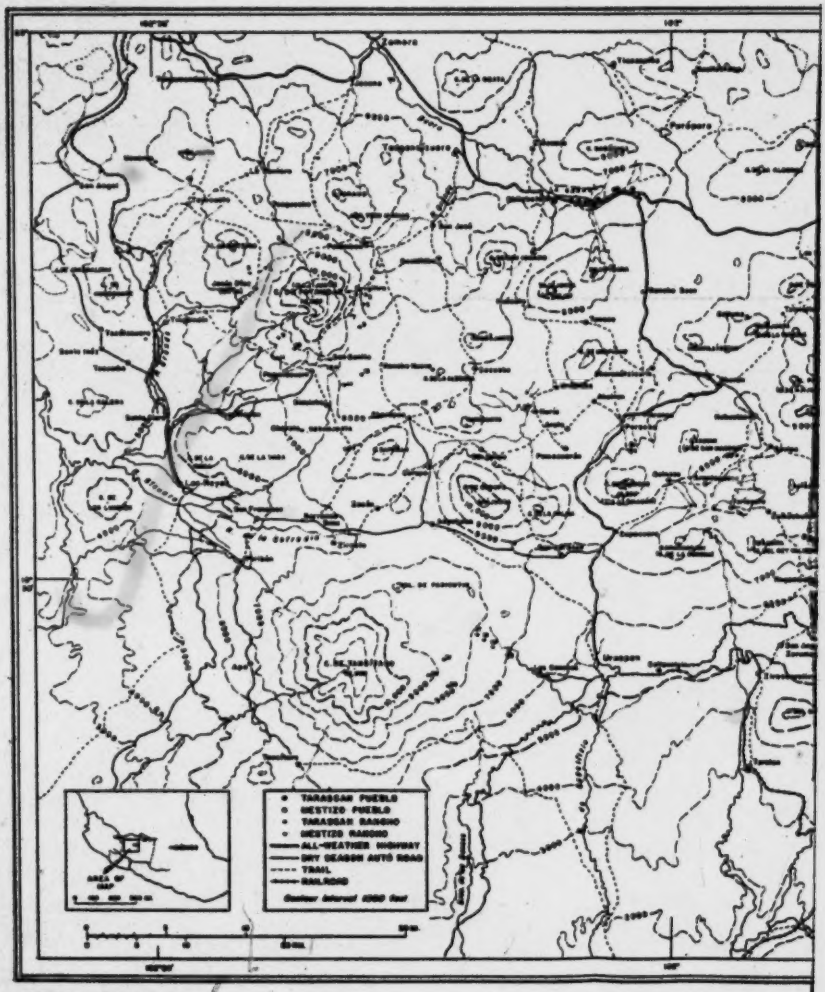

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MAP 1.—Topographic map of the modern Tara

[Facing page 1; section A]

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487

Topographic map of the modern Tarascan area.

[Facing page 1; section B]

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[P. 1-a]

900

Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area

By Robert C. West

THE MODERN TARASCAN AREA

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) in northwestern Michoacán. Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siéris) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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102 [1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 642A (Uruapan) of the
131 AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S.
133 Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photography taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arachécuta.	27. Patambicho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojas.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupio.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolas.	30. Tarerio.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Ucasanástacua.
6. Tapan.	19. La Atascada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepamal.	34. Yunuén.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tepetate.	35. Tecuana.
10. Quarándara.	23. Tejamanil.	36. Urandén Morales.
11. Zarzamora.	24. Pacápatiro.	37. Urandén Morales.
12. San Luis Serena.	25. Chupicuaro.	38. Urandén Carian.
13. La Jolla.	26. Opengato.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1940 census) are not located: Trintzicha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Encinillas and Los Lazrales (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolución (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itzipérimuen (municipio of Tríntzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

131 boundary approximates the México-Guadalajara
101 highway, while the steep escarpment that plunges into the Balsas-Tepalcatepec Basin marks its southern limit. An eastward extension lies south and southeast of the lake and joins with the Sierra de Ozumatlán in eastern Michoacán. Containing
[162] 60 percent of the present indigenous group, the Sierra west of the lake is the modern center of the Tarascans. (2) The Lake Pátzcuaro (Japúndaru, Inčámecuaru) area contains 19 percent of the
[162] Tarascan population distributed in 13 pueblos and 13 ranchos along the lake shore and on the islands. Formerly one of the political centers of the Tarascan Empire, the lake region, in terms of indigenous speech, has declined rapidly since late colonial times. The speech of the entire south
[191] shore and the towns of Quiroga, Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro is predominantly Spanish. North and northeast of the Sierra lie two small areas of indigenous speech, which appear to be remnants of the once large northern Tarascan zone. One of these is (3) La Cañada (Erášeman), a small narrow valley located at the northern edge of the Sierra. This valley was the region of the "onze pueblos" of
[162] colonial days. Today nine towns with 9 percent of the total Tarascan population are clustered along a strip of alluvium within the valley. (4) The other remnant of the northern zone lies north and northwest of Lake Pátzcuaro and contains
[162] seven pueblos and 9.5 percent of the total number of Tarascan-speaking folk.[2] Other regions of Tarascan speech consist of "islands" south of the main area. Cuanajo, located southwest of Morelia in the western[1] extension of the Sierra, is the last fragment of the former indigenous area southeast of Lake Pátzcuaro. San Angel Zurumucapio and the newly formed towns (Caltzontzin and Villa Silva) harboring refugees from the stricken

[2] These pueblos include Tirindaro, Tarejaro, and Naranja on the shore of former Zacapu marsh; Asajo and Comanja on the northeastern edge of the Sierra; Tarumando and Zipiajo at the northern foot of Cerro el Zirate.

1 [Probably should read "eastern", if referring to Tarascan Sierra.—Analyst.]

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
[191] Formerly an important part of the Tarascan Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Juío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
[166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1946), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1945).

133 prominent landmarks in the area: Cerro de Tancítaro (12,660 feet), Cerro de Patamban (12,300 feet), Cerro de Quinseo (10,800 feet), Cerro el Zirate (10,955 feet). The flanks of these [135] mountains are composed mainly of andesite with some pinkish rhyolite near the summits; small veins of mineral-bearing quartz sometimes occur within the andesite. Conical shape and radial drainage characterize these volcanoes, but most craters have been destroyed by erosion. Frequently erosion of soft consolidated ash situated between andesite flows has formed caves, which have acquired importance in Tarascan folklore.

Cinder cones and lava flows, Pleistocene to Recent in age, represent the younger forms in the Sierra. The entire area is dotted with cones, 250 to 700 feet high, with no apparent alinement. Most are composed of semiconsolidated ash, cinder, and large blocks of explosion remnants. Two types of cones occur: (1) the symmetrical cone with a well-developed, flat-floored crater, and (2) the breached cone, with one side partially destroyed, initially by explosion or lava flow and subsequently by erosion. Some cones are ribbed by radial drainage; others carry scars of surface slips; owing to porous surface materials, a few show little effects of erosion, in spite of high (35°–45°) angle slopes.

Basaltic lava flows, originating usually from Pleistocene or Recent fissures in the sides of old volcanoes or occasionally from large cinder cones, have descended slopes in narrow corridors and have fanned out in wide expanses on gentle gradients. Fantastically rough surfaces characterize the flows, which form the Sierra's badlands—agriculturally unproductive and barriers to horse and wheeled traffic. Comparative age of the flows can be roughly determined by the degree of rock decomposition and character of vegetation cover. In some flows, such as that south of Pomacuarán, depressions and crevasses are partially filled with alluvium; large areas are covered with a thin soil mantle; sizable pines and oaks cover most of the flow. These features evidence a long period of exposure. In contrast, the rough, blackened, almost treeless *malpais* northwest of Zacapu at the Sierra's northern edge, appears to be a much younger flow.

Volcanic activity in the Sierra has possibly been continuous from Eocene to the present day. Jorullo (1759) and Paricutin (1943) represent

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 39---- Analysis]

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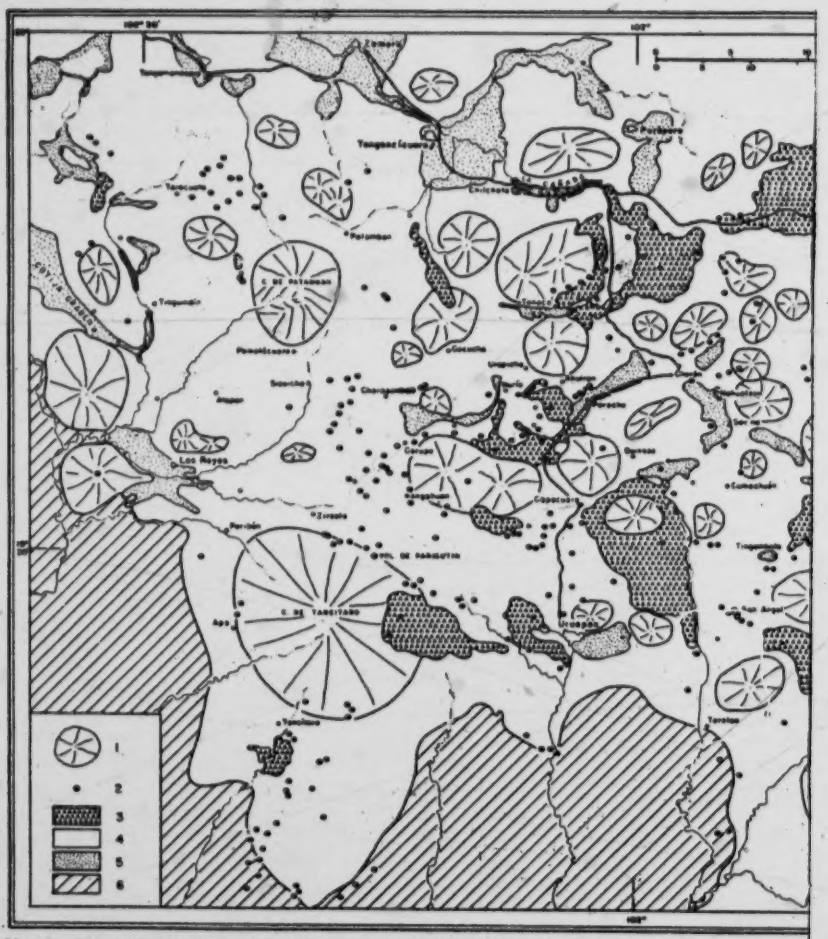
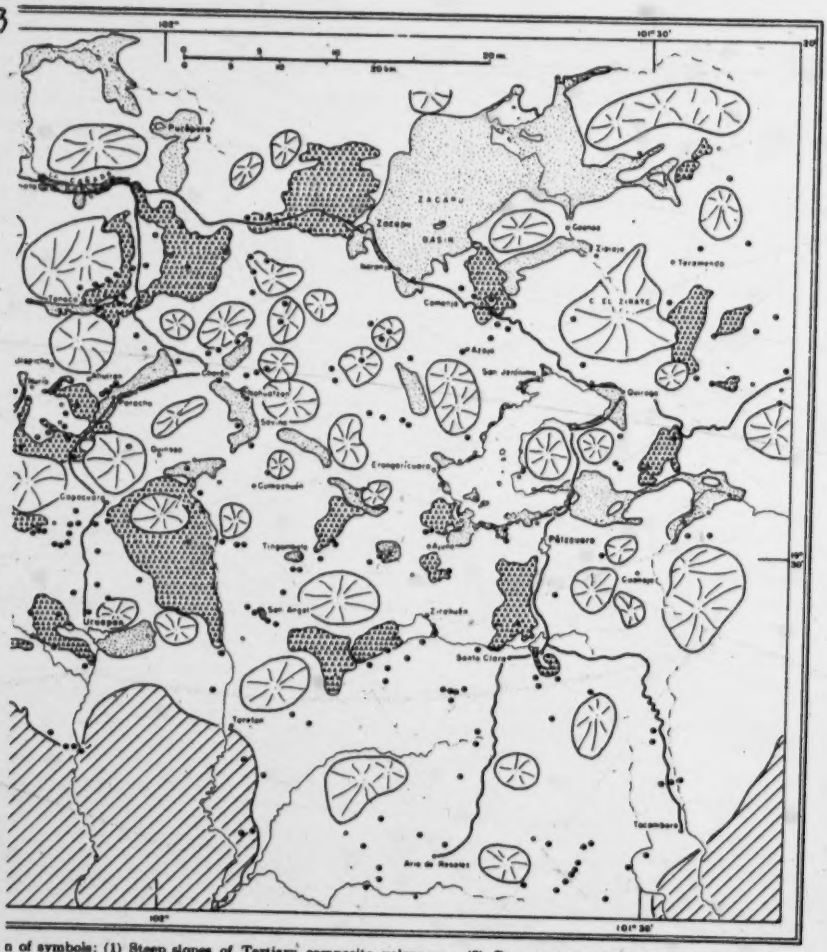


MAP 2.—Geognostic map of the modern Tarascan area. Explanation of symbols: (1) Steep slopes of Tertiary con
(malpais). (4) Lower slopes of volcanoes, cols, mesas, small flattish basins of consolidated and unconsolidated a
of stream alluvium and lacustrine deposits. (6) Highly dissected volcanic slopes of the southern escarpment.

[Facing page 2; section A]

133



n of symbols: (1) Steep slopes of Tertiary composite volcanoes. (2) Recent cinder cones. (3) Recent lava flows ish basins of consolidated and unconsolidated ash, cinder, and other volcanic debris. (5) Large flattish-floored basins volcanic slopes of the southern escarpment. Data from aerial photographs and field notes. 743693 O - 49 (face p. 2)

[Facing page 2; section B]

133 historical examples of vulcanism within or adjacent to the area. However, vulcanism associated with human ancient settlement in the area, [172] is unquestionably evidenced by the occurrence of charred maize ears embedded in a basaltic lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia.[4]

Aside from land forms resulting directly from vulcanism, others caused by depositional processes occur within the Sierra. Between the old composite volcanoes and young cinder cones flattish surfaces have been formed first by ash and cinder fall and later by aeolian and alluvial deposition from surrounding slopes. Such surfaces, which compose only a small percentage of total land area, are the agriculturally important sections of the Sierra. Some form saddles or cols between adjacent hills; the larger plains form basins of interior drainage. The largest basins are Llano Grande, southeast of Charapan; the Plan de Nurío; that of Paracho, Aranza, and Cherán; the plain of Nahuatzen; of Sevina; of Paracho; etc. (map 2; pl. 1). Minor forms include dissected aprons of alluvium and semiconsolidated ash at the base of volcanoes and steep-sided arroyos eroded into alluvium in the upper parts of the basin plains.

One of the most characteristic physical features of the Sierra is the paucity of perennial streams and lakes. Although this is an area of moderate summer precipitation, the porous volcanic surface quickly absorbs most of the available moisture. A few permanent, spring-fed streams occur on the northern and western flanks of Cerro de Patamban and on the western and southern sides of Cerro de Tancítaro. Small springs occur on [312] the flanks of the old composite volcanoes, whose porous rocks form a reservoir of rain water. Such springs afford the sole water supply for many Sierra villages. Only on the edges of the Sierra plateau, at the contact of porous and impervious rock layers, do large springs occur.

The Lake area.—At the eastern edge of the Sierra exists a depression filled by Lake Pátzcuaro. Sierran geomorphology (young and old volcanic forms) almost surrounds the lake, but predominates on its northern, western, and southern shores. Twelve kilometers south of Pátzcuaro small Lake Zirahuén, within the eastern prong of the Sierra, appears to have been formed by a lava-blocked

[4] An excellent specimen of charred maize so embedded is in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia.

133 stream.[5] Both lakes present similar shore features—moderately steep banks alternating with wide, flattish delta fans.

In other respects the two lakes are distinct. Pátzcuaro is shallow (deepest point in the southern arm, 20 feet; in the northern part, 50 feet, in 1941); Zirahuén is relatively deep (148 feet, maximum sounding). Moreover, while the level of Zirahuén (6,953 feet in 1942) is relatively stable, that of Pátzcuaro (6,671 feet in 1942) has fluctuated frequently in historical times. Since 1939 the lake level has descended nearly 4 feet, exposing large areas of mud flats along the shore and revealing one new island (Pastora) near the southwest corner of the lake (pl. 1). In some places the descending waters have uncovered old tree stumps, indicating that formerly the lake level was even lower than at present. On the other hand, the western portion of the large lacustrine plain of Chapultepec in historical times formed an eastward extension of the lake's southeast arm, denoting a former level higher than the present one.[6] The cause of flucuation in level is not clear.
[132] De Buen (1944), judging from meteorological data (1939–43), has suggested a correlation between rainfall and evaporation variation on the one hand and lake surface fluctuation on the other. The excessive evaporation and low rainfall during those years likely affected lake volume, but normal precipitation and evaporation in following years have not halted the gradual decrease in lake level. Moreover, if fluctuation is caused by meteorological elements, one would expect neighboring lakes to be similarly affected. Periodic clearing and clogging of sublacustrine crevices, often associated with lakes of volcanic origin, is another popular hypothesis applied to Lake Pátzcuaro.

The lake contains 10 islets on which live some
133 of the most conservative of the Tarascan people—
361 the fishermen. The four islands off the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (Pacanda, Yunuén, Tecuena, and Janitzio) are old volcanic hilltops with steep banks and, with the exception of flat-topped Pacanda, with little land suitable for cultivation. In the

[5] De Buen (1944) assigns the origin of all present and former lakes in the western portion of the Mesa Central to disruption of normal drainage by vulcanism. He also suggests that Lakes Patzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Yuriria were formed from portions of Río Lerma drainage, since the fish *Chirostoma*, abundant in Lake Chapala and the Lerma, is found also in these lakes, the number of species decreasing from Chapala (10) to Zirahuén (2).

[6] The 16th-century map of Lake Pátzcuaro which accompanies the Relación de Michoacán (1903) clearly shows the former extent of the southeastern arm. At the time of the Conquest this section included the island of Apatzio, now a hill some 300 m. from the water's edge.

133 shallow southern part of the lake lie Jarácuaro,
[361] the largest of the group, and the newly formed Pastora. (The former island of Copujo is now attached to the mainland.) Both islands are low, composed of semiconsolidated alluvial materials. Along the southern shore only low marsh now separates the Urandén islets (low volcanic hills) from the mainland (pl. 1).

The southern escarpment.—Although geologically similar to the Sierra, the abrupt southern escarpment, which forms part of the Mesa Central's southern wall, constitutes a distinct physiographic area. Pleistocene and Recent vulcanism continues from the Sierra to the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Rivers, Jorullo having been the most recent volcanic activity on the escarpment. The canyons formed by deeply entrenched spring-fed streams are the escarpment's salient features. Some barrancas exceed 500 feet in depth. The upper tributaries of the escarpment streams are eroding headwardly into the Sierra, capturing enclosed basins and intermittent water courses.[7] Above the barranca area shallow basins occur in the upper portion of the escarpment. Probably of volcanic origin, these flattish-floored valleys are now tapped by escarpment streams. Typical examples are the plains surrounding Uruapan, those below Peribán and Los Reyes, the valleys of Tingambato and Tacambaro, all important sites of former Tarascan settlement in the *tierra templada*.

The northern plateau area.—The former Tarascan area north of the Sierra forms part of the interior plateau county of Central Mexico. For the most part physiography is characterized by old volcanic hills and mountains separated by flat to rolling plains country. The part of this region formerly inhabited by Tarascans extends from Lake Chapala east to the Sierra de Ozumatlán and from the Sierra north to the Lerma River. (The low areas near the river and its tributaries are often termed the "Bajío.") A narrow belt of the hill and plains landscape also extends south from Lake Chapala to include the Cotija-Tingüindín area along the western side of the Sierra. Average elevations in the interior plateau decrease from 7,200 feet along the flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán to 5,000 feet at Lake Chapala. The

[7] For example, this phenomenon has occurred at the southwestern edge of the Sierra, where a tributary of the Tepalcatepec has apparently captured the drainage of the structural basin which runs east-west from Parangaricutiro to Peribán.

133 higher hills and mountains rise 2,600 to 4,000 feet above the surrounding plains.

The young volcanic land forms found in the Sierra are lacking in much of the northern area, where the principal elevations consist of eroded composite Tertiary volcanoes. A few tongues of Recent lava flow from the Sierra into the northern edge of the plains, and cinder cones extend northward from El Zirate. Many lakes, some occupying structural basins, dot the northern area. The extensive sections of old alluvium, which form a good part of the plains, probably represent beds of Pleistocene lakes. At the northern and northwestern base of the Sierra many spring-fed lakes and marshes existed in historical times, e. g., Ciénaga de Zacapu, de Tangancícuaro, de Chapala, etc. The lacustrine basins and the borders of the former lakes and marshes were the major areas of Spanish settlement in the Tarascan North, for both afforded year-round pasture and sites for irrigated wheat farms. Some marshy sections [311] still exist, but natural desiccation and artifical drainage have converted much of the wet area to dry farmland. The once extensive chain of lakes in the Cotija graben, west of the Sierra, has almost completely disappeared, and the marshes of Zacapu, around which are grouped a few remnant Tarascan pueblos, have been converted into a large farming area.

A unique physiographic subarea of the northern zone, called "La Cañada," a narrow east-west depression at the northern base of the Sierra, is still one of the significant Tarascan regions. The valley floor, 10 km. long and 2 km. wide, decreases rapidly in altitude from 6,360 feet at its eastern end to 5,840 feet at Chilchota, near the western extremity (pl. 1). The western end of the valley is marked by an ancient lava flow, which once partially blocked normal drainage. Subsequent deposition of alluvium (possibly lacustrine) behind the lava dam has resulted in the present wide flattish floor of the valley's western half. Today the stream draining the valley flows subsequently through a deep gorge cut through the northern end of the lava flow. The numerous intermittent streams which descend from the adjacent hills have built up small alluvial fans along the valley sides. Like other areas at the edge of the Sierra, [312] La Cañada is favored by numerous large springs [361] issuing from fissures at the southern and eastern borders of the depression. Alluvium and water

133 have attracted human settlement to the valley
[312] since prehistoric times. Sierra Tarascans, who
[361] call La Cañada "Erášemen" (view from above),
[102] probably visited the valley for chile and early maize before the Spanish Conquest. Spaniards immediately seized the well-watered plains near Chilchota for wheat fields. Today La Cañada is a garden spot of orchards and wheat fields amid rocky volcanic hills.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

132 **Meteorological data.**—In dealing with meteorology, northwestern Michoacán will be treated as a whole; attempts will be made to point out regional differences in temperature and rainfall. Meteorological stations in the area are few; data are entirely lacking for the Sierra. Consequently, only general statements can be made concerning the weather and climate of modern Tarasca.

132 Annual temperature ranges throughout the area are small.[8] Lowest winter temperatures occur in the Sierra, the Tarascan *tierra fría*, where nocturnal freezing and frosts are common from November to March [9] (map 3). Winter temperatures in the northern plateau and Lake Pátzcuaro areas are somewhat milder than those of the Sierra (January averages: Zamora, 16.2° C.; Zinapecuaro, 15.9°; Pátzcuaro, 13.9°), and the number of days with frost is smaller. The winters of the upper escarpment (*tierra templada*) are frost-free (January average for Uruapan, 16.0° C.). Summer

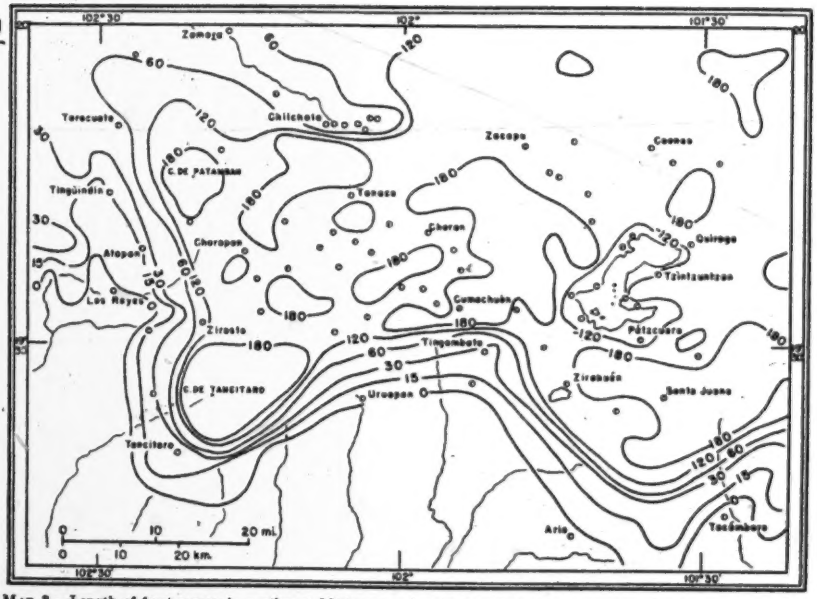
[text continues top of p. 6a---Analyst]

[8] Data from seven stations in the area give annual temperature ranges from 3.9° C. (Hacienda Tequecaran, 10 km. south of Uruapan) to 7.7° C. (Zacapu). The meteorological data given in text are taken from Atlas climatológico de México (Mexico. Servicio meteorlogico mexicano, 1939).

[9] The mining town of Tlalpujahua (elev. 8,500 feet), on the eastern border of Michoacán, 140 km. east of Pátzcuaro, may afford temperature data similar to that of the Sierra. December and January are the coldest months, with average monthly temperatures of 11.8° and 11.5°, respectively. Maximum temperatures occur in April and May (15.0° and 15.9° C.), which are probably somewhat lower than those occurring in the Sierra.

[P. 5c]

132



MAP 3.—Length of frost season in northwest Michoacán. Isopleths indicate the average length of annual period in days, in which frosts occur. Data are mainly from reckonings by local inhabitants.

132 temperatures are high over the entire Tarascan area, but less so in the higher Sierra. The warmest months are April and May, the period immediately before the rainy summer (May average temperatures: Zacapu, 19.1° C.; Uruapan, 22.4°; Zamora, 23.2°; Cuitzeo, 23.2°; Pátzcuaro, 19.9°).

Precipitation in the area, as in most parts of Mexico, is seasonal, 80 percent of the annual total falling mainly as convectional thundershowers in June, July, August, and September. In the Sierra the summer rains often continue as drizzles for a period of 3 to 4 days, suggesting local cyclonic origin. Occasionally during the months of December and January light winter rains, called *cabañuelas*, or janínperkua, occur. These rains prevail over most of western Mexico when cyclonic disturbances over the Pacific reach inland, a condition which occurs every 3 or 4 years.[10] Such precipitation often falls as snow on the higher volcanoes in the Sierra, such as Tancítaro, Patamban, and Quinseo. Freak snow storms have been recorded in historical times; in September 1887 several inches of snow fell in the vicinity of Charapan and San Felipe, caving roofs and destroying the maize crop.[11] Another curious meteorological phenomenon of the Sierra is the prevalence of radiation fog in the low basins from late summer to early winter. Forming in the early morning hours (after 1 a. m.), the fog evaporates by noon. Its presence lowers average daily temperatures and prevents rapid evaporation of surface moisture.[12]

Annual precipitation in the area north and east of the Sierra averages from 750 to 850 mm. A greater amount is recorded around Lake Pátzcuaro (town of Pátzcuaro, 1,109 mm.), and even more probably falls in the Sierra, where no records exist. The greatest precipitation in Tarasca is recorded along the southern (windward) side of the Sierra in the upper escarpment zone. (Average annual totals for Uruapan, 1,683 mm.; Ario de Rosales, 1,225 mm.; Tacámbaro, 1,240 mm.)

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[10] In northwestern Mexico, particularly in Sonora and the Sierra Madre Occidental, the winter cyclonic storms are called *equipatas*. Although they are part of the same frontal system, the *equipatas* occur more frequently than the *cabañuelas* since northwestern Mexico is nearer the North Pacific center of frontogenesis.

[11] Lumholtz (1902, vol. 2, p. 365) states that water has been known to freeze in Cherán and Zacapu on June 10.

[12] The Sierra fogs are often mentioned by colonial chroniclers. One, describing the Charapan area in 1789: " . . . *continuamente se ve el terreno cubierto de neblas, que evaporen y evale la humedad de la tierra*" (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 219).

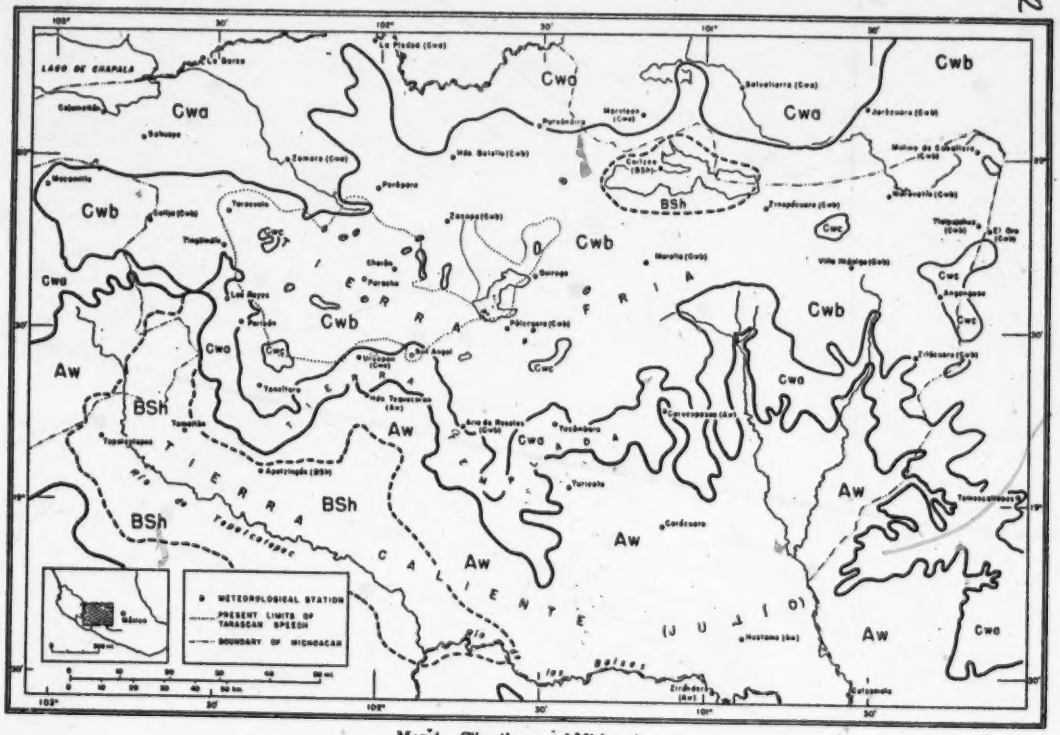
132 **Climatic areas and associated vegetation.**—
137 Sufficient statistical data are not available to construct accurately a map showing climatic types in the Tarascan area. Using (1) the available statistics from the few existing stations, (2) vegetation boundaries taken from field observations and aerial photographs, and (3) elevations from topographic maps compiled from aerial photography, an attempt has been made to locate climatic areas based on the Köppen system (map 4).

The Sierra.—The Cwb and Cwc climatic types of Köppen[13] correspond to the *tierra fría* of the Tarascans—the Sierra, its eastern extension (including the Sierra de Ozumatlán), and the southeastern part of the northern plateau area. A mixed oak-pine forest forms the dominant vegetation of the Sierra and its eastern extension, and corresponds to the higher and colder phase of the Cwb climatic zone. (Cf. maps 4 and 5.) *Pinus*
137 *leiophylla* (pino chino) and *P. michoacana* var. *cornuta* (pino lacio) are the principal pines (p'ukúri) of the Sierra (Martínez, 1945). (Pl. 1.) The former species is the main turpentine producer, while the latter, a straight, tall tree, affords the best lumber. Minor species of pines found in the Sierra include *P. teocote*, *P. pseudostrobus*, and in the upper escarpment zone, the subtropical pine *P. oocarpa*. Even at high altitudes the pines rarely form solid stands, but are mixed with numerous species of oak, the latter dominent at lower altitudes, the former at higher elevations. Some 30 species of oak (uríkua, tukús, šarári), both deciduous and persistent, occur in the Sierra and adjacent areas. Among the more common are *Quercus fulva*, *Q. acuminata*, *Q. circinata*, *Q. laxa*, *Q. crassipes*, and *Q. pandurata* (Trelease, 1924). Often mixed with pine and oak are madroño (panáŋkʌ; *Arbutus* sp.); various laurels (Lauraceae); many hydrophytes in barranca bottoms, such as jaboncillo (sápu), palo blanco (uárpit-uku; *Alnus* sp.), palo colorado (čarápit-uku).

On lower slopes one often sees the Mexican "crab apple" (actually a hawthorne) or tejocote (kʌɪás; *Crataegus mexicana*) and the "cherry" or capulín (šéngua; *Prunus capuli*), both of which

[Text continues top of P. 8d.—Analysis]

[13] Mathematical values of Köppen symbols: *C*, temperature of coldest month between −3° and 18° C.; *w*, dry winter, rainy summer; *b*, temperature of warmest month less than 22° C.; *c*, temperature of coldest month above −38° C., and mean temperature of less than 4 months out of the year is more than 10° C.



MAP 4.—Climatic map of Michoacán.

137 are frequently semicultivated in hedgerows and in house lots. Agave (akámba; *A. latissima*, *A. americana*) is also a frequent hedge plant found particularly on the outskirts of settlements, and the tree yucca or izote (ɛ́ámbasa; *Yucca australis*), although more common at lower altitudes, is often seen in Sierra villages. Understory vegetation in the oak-pine zone is sparse, possibly owing to the annual burning of herbaceous plants in the forest to improve summer forage. Some of the more prominent understory plants are *zarzamora* (ɛ́'tún; *Rubus* sp.), a wild blackberry especially abundant along hedgerows, and wild grape vines (*Vitis* sp.). Various epiphytes, such as orchids of many species, are found on the trunks and branches of pine and oak throughout the Sierra.

[132] Although meteorological data are lacking, the climate of elevations above 10,000 feet is possibly Cwc, i. e., cold winters and cool summers (map 4). Such elevations occur on the upper slopes of the higher volcanoes, where snow occasionally falls and where fir (*Abies religiosa*) forms the dominant vegetation. On slopes above 8,700 feet this tree (*pinabete*, t'kúmbu) starts to appear among pine and oak. At 10,000 feet solid stands of fir begin and continue to the mountain peaks, where high altitude pine (*P. hartwegii*) has gained a foothold in cracks and crevices in rocky cliffs. Understory vegetation in the fir forest consists of various herbaceous plants, including a bunchgrass called *zacate* or jóčin (*Muhlenbergia macroura*). The green shoots of jóčin afford the principal forage for sheep and goat herds which are grazed on the high slopes of Cerro de Patamban and (before the eruption of Parícutin) on Cerro de Tancítaro.

The type of original vegetation in the basin plains within the Sierra is problematical. Probably cleared and cultivated for more than 300 years, these plains now show little evidence of the original vegetation cover. The dark-colored soil of the plains suggests the former presence of a grass cover, possibly with scattered oaks and pines.

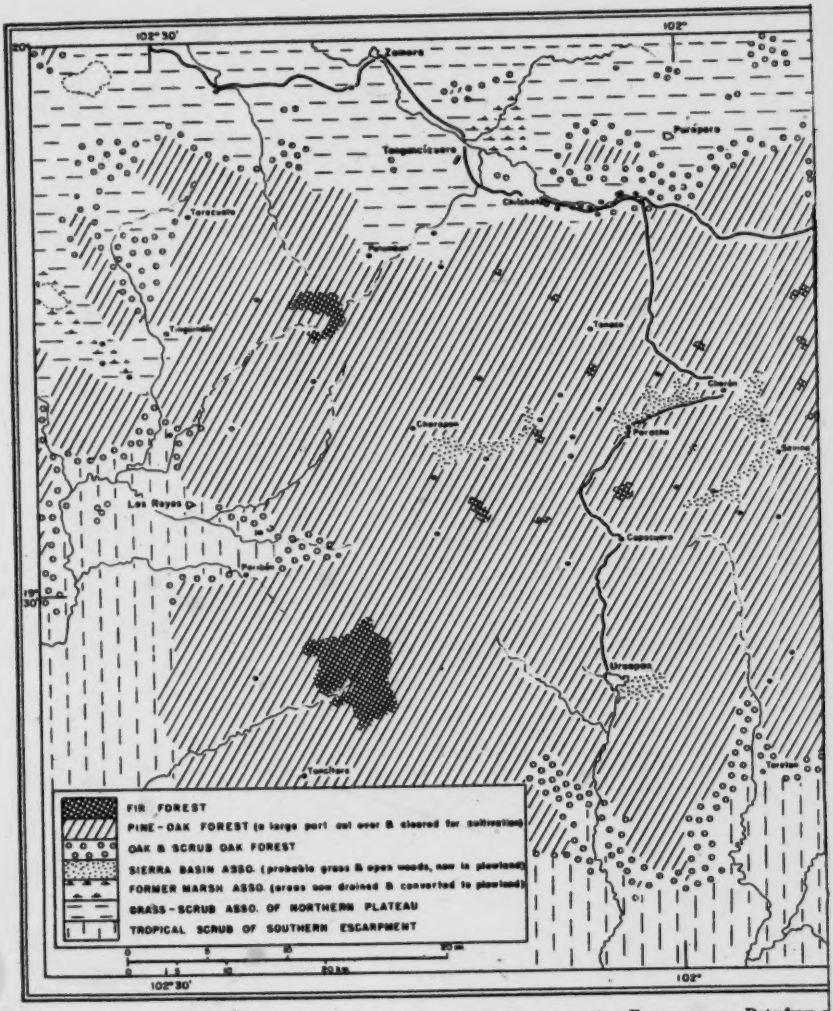
[132] **The Lake district.**—According to temperature figures, the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro fall within the *tierra fría* climate (Cwb). Owing to higher winter temperatures than those experienced in the Sierra, and to absence of fog, the Lake district enjoys a warm phase of Cwb (possibly transitional between Cwb and Cwa). Oak and associated broadleaf trees, such as madroño, jaboncillo, etc.,

137 form the dominant plant complex of a belt 3 km. wide around the lake. Moreover, colorín (p'ɔɪénɛ; *Erythrina americana*), casahuate (*Ipomoea murucoides*), and zapote blanco (uríata; *Casimiroa edulis*), all characteristic of the warmer sections of the northern plateau, are common hedge plants in the Lake area. Along the lake shore, water-loving plants, including a willow (tarímu; *Salix bonplandiana*), shrubs of "tepozán" (*Buddleia* sp.), and clumps of bamboolike carrizo (p'atámu; *Arundo donax*) are not uncommon; while in marshy sections canebrakes (*tule* or p'aɛ́mu; *Cyperus thrysiflorus*) abound. Other aquatic plants include various waterlilies and hyacinths (*Nymphaea* sp.; *Eichhornia speciosa*). Possibly a mixed pine-oak forest once covered the lower slopes bordering the lake, but, if so, the pines have long since been destroyed for firewood and lumber. Occasionally lone specimens of *Pinus leiophylla* are found on the outskirts of lake villages.

[132] **The northern plateau.**—The Cwb climate extends northward from the Sierra into the southeastern part of the northern plateau area. In the middle and lower Río Lerma Basin (Bajío) and in La Cañada, however, the Cwa climate of the *tierra templada* occurs. In both Cwa and Cwb areas of the northern plateau, oak and pine forests occupy only the summits of the higher hills, below which exist stands of oak and madroño. The lower slopes and plains carry an association of grass and shrub, the latter consisting of casahuate, zapote blanco, tejocote, palo blanco (*Lysiloma candida*), granjeno (*Celtis pallida*), jara amarillo (tóksten; *Senecio salignus*), all typical of the more humid portions of the central plateau. Xerophytes, such as huisache (*Acacia* sp.), mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*), and various cacti (mainly *Opuntieae*), are common. In the plains, fresnos (padámu; *Fraxinus* sp.) form gallery forests along streams, and in draws within the hills hydrophytes, such as wild ahuacate and other laurels, predominate. Formerly extensive meadows existed at the edge of swamps and lakes, particularly in the lowlands east of Lake Chapala and the well-watered plains near the northern edge of the Sierra. In the northern plateau pine and oak forests were formerly more extensive than at present. Many of the hilltops north of the present México-Guadalajara highway, which are now barren of arboreal vegetation, were once

[Text continues top of p. 9a---Analyst]

137



MAP 5.—Vegetation types in the modern Tarascan area. Data from a

[Facing page 8; section A.]

B7

modern Tarascan area. Data from aerial photographs and field notes.

749586 O - 48 (Face p. 8)

[Facing page 8; section B]

137 covered with pine and oak within the memory of living inhabitants. Increased cultivation of slopes and constant cutting for firewood and charcoal will soon destroy the greater part of the pine-oak remnants in the northern plateau.

The escarpment zone.—South of the Sierra lies
132 a series of climatic types arranged in altitudinal sequence. The upper part of the escarpment (5,600 to 3,600 ft.) is characterized by a narrow belt of Cwa (*tierra templada*) climate, which is followed abruptly by the subhumid *tierra caliente* (below 3,600 feet), or Aw. Below 2,000 feet within the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins, a semiarid tropical climate (BSh) prevails.

The pine-oak association of the Sierra spills
137 over onto the upper escarpment, but the subtropical *Pinus oocarpus* becomes the dominant pine. Between 4,600 and 3,600 feet, pines disappear, leaving an open oak forest mixed with subtropical and tropical plants of southern Mexico. At lower elevations the latter plants become dominant.[14]

SOILS

Three soil types, which tend to coincide with
134 climate and vegetation, predominate in the Tarascan area: (1) a yellowish-brown leached soil of
132 the upper mountain slopes (Cwb to Cwc, pine-fir
137 cover); (2) a dark, fine sandy loam (t'upúri) of the lower slopes and basins in the Sierra (Cwb, oak-pine, probably grass vegetation); and (3) the reddish-brown clay soil (čaránda) of the lower altitudes (warm phase of Cwb, Cwa, broadleaf vegetation) around Lake Pátzcuaro, in the lower elevations of the northern plateau, and in the escarpment zone (map 6). Transitional and special soil types also occur; for instance, many of the Sierra soils are termed "charandosas," having a higher clay content than the t'upúri loams.

Yellowish-brown soil.—This soil develops in
134 high altitudes under seasonally humid conditions

[14] The tropical vegetation of the escarpment is characterized by a great variety of genera and species. The most common plants include the milky-sapped trees and shrubs of the family Moraceae—comuchin (*Ficus padifolia*), siranda (*F. petiolaris*), sarama (*Cecropia mexicana*); the pod-bearing Mimosaceae—timbin (*Mimosa stipulata*), guaje (*Leucaena sp.*), huisache (*Acacia sp.*), tapehuaje (*Lysiloma sp.*), parota (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum*), timuche (*Pithecellobium lanceolatum*), guamuchil (*Pithecellobium dulce*), *Calliandra sp.*; the pod-bearing Caesalpiniaceae—habilla (*Cassia occidentalis*), cascalote (*Caesalpinia coriaria*), etc.; the edible fruit-bearing plants of the Annonaceae—chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*); of the Lauraceae—ahuacate (*Persea americana*); of the Sapotaceae—chicozapote (*Achras sapota*), mamey (*Calocarpum mammosum*); of the Anacardiaceae—cirouela, cupu (*Spondias mombin*); of the Mirtaceae—guayaba (*Psidium guayaba*); and the copal-bearing Burseraceae—copal (*Elaphrium jorullense*).

134 and fir-pine vegetation. It is the soil of the higher hillside maize plots in the Sierra; leached and infertile, it will produce crops for no longer than 4 or 5 years, after which the field is abandoned. The fine, sandy topsoil, however, is moisture retentive, and is therefore known as "tierra de humedad," in which crops can be planted 2 months before the rains.[15] Podzolic soils (uncultivated) probably occur above 10,000 feet in the fir forest.

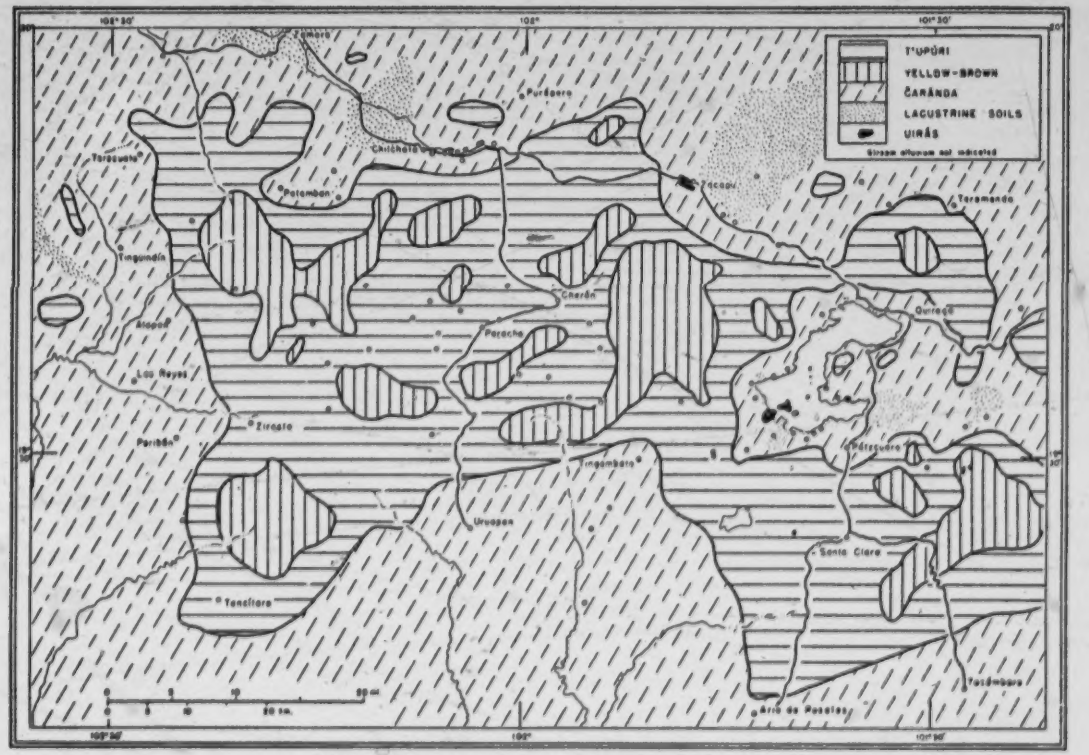
T'upúri.—The most productive of the highland "humedad" soils is t'upúri. Like the yellowish-brown soil, the texture of the topsoil is extremely fine. (Analyzed as fine sandy loam: 56 percent fine sand, 23 percent silt, 21 percent clay, 1 percent coarse gravel.) The surface drys to a fine powder and acts as an insulator, preventing the evaporation of moisture from the soil beneath. Consequently, in April and May near the end of the dry season the t'upúri soil is well moist 3 inches below the surface. T'upúri usually occurs between 6,500 and 8,000 feet on both the lower slopes and in the basin plains. Being porous, the soil soaks up moisture rapidly, preventing serious sheet or gully erosion even on the steeper slopes. Generally, the basin t'upúri is more fertile than the yellowish-brown, the topsoil of the former having a high humus content (6 percent), a fair content of critical elements (e. g. 0.09 percent N), but a deficiency of lime (0.31 percent). Various subtypes of t'upúri occur, differences being based mainly on soil texture. At the base of slopes or on alluvial fans the topsoil is often partially composed of coarse volcanic cinder. Such soil is locally called "cascajo," or gravel. Other subtypes are characterized by an increase in clay content. These occur on the lower slopes, and are sometimes referred to as "tierra charandosa."

Čaránda.—This is a reddish-brown clay soil, which prevails below 6,500 feet and develops from the spheroidal weathering of volcanic rock under warm summer and mild winter temperatures and a cover of broadleaf plants. (Textural content: 39 percent sand, 26 percent silt, 35 percent clay.)

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11a — ANALYSIS]

[15] Surface soil samples (to a depth of 25 cm. below surface) were taken by the writer in the Sierra and Lake areas and were analyzed by the Comisión Nacional de Irrigación, Dirección General de Agroeconómica, México, D. F. Texturally the highland yellow-brown soils are sandy loams, (60 percent fine sand, 20 percent clay, 20 percent silt, are highly water-retentive (30 percent), and are low in humus (4 to 10 percent). All soils analyzed (including t'upúri and čaránda types) were low in lime content (0.24 to 0.34 percent), and slightly alkaline to alkaline (pH values: yellow-brown mountain soils, 7.22 to 7.24; t'upúri, 7.44 to 7.71; čaránda, 7.21 to 7.42; uirás, 8.05 to 8.13). Since profiles were not determined, classification according to world soil groups is not possible at this time.

134



MAP 6.—Soil types in the modern Tarascan area. Data from field notes.

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 241 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11b—Analyst]

TARASCAN

POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 178 171 One of the outstanding developments in Tarascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the 191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign 563 tongues existed; these represented colonies settled with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 11b—Analyst]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomf
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[161] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12b — ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cuseo; Mus. Nac., leg. 80, Rel. de Charo Mathkinge.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1873, vol. I, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. I, Rel. de Tancítaro.

[P. 12 a]

A1
131
563
177

Limits of Tarascan Speech, ca. 1550 (Brand)
Inclusions of Foreign Speech, ca 1550
Area of Tarascan Speech, 1946
Boundary of Michoacán
LAGO DE CHAPALA
Zamora
Pátzcuaro
Tacámbaro
Tzitzio
Zitácuaro
Tuxpan
Tepalcatepec
Coalcomán
Tecpan
Tlapa
Tlachinollan
Tlapehuala
Cuetzala
Ajuchitlán
Tecpanatitlán
Zihuatanejo
Coyuca
Tixtla
Chilapa
Tlalchapa
Tlaxcala
Tlaxcalantongo
Tepeyac
Tepeji
Tepeaca
Tehuacán
Tlacotepec
Tlacotepec
Tlacotepec

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-b]

161 New Spain 1 year after the coming of Cortés.
164 Thereafter epidemics occurred periodically during
177 the colonial period, completely obliterating the population of some districts, especially those in the low, hot lands. Smallpox, measles, and probably typhus (teréꝑekua) were the most common killers. Mendizábal (1939) has estimated that in the first century of Spanish occupation the Indians of New Spain were reduced to 25 percent of their pre-Conquest numbers, and that the pre-Spanish population of the diocese of Michoacán was possibly 200,000, which was reduced to some 92,000 by 1550.[13] Judging from the accounts in the Relaciones Geográficas of 1579–81, the basins of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec suffered the most heavily. There from one-third to all of the inhabitants of some villages were destroyed. Accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries mention scores of villages in the Tarascan area which are now nonexistent, the inhabi-

[13] Mendizábal made this calculation from figures given in the Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

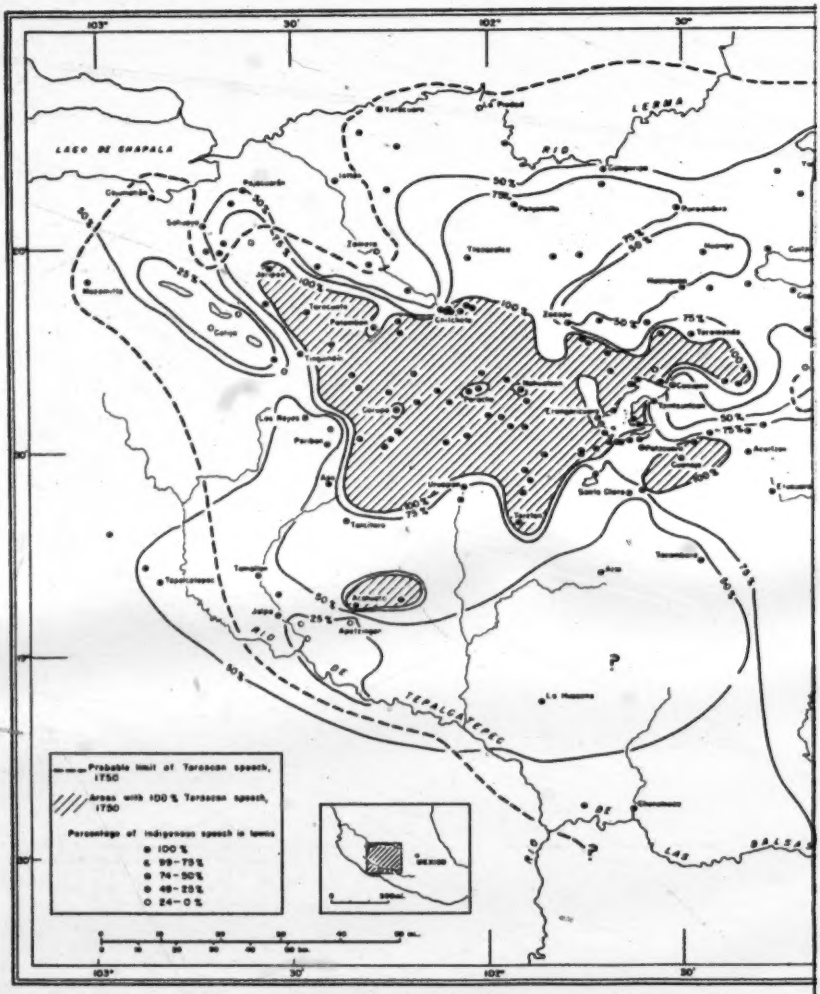
Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1524 to 1528 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13a]

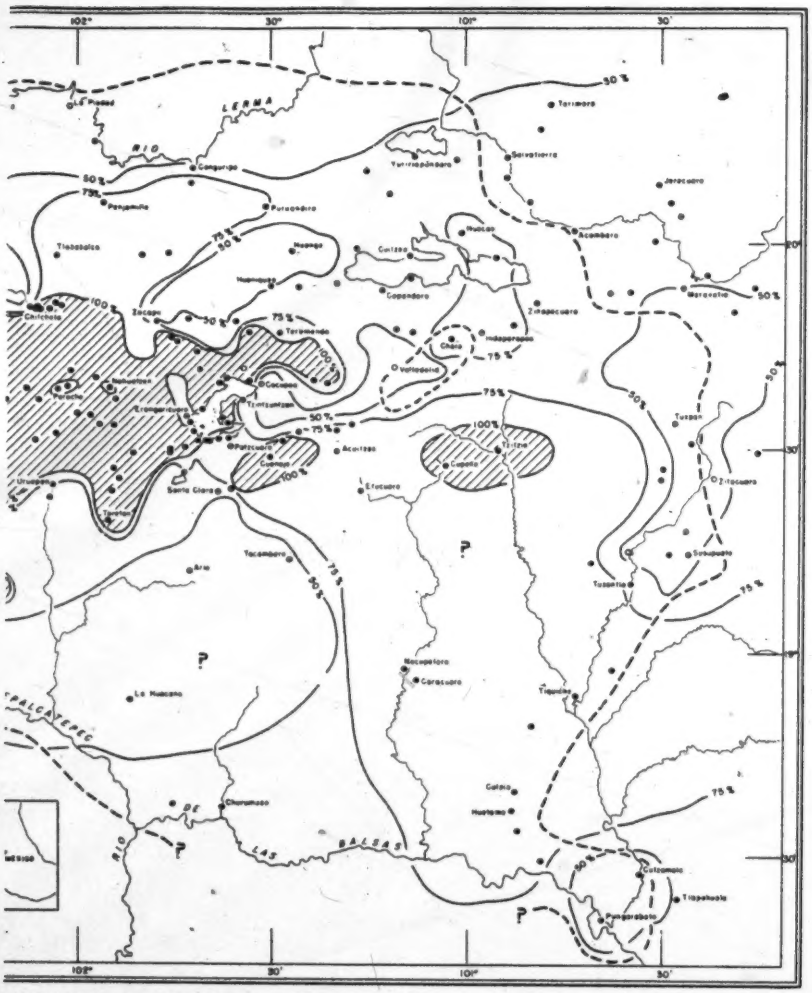
191



MAP 8.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1750. Isopleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to to

[Facing p. 12; section A]

191


LERMA
RIO
DE
LAS
BALSAS
Tarimoro
Salvatierra
Jerécuaro
Acámbaro
Yuriria
Cuitzeo
Huandacareo
Copándaro
Zinapécuaro
Indaparapeo
Cuitzeo
Tlazazalca
Zacapu
Tarimbaro
Tlalpujahua
Tuxpan
Tacámbaro
Tiquicheo
Coalcomán
Huetamo
Cutzamala
Tlapehuala
Tecpan
Santa Clara
Uruapan
Tarécuaro
Ario
Carácuaro
Tiquicheo
Coalcomán
Huetamo
Cutzamala
Tlapehuala
Tecpan
Zitácuaro
Sirándaro
Tuxpan
Tlazazalca
Tarimbaro
Tacámbaro
Ario
Carácuaro
Tiquicheo
Coalcomán
Huetamo
Cutzamala
Tlapehuala
Tecpan
Zitácuaro
Sirándaro
Tlazazalca
Tarécuaro
Acuitzio
Cuitzeo
Santa Clara
Uruapan
Tarécu

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
191 contributed more than any other factor to the loss
177 of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 256).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 13-b]

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
[164] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were estab-
[166] lished *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech[23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
[127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1748, and 1759, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746–48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1808, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 14a]

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

The western area.—Immediately west of the
563 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
191 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was
177 early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1800. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1860); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1845; Orozco y Berra, 1854, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1862.

563 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers
177 and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large
Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but
191 the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern
[164] plateau. In the former area disease probably decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[25] The mill settlements (*trapiches*, *ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians
[464] were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, ex-
191 ploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente*
[177] and the establishment of smelting centers in Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[25] In 1540 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Tuxpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1906, vol. 1, p. 253).

[Text continues top of P. 17a---Analysis]

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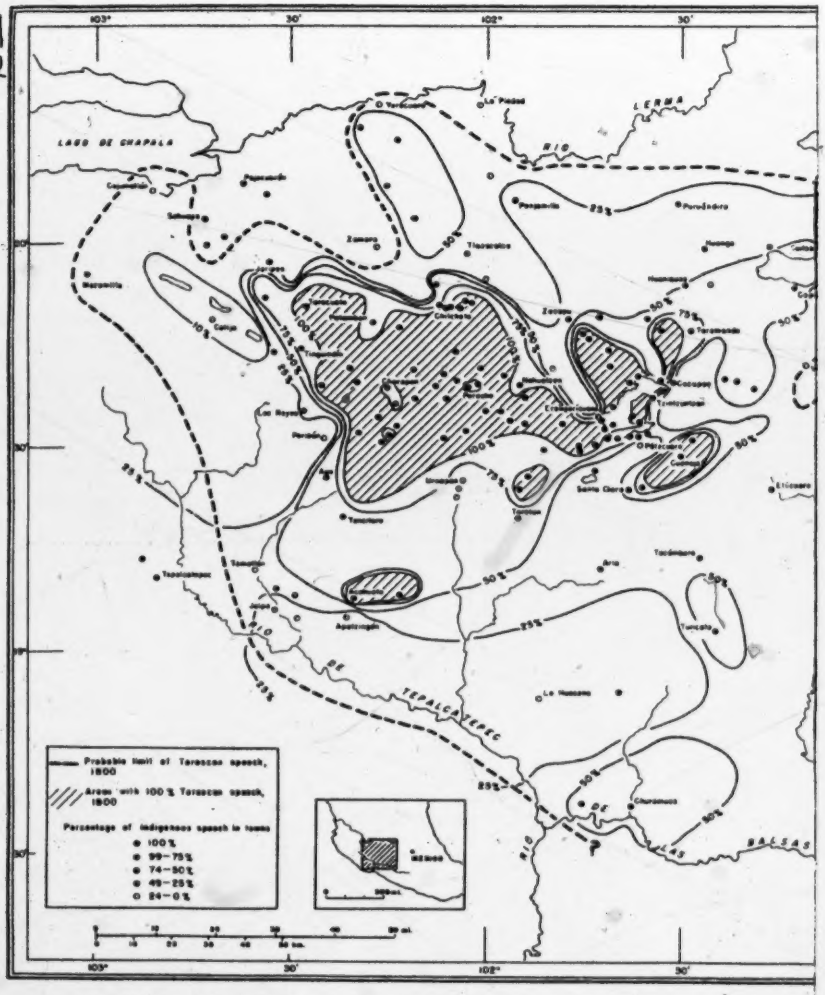

MAP 9.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1800. Isopleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to tot

[Facing page 14; section A]

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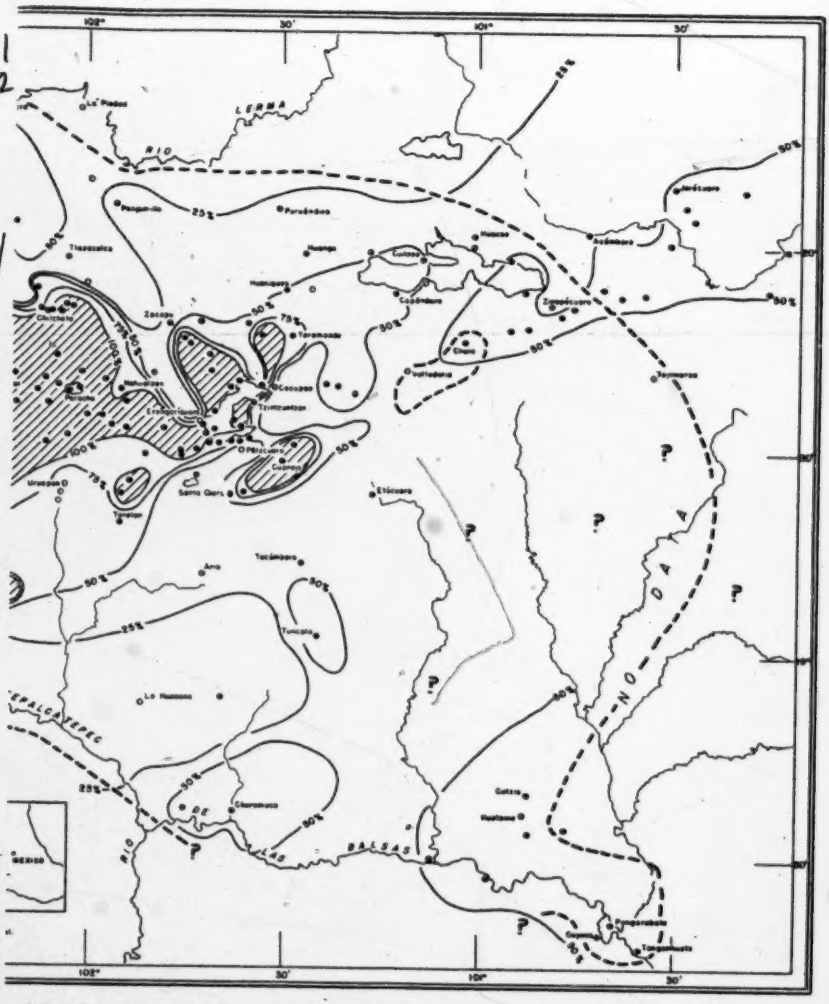
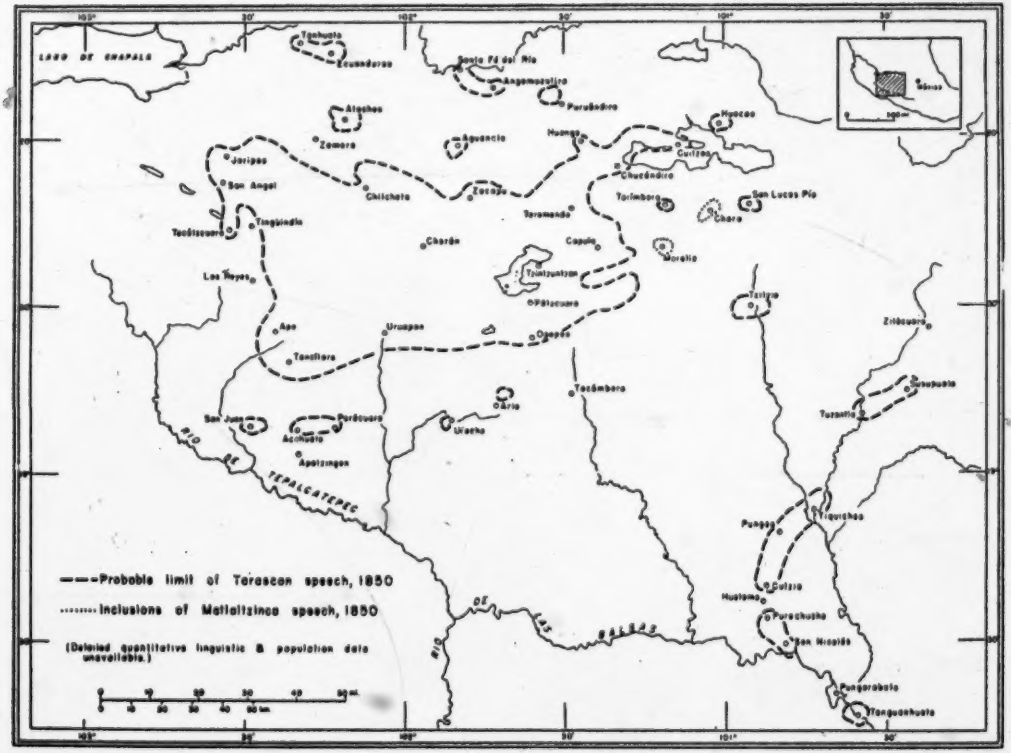


sopleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to total number of inhabitants at any given locality

[Facing page 14; section B]

[P. 15]



MAP 10.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1850.

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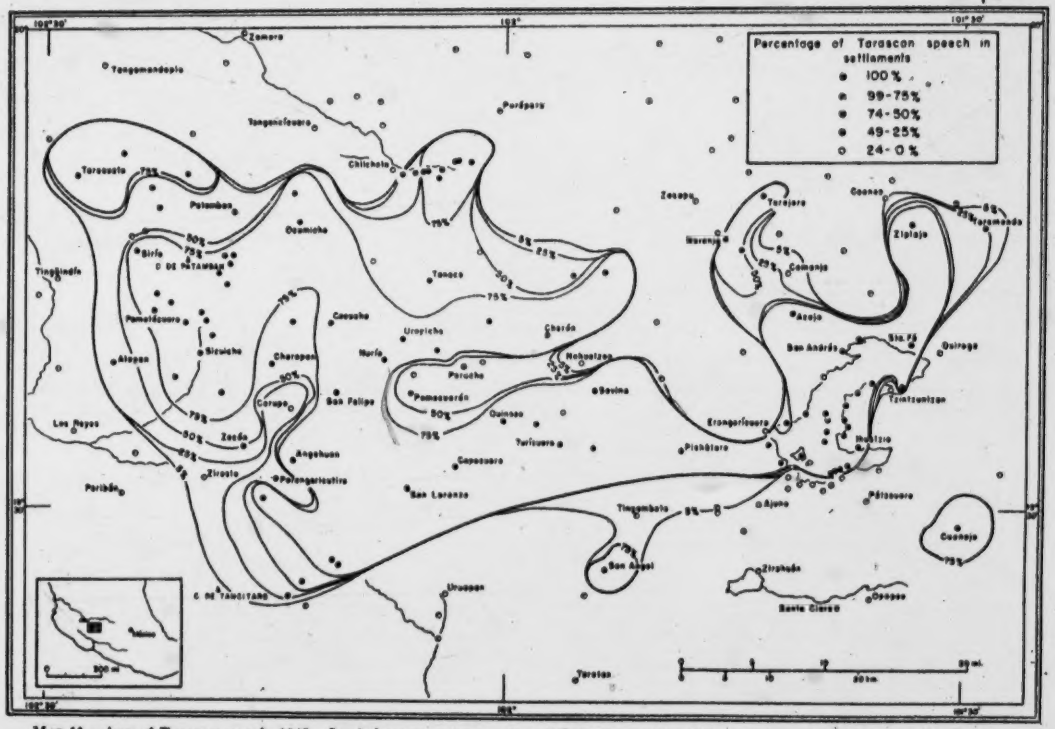
[P. 16]



MAP 11.—Area of Tarascan speech, 1940. Isopleths represent percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to total number of inhabitants in the area.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 17-a]

191 Tarascan to Spanish was also low. Only one isolated area of solid native speech existed northeast of Apatzingán (the fruit-growing villages of Acahuato and Parácuaro). The 18th-century population figures for the sparsely inhabited, highly dissected hot country south of Morelia are not extant, but it was probably entirely Tarascan in language. In 50 years percentages of native speech had decreased, but the outer limits of the language remained practically unchanged. In 1850, however, only scattered islands of indigenous speech remained: along the Balsas at the southeastern extremity of the old Tarascan area (Tanganhuato, Pungarabato); a disjunct arc extending from the Balsas northeast to near Zitácuaro (San Nicolás, Purechucho, Cutzeo, Pungeo, Tiquicheo, Tuzantla, and Susupuato); the Acahuato-Parácuaro district; and the pueblo of San Juan de los Plátanos, west of Apatzingán (map 10). By 1940 Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* had entirely disappeared; only the small fruit town, San Angel Zurumucapio, represented the last remnant of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. Again, as in the northern plateau, the sudden collapse of native speech in the south came in the first half of the 19th century. There, the Tarascans have lost most heavily territorially, for the hot country, although a colonial area and probably lightly held in terms of population, comprised more than half of the old empire.

The present distribution of Tarascan speech is confined mainly to the *tierra fría*—Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra. These regions, together with La Cañada, appear to be a resistant core in which the Tarascans are making a last stand against complete loss of their native tongue. In the maps of 1750, 1800, and 1850 these regions stand out as the only large purely indigenous part of Tarasca.
191 The failure of Spaniards and their mulatto
177 laborers to settle in the Sierra and in some sections of the Lake district cannot be attributed to inaccessibility, for those areas are open country with few impediments to horse travel.[38] The Sierra was simply unattractive to Spanish exploitation. Neither it nor the Lake area contained mineral wealth. The pine-oak forests, with little palatable grass and numerous predatory animals, offered few attractions for the stockman.

[487] [38] The *camino real* from México to Nueva Galicia, via Pátzcuaro, traversed the center of the Sierra, passing through Pichátaro, Sevina, Nahuátzen, Cherán, and Chilchota.

191 Nor was the region's winter climate an induce-
177 ment.[27] The religious had penetrated all Indian settlements in the Sierra and Lake areas; every pueblo was under an absentee *encomendero* to whom tributes in money, grain, or handicrafts were paid periodically. But the Indians had little contact with the Spanish tongue. By 1750, however, some Spanish families, probably traders, had settled in a few Sierra market towns (Patamban, Paracho, Nahuatzen, Corupo), and in 1800 the towns of Charapan and Parangaricutiro also contained one or two Spanish families.[28] A large part of the inhabitants of those pueblos today speak only Castilian (map 12). After independence in 1822, a few Spaniards or mestizos established agricultural settlements on the Sierra, e. g. the *rancho* of Arato, now a pueblo 10 km. west of Paracho.

Although the Tarascan area first to harbor
361 Spaniards was the Lake region (Pátzcuaro, Tzint-
191 zuntzan), some of its pueblos have succeeded in
177 preserving the native tongue. Such towns are located on the islands and in isolated positions on the shore (northwestern edge of the lake, and the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula). By 1750 numerous Spanish haciendas and mestizo *ranchos* existed along the southern, southwestern, and northeastern borders of the lake. Cocupao (modern Quiroga), Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro at that time were approximately 50 percent Spanish-speaking, and the city of Pátzcuaro, the colonial administrative and economic center of the Lake area, was less than 25 percent Tarascan in speech. Today the language of the former colonial hacienda districts around the lake is completely nonindigenous. These include the entire southern shore, the northeastern section, and many points along the western border.

The history of the southern shore represents a
191 typical example of the influence of haciendas on
177 the hispanicization of native populations. By the mid-18th century large Spanish holdings had enveloped most of the native pueblos, contrary to laws which insured Indians a block of land (for

[27] The Sierra's unattractiveness to Spanish settlement is aptly described by the Franciscan friar, Diego Muñós, writing in 1608 on the cultivated land near Capacuaro: ". . . y no son tierras para mas que gadios criados alli que los tienen curados y experimentados; que aspadeles las aspadeen poco por ser temple rriguroso al mas frio de machaiera acrecentandole el ayre como ordinario desabrido rreele y delgado y la yerba es aspera, yautil para ganado." (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14).

[28] AAM, siglo XVIII, leg. 235 (1746); leg. 277 (1750). In 1798, 19 *gente de razón* lived in Charapan, 6 in Parangaricutiro, 40 in Corupo (AAM siglo XIX, leg. 175).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 18a]

191 buildings) measuring 600 yards (*varas*) in each
177 cardinal direction from the village church. Deprived of land, most of the men of the pueblos sought work in the sugar plantations in the *tierra templada* around Ario and Tacámbaro, returning only occasionally to their homes. Others became peons in the adjacent haciendas, working with mulatto and mestizo labor (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–306). Consequently, the decreased use and subsequent loss of the native language was inevitable. Only the fishers inhabiting the small Urandén Islands immediately offshore, who were unaffected by the haciendas, were able to preserve their native tongue.

MODERN LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The modern Tarascan area is in no sense a
191 solid block of indigenous speech (table 1). The inhabitants of only 32 of the 66 Tarascan towns and 31 of the 50 indigenous *ranchos* all speak the native tongue (map 12). Nearly 25 percent of the population within the present area is composed of mestizos who know only Spanish. Such people are mainly merchants and *arrieros* living in most of the Indian pueblos and farmers inhabiting nonindigenous *ranchos* scattered throughout the Sierra and the Lake district. Fifty years ago native market centers, the towns of Nahuatzen and Tingambato now contain but a handful of people who have retained the indigenous language.
[162] According to 1940 census figures, only 35 percent of the inhabitants of Patamban are Tarascan in speech, 38 percent of those of Parangaricutiro, 30 percent of those of Paracho, 20 percent of those of Sirosto, and 10 percent of those of Corupo.[39] Moreover, in 1940, 18 mestizo *ranchos* were scattered between Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra. In addition to mestizo merchants and farmers, many Spanish-speaking lumbermen inhabit the ephemeral sawmills prevalent in the Sierra forests. Hence, infiltrating mestizo settlement has shattered the once-continuous indigenous area in the Sierra and Lake district into small islets of purely Tarascan speech. The more notable of these
191 islets are: (1) seven towns in La Cañada, (2)
361 the pueblos and *ranchos* grouped around the flanks of Cerro de Patamban, (3) the Tarecuato district, (4) a string of villages east of Cerro de

[39] The percentage for Corupo is open to question. Although no actual statistical sampling was done, an impression of a much greater percentage of Tarasco-speaking inhabitants was obtained by the writer when he visited that town in 1946.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 18-b]

191 Quinceo, and (5) the islands and adjacent shore
361 settlements of Lake Pátzcuaro (map 11). (See table 1.)

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940* [1]

[Data from official census, 1940]

THE SIERRA

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Locality [2a]	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Charapan:			
Charapan (p)	1,715	1,311	76.4
San Felipe (p)	887	795	89.5
Huancho (r)	20	20	100.0
Rancho Nuevo (r)	34	19	62.0
La Palma (r)	161	0	.0
Municipio of Cherán:			
Cherán (p)	3,305	2,909	87.6
Cocumo (r)	195	81	41.0
Tzipiatiro (r)	24	20	83.7
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Huécato (r)	127	0	0
Los Nogales (r)	308	0	0
Rancho Seco (r)	60	0	0
El Pedregal (r)	118	0	0
Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Canes (r)	26	0	0
Porumbo (h)	49	0	0
La Zaraamora (r)	92	0	0
Zincire (r)	412	0	0
Municipio of Los Reyes:			
Atapan (p)	1,601	257	25.6
Jesús Díaz (Sirio) (p)	696	696	100.0
Paracatécuaro (p)	1,382	1,372	99.2
Sicuicho (p)	810	709	86.5
Zacán (p)	876	439	50.1
Charato (r)	271	261	96.3
La Previdencia (r)	95	95	100.0
San Benito (r)	255	255	100.0
San Luis Soreña (r)	64	64	100.0
La Tinaja (r)	154	154	100.0
El Tropezón (r)	84	84	100.0
Uringuitiro (Juzgitiro) (r)	287	287	100.0
Zaraamora (r)	130	130	100.0
Querándaro (r)	60	60	100.0
La Mesa (r)[3]	[3] 130	130	100.0
San Marcos Arachécuta (r)[3]	[3] 50	50	100.0
La Jolla (r)[3]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tapan (r)[3]	[3] 30	30	100.0
Tierras Blancas (r)[3]	[3] 85	85	100.0
Venado (r)[3]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Nahuatzen:			
Nahuatzen (p)	3,046	25	.7
Arantepacua (p)	660	660	100.0
Cumachuén (p)	1,086	1,069	98.3
Sevina (p)	581	576	99.4
Turicuaro (p)	749	749	100.0
La Mojonera (p)	831	0	0
El Padre (r)	94	0	0
El Pino (r)	132	0	0
San Isidro (r)	845	9	.1

[1] This table does not necessarily include statistics for all settlements within a given municipio. The boundaries of many municipios listed, such as Los Reyes and Pátzcuaro, extend beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech; in such cases many purely mestizo towns and ranches have been omitted. However, all settlements containing Tarascan-speaking inhabitants are listed.

[2a] In this column (c)=ciudad; (v)=villa; (p)=pueblo; (r)=rancho; (rr)=railroad station; (h)=hacienda.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 19-a--Analysis]

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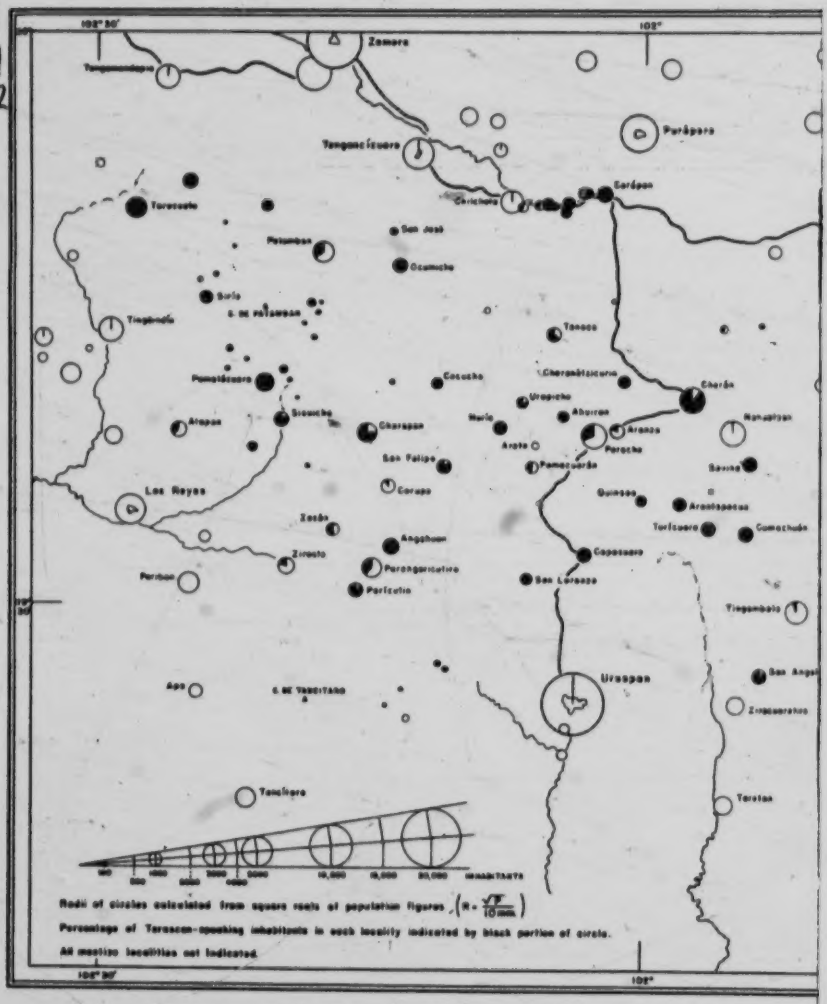

MAP 12.—Distribution of Tarascan speech by settlements, 1940. Based on official 1940 census da

[Facing page 18; section A.]

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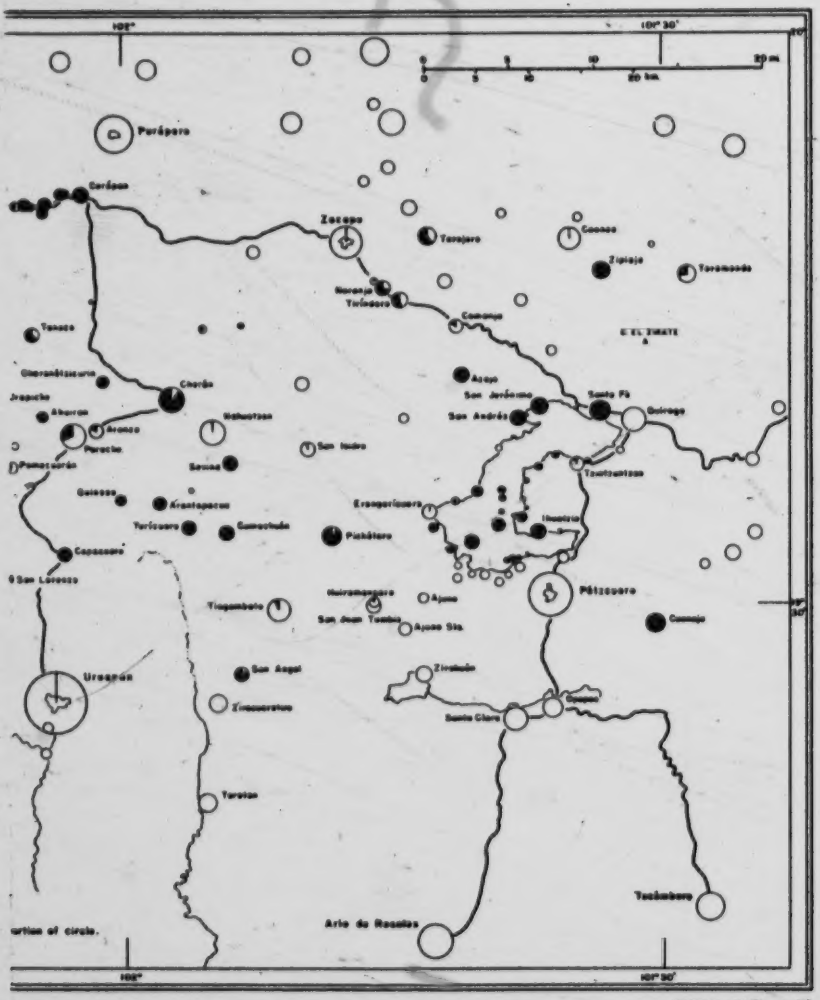

ata, 1940. Based on official 1940 census data. A few small Tarascan ranchos are not indicated. 765880 O - 48 (Face p. 18)

[Facing page 18; section B]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 19-a]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Paracho:			
Paracho (v)	3,204	1,005	30.4
Ahuiran (p)	593	593	100.0
Arasana (p)	792	136	17.1
Arato (p)	233	0	0
Cocucho (p)	584	584	100.0
Cheranátzicurin (p)	751	751	100.0
Nurio (p)	810	784	96.7
Pumacuaran (p)	628	288	45.8
Quineco (p)	482	482	100.0
Tanaco (p)	948	620	65.3
Urapicho (p)	541	423	78.0
Paedpitiro (r)	107	23	21.5
El Tejocote (r)	81	74	91.3
Municipio of Parangaricutiro:			
Parangaricutiro (p)	1,895	725	38.2
Angahuan (p)	1,608	1,608	100.0
Corupo (p)	813	85	10.4
Paricutin (p)	732	620	84.6
Tiroto (p)	1,314	269	20.5
La Alberca (r)	81	[4](7)	(7)
La Atascada (r)	74	[4](7)	(7)
Barranca Seca (r)	88	4	4.5
Cazoa Alta (r)	21	0	0
Las Canoas (r)	113	0	0
La Cantera (r)	69	40	57.8
Las Cocinas (r)	[3] 0	0	0
Los Desmontes (r)	23	0	0
El Estudiante (r)	26	8	30.7
Huanondio (r)	80	0	0
Los Lobos (r)	29	0	0
Sipicha (r)	20	0	0
El Tejamanil (r)	84	0	0
El Tepemal (r)	51	44	90.0
El Tepetate (r) [3]	[3] 50	22	45.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Cuanajo (p)	1,735	1,682	97.0
Huiramangaro (p)	540	17	3.1
San Juan Tumbio (p)	887	0	0
Ajuno (p)	540	0	0
Ajuno Sta. (rr)	719	0	0
Municipio of Tancítaro:			
Tancítaro (v)	1,358	6	.3
Apo (p)	876	0	0
Municipio of Tangamandapio:			
Tangamandapio (p)	2,573	12	.5
Tarecuato (p)	2,146	2,146	100.0
La Cantera (r)	962	962	100.0
Las Encinillas (r)	78	78	100.0
Los Laureles (r)	8	8	100.0
Uscaris (r)	305	0	0
Municipio of Tanganciaro:			
Ocumicho (p)	1,040	1,018	97.8
Patamban (p)	2,333	809	34.6
San José de Gracia (p)	170	147	86.4
Agua Escondida (r)	32	32	100.0
Arasuz (r)	54	21	39.0
Cuandaro (r)	37	2	5.4

[2] Locality not listed in 1940 census. Names obtained from local inhabitants.

[3] Estimated population.

[4] Entirely mestizo according to census, but 100 percent Tarascan according to officials in San Juan Nuevo (Los Conejos) in 1946.

[5] Uninhabited in 1940, but estimated population in 1948 around 25, all Tarascan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 196]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tangancícuaro—Continued			
Las Cañas (r)	51	20	39.2
Guarachanillo (r)	22	9	40.9
Rancho Nuevo (r)	38	3	8.0
Las Trojes (r)	14	0	0
El Tanguecho (r)	471	450	95.5
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Pichátaro (p)	1,877	1,740	92.7
Municipio of Tingüindín:			
Tingüindín (v)	2,897	15	.5
Tacátzcuaro (p)	1,495	7	.4
Las Trojes (r)	45	0	0
Municipio of Uruapan:			
San Lorenzo (p)	575	575	100.0
Capacuaro (p)	785	778	99.1
Cherangueran (r)	136	0	0
Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo) (p) [6]	(7)	(7)	(7)

THE LAKE AREA

Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Erongarícuaro (p)	1,209	14	1.1
Arócutín (p)	211	211	100.0
Jarácuaro (p)	875	875	100.0
Napízaro (p)	239	214	[7] 89.5
Puácuaro (p)	498	498	100.0
Uricho (p)	461	461	100.0
Nocutzepo (p)	409	0	0
Tócuaro (p)	186	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	234	0	0
Opongulo (r)	178	15	8.5
Revolución (r)	10	10	100.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Pátzcuaro (c)	9,537	[8] (7)	(7)
Janitzio (p)	771	748	97.0
Iharra (Pátzcuaro Sta.)	809	12	1.5
Huecorio (p)	499	0	0
Tzintzuntzan (p)	268	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (p)	412	0	0
Primo Tapia (p)	369	0	0
San Pedro Pareo (p)	384	0	0
Carián (r)	37	37	100.0
Tecuena (r)	73	73	100.0
Urandén Morales (r)	39	39	100.0
Urandén Morelos (r)	164	164	100.0
San Pedrito (r)	14	14	100.0
Yunuén (r)	118	118	100.0
Yuretzio (r)	170	14	8.2
Municipio of Quiroga:			
Quiroga (v)	3,609	4	.1
San Andrés (p)	1,179	1,155	98.8
San Jerónimo (p)	1,537	1,513	99.1
Santa Fé de la Laguna (p)	3,036	3,036	100.0
Atzimbo (r)	179	0	0
Chupícuaro (r)	31	0	0
Icuácato (r)	249	0	0
La Tirimicua (r)	88	0	0
Tzirandagatzio (r)	24	0	0

[6] Inhabited 1944. Official census figures not available.

[7] In 1946, according to local inhabitants, Napízaro was only 50 percent Tarascan.

[8] Owing to loss of original census data, the number of Tarascans in Pátzcuaro could not be calculated. The percentage would probably be extremely low.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 20-a]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE LAKE AREA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tzintzuntzan:			
Tzintzuntzan (c)	1,077	35 ([1] 136)	3.2([1] 12.7)
Cucuchucho (p)	296	279	94.5
Ihuatzio (p)	1,206	1,206	100.0
La Pacanda (p)	247	240	97.1
Cocucmbo (r)	431	0	0
Los Corrales (r)	177	0	0
Las Cuevas (r)	89	0	0
Las Granadas (r)	92	92	100.0
Ichupio (r)	162	162	100.0
Itziparámnen (r)	46	13	26.9
La Noria (r)	32	0	0
El Ojo de Agua (r)	104	104	100.0
Patambicho (r)	281	0	0
Las Pilas (r)	67	0	0
Santa Cruz (r)	178	0	0
Tarerio (r)	201	194	96.5
El Tecolote (r)	13	0	0
El Tigre (r)	119	0	0
Ucasanástacua (r)	110	110	100.0
La Verdolaga (r)	78	0	0
La Vinata (r)	71	71	100.0
THE NORTHERN PLATEAU REGION			
Municipio of Coeneo:			
Coeneo (v)	2,450	6	.2
Azajo (p)	1,097	1,088	99.2
Comanja (p)	806	91	11.3
Zipiajo (p)	1,311	1,302	99.4
Bellas Fuentes (h)	876	1	.1
Laredo (r)	345	1	.3
Matugeo (r)	484	0	0
Tunguitiro (r)	749	2	.2
Municipio of Zacapu:			
Zacapu (v)	6,169	14	.2
Cantabria (p)	1,122	0	0
Naranja (p)	1,082	763	70.5
Tarejaro (p)	1,457	891	61.1
Tirindaro (p)	1,262	686	54.8
Buenavista (h)	234	7	3.1
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	151	2	1.3
San Antonio (r)	909	0	0
Municipio of Morelia:			
Morelia (c)	44,304	23	.07
Teremendo (p)	1,331	379	28.4
Tres Puentes (r)	176	6	3.4
LA CAÑADA			
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Chilchota (p)	2,479	9	.4
Aeuchuén (p)	717	712	99.3
Carapan (p)	1,269	1,240	98.5
Huánsito (p)	768	759	98.8
Ichán (p)	778	778	100.0
Santo Tomás (p)	295	292	98.0
Tacuro (p)	445	445	100.0
Tanaquillo (p)	439	194	44.9
Urén (p)	350	135	38.6
Zocopo (p)	520	520	100.0

[1] Number and percentage of Tarascans in Tzintzuntzan, 1945, according to etimographical census. The percentage was calculated on the basis of 1,331 inhabitants in Tzintzuntzan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[R 20-b]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

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361
162

LA CAÑADA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Chilchota—Continued			
La Cofradía (r)	69	0	0
Tsintzicha (r)	117	48	41.0
Municipio of Tangancícuaro:			
Tangancícuaro (v)	4,793	[illegible]	.2
Etúcuaro (p)	871	9	1.0

TIERRA TEMPLADA

Municipio of Zirícuaritiro:			
San Angel Zurumuspio (p)	970	822	84.7
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Tingambato (p)	2,788	204	7.3
Municipio of Uruapan:			
Uruapan (c)	20,882	111	.5
Jucutácato (p)	809	5	1.0
La Rosa de Castilla (r)	60	2	3.3
Toreo Alto (r)	240	3	1.2
Caltzontzin (p)[10]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Ario de Rosales:			
Villa Silva (p)[10]	(?)	(?)	(?)

[10] Inhabited 1943. Official census figures not available.

191
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Distribution of monolingual Tarascans.—In spite of continued areal recession of native speech and infiltration of mestizos, monolingualism still exists in many parts of Tarasca. According to calculations from 1940 census data, approximately 38 percent of the Tarascan population is monolingual. Personal field experience, however, would indicate that a smaller proportion (probably 20 percent) speak only Tarascan. The monolinguals are composed principally of conservative women and girls and the older men living in the more isolated pueblos and *ranchos*. Pronounced monolingual centers are scattered through the Tarascan area and correspond to the islets of purely indigenous speech mentioned above (map 13). One center includes the *ranchos* around the Cerro de Patamban and also the majority of women in the pueblos of Pamatácuaro, Sicuicho, and Sirío, nearby. (According to data from the 1940 census, approximately 67 percent of the Tarascan population of this area is monolingual. Following percentages in this paragraph are calculated from the 1940 census.) Another center includes Tarecuato and the adjacent *rancho* of La Cantera (66 percent monolingual). Still another area is situated southwest of Nahuatzen, and consists of the pueblos of Quinceo, Turícuaro,

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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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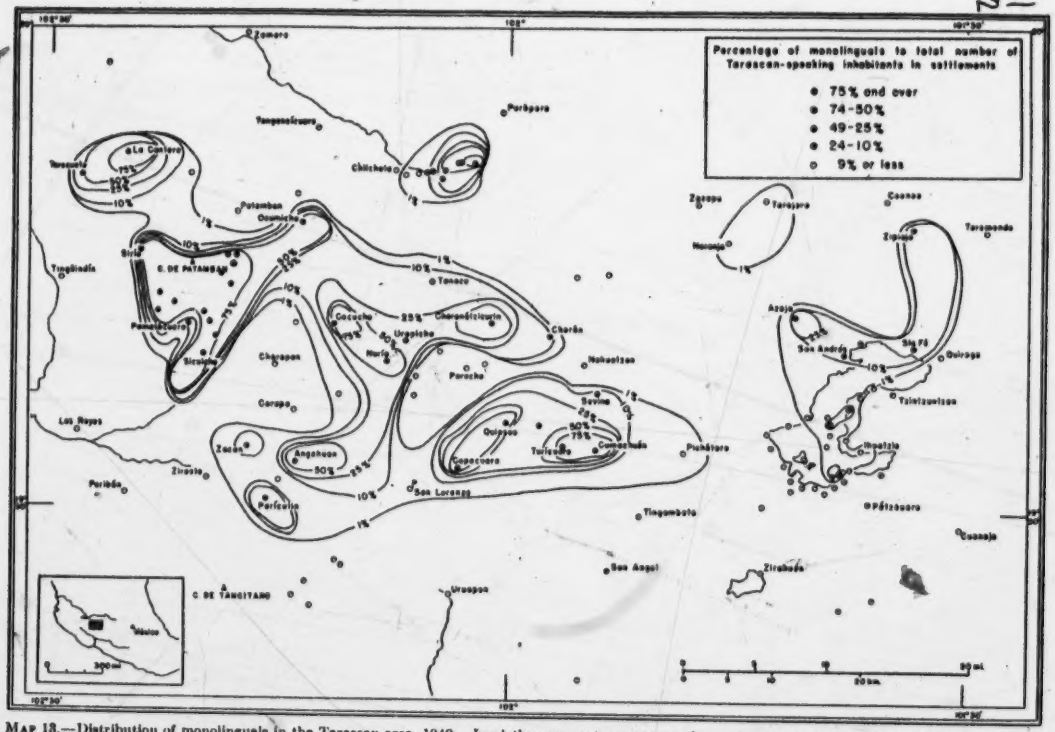

MAP 13.—Distribution of monolinguals in the Tarascan area, 1940. Isopleths represent percentage of monolinguals to total number of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants in the area. Based on official 1940 census data.

[P. 22-a]

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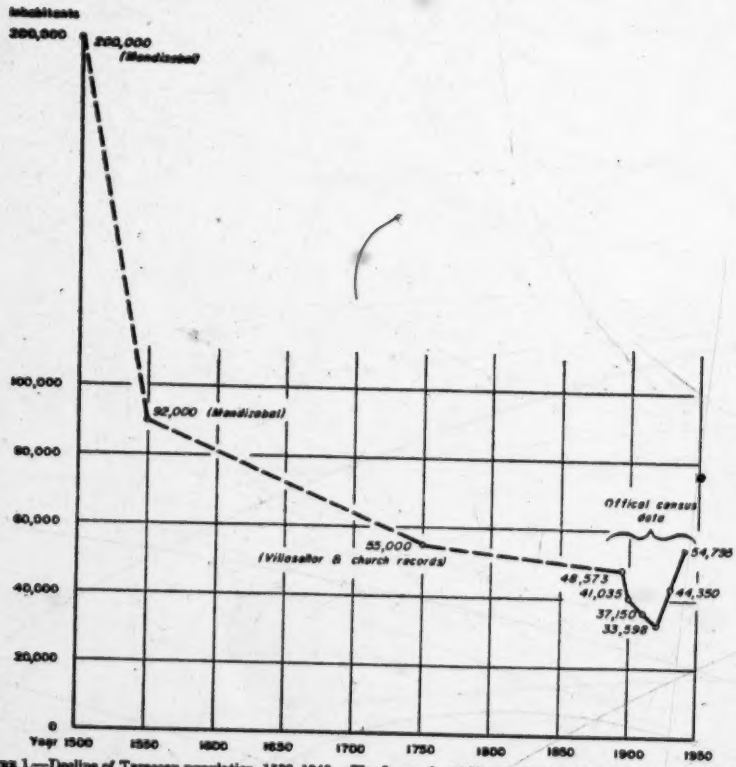

FIGURE 1.—Decline of Tarascan population, 1500–1940. The figures for 1500 and 1550 include all aboriginal inhabitants in the diocese of Michoacán. Besides the Tarascans, several thousand Otomí and some Huastec inhabited the eastern and northeastern sections of the diocese (Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí), and many people of Nahuatl speech lived in the western portion (Colima, southwest Michoacán).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 22-b]

191 and Cumachuén (62 percent monolingual). Moreover, the pueblos of La Cañada, adjacent to modern transportation facilities, are surprisingly monolingual (59 percent). Other scattered, ultraconservative towns, such as Angahuan, Cocucho, and Cheranátzicurin in the Sierra, contain a large number of monolinguals.

731 **Effects of Parícutin Volcano.**—The eruption of
166 Parícutin Volcano early in 1943 caused the redistribution of some of the Tarascan population.

166
731 The inhabitants of the completely destroyed towns of Parícutin and Parangaricutiro were transferred to new lands near Uruapan. Those of Parícutin were moved to the new settlement of Caltzontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan, in February 1943. This pueblo now forms a new island of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. With Government aid the people of Parangaricutiro established a new pueblo near the *rancho* of Los Conejos, 6 km. west of Uruapan, in March 1944. Another new town,
[Text continues bottom P. 23b---Analysis]

[P. 23-a]

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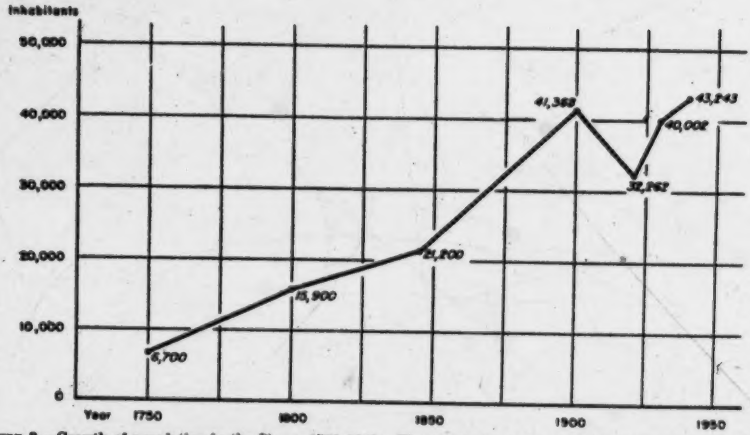

FIGURE 2.—Growth of population in the Sierra, 1750–1940. The population of the following towns and ranchos was used to calculate totals for the years indicated: Ahuiran, Angahuan, Arantepacua, Aranza, Atapan, La Cantera, Cherán, Cheranésticurin, Cherato, Cocucho, Corupo, Cumachuán, Charapan, Capacuaro, Huiramangaro, Nahuatzen, Nurío, Ocumicho, Pamatácuaro, Parucho, Parangaricutiro, Paricutin, Patamban, Pichátaro, Pomacuarán, Quinceo, San Felipe, San José, San Lorenzo, Sevina, Sicuicho, Sirío, Tanaco, Tarecuato, Tenguecho, Turícuaro, Urapicho, Zacán, Zirosto, San Benito, San Luis, La Tinaja, El Tropesón, Uringuitiro, Zarsamora. Data for 1750 were taken from Villasenor and church records (AAM); for 1800, from church records (AAM); for 1845, from AAM, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas; for 1900, 1921, 1930, 1940, from official census.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-b]

166 called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was
731 founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra caliente*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[30]
[182] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-
[161] 46) the population of Villa Silva has decreased from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[30] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the ranche of Barranca Seca, 4 km. to the northwest.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-c]

161 **Possible future trends in Tarascan population.**—Judging from the long-range trend in both
191 areal recession and actual numerical decrease in Tarascan-speaking folk, it would appear that the Tarascan language is headed toward extinction. Figure 1 indicates the terrific human toll taken by the European epidemics during the first 50 years of Spanish occupation, and the leveling off of the downward curve [31] until after 1920, when increases are reported by the 1930 and 1940 censuses. In the period 1930–40 the rate of increase in Tarascan population equaled that of the mestizo element. This period of increase is too short to conclude

[31] At the end of the 18th century, decrease in Tarascan population was still outstanding enough to be reported officially to the central government in Mexico City. Commenting on the population increase in the diocese of Michoacán from 1700 to 1783, an official reports: "*Hay al considerable aumento de 26,449 varianas . . . pero debe advertirse que este aumento las noticias comunicadas por los subdelegados, é informes recaudos en el acuerdo, es de españoles, mulatos, y demas castas, pues en la de los Indios se experimenta mucha decadencia o disminución originada en unos pueblos de la mancha de estos con distintas calidades; en otros de las grandes y continuas enfermedades, que han padecido; en otros de las pensiones, que cargan insoportables a su felicidad, quando se corta el numero de los obligados a ellas; y en otros finalmente a la escasez de tierras para su precisa subsistencia, sobre lo qual para no confundir el estado antecedente se acompaña una, que manifiesta los Pueblos, a quienes faltan mas de 600 varas, que por cada cinco les asigna la ley . . .*". (AGN Historia, vol. 72, exped. 1 (1783)).

that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b — ANALYST]

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[23] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirio, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b — ANALYST]

[23] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are reported as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of villa or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,877 mestizo inhabitants) Tulantepec holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

161 appear. Such cultural changes—improved trans-
191 portation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within
191 the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid
177 to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

361 men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo
621 Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

361 **Settlement sites.**—The few available early descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[22] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[22] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castillo (1939–46); many documents concerning the congregations of 1595–1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

361 wooded mountain slopes (where maize could be easily cultivated with the digging stick) and on elevations difficult of access (chiefly for protection from Chichimec raids). Many of these *estancias* were likely wiped out by the early epidemics; [177] others the Spaniards probably congregated with larger towns during the last half of the 16th and first years of the 17th centuries (Simpson, 1934; Spain—Law, Statutes, etc., 1681, ley VI, tít. 3), in order to better instruct natives in Christianity and to facilitate the collection of tribute and forced labor. Probably few present Tarascan pueblos possess their pre-Spanish sites.

Modern Tarascan settlements occupy a variety of sites, most of which have level, or nearly level, surfaces. Those along Lake Pátzcuaro are on eminences or shelves above the water's edge; all avoid frequently flooded delta plains. In the Sierra many towns are located on slopes or benches immediately bordering the large basin plains; others occupy level spots in local swales. A few, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Quinceo, and Ocu-

361 micho, occupy benches on hill slopes. With the exception of Paracho, Sierra settlements avoid the centers of basin flats. Likely, many villages were moved from pre-Conquest mountain sites to present locations near abundant plow land. The inhabitants of Urapicho, for example, tell a legend concerning the former location of their pueblo on the high slopes of the Cerro de Urapicho nearby. Formerly many of the La Cañada pueblos occupied protective slope and hill sites in the surrounding mountains, but after the end of the 16th century they were concentrated in their present locations in the alluvial floor of the valley (map 14).

Settlement and water supply.—One of the most 312 significant factors in the location of Tarascan [361] settlements has been water supply. Aside from the Lake pueblos, almost every town in Tarasca is located near a spring. While the northern plateau and southern escarpment areas abound in springs, the Sierra has ever been a problem area in terms of water supply. In pre-Conquest

[TEXT Continues Top of P. 26-a ---Analyst]

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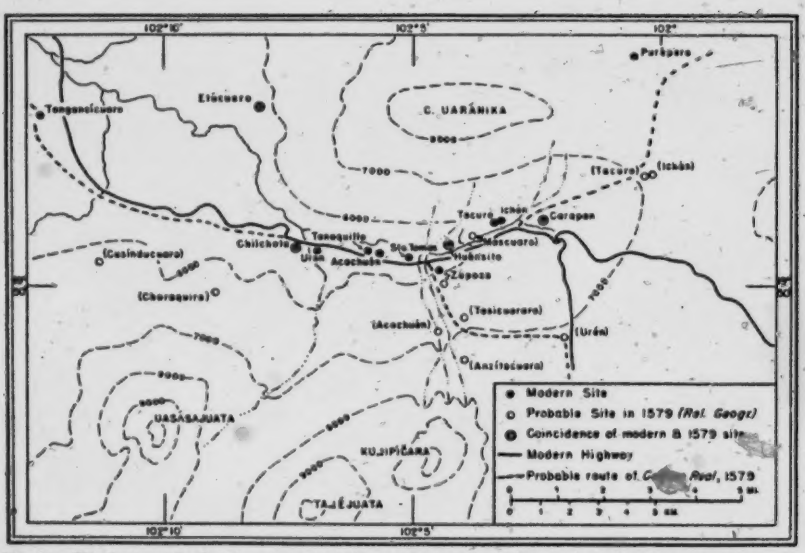

MAP 14.—Distribution of La Cañada settlements, 1580 and 1946. The 1580 data are from Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Relación de Chilchota, 1579. The towns of Tacuro and Ichán still retain their old lands east of Charapan.

312 times many towns supplemented the scanty flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts (čekákua, *canoas*) of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from large springs some distance away. Furthermore, wooden reservoirs caulked with pine pitch were constructed at springs to conserve water during the dry season (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, f. 10v.; Ponce Relación, vol. 2, p. 6). Wooden aqueducts are still employed in many Sierra pueblos to conduct water from springs to the village outskirts (pl. 2).

The progressive exhaustion of springs constitutes one of the most urgent welfare problems in the Sierra today. Scarcity of water in that area, however, is no modern difficulty, for during the 18th century many pueblos were sorely pressed in the dry season (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 212–226).
[313] The present scarcity has been aggravated by continuous destruction of the forest. Some towns have partially solved the local water problem by digging wells in the adjacent basin flats. Nurío and Urapicho, whose springs have long been dry, obtain water from a common group of wells in a large basin nearby. Located within a basin, Paracho has always obtained water from wells. Moreover, the peculiar geological structure of Charapan's bench site has permitted the development of water-bearing strata beneath the town. These strata are now tapped by private wells dug in the house lots and public wells in various parts of town (pl. 2). Even the water level in wells is continually diminishing. During the dry season water must be carefully rationed to the inhabitants and their livestock. Other pueblos, which are located far from water-bearing strata in the basins and have springs that cease to flow in the dry season, suffer even more. The women of Azajo travel with burros 8 km. to San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro to fill their *cántaros*, and those of Ocumicho walk 3 km. and many from Patamban go 8 km. to the large spring at San José for water. Few towns have received Federal or State aid for the improvement of the local water supply; on their own initiative the people of some pueblos (e. g. San Felipe) have constructed concrete reservoirs to store spring water and have installed pipe to carry water to various points in the village. The majority of the towns, however, lack sufficient resources to improve their plight and continue to suffer through the dry season.

000 **Plans of settlements.**—The planning of pueblos

361 Plans of settlements.—The planning of pueblos and *rancherías* was unknown in pre-Columbian times. Settlements were amorphous, the dwellings irregularly spaced and connected by winding footpaths. Beginning around 1550, the Spaniards [177] slowly forced the natives in most parts of central Mexico to rebuild their towns on a grid street pattern, which is now predominant in most pueblos (Indian and mestizo) in Mexico.[24] The advantages of the grid, with numbered blocks and houses, are obvious in terms of tax and tribute records. Towns were also divided into *barrios* or wards, usually four or more; some *barrios* represent the congregation of outlying *rancherías* into the town. Within the Tarascan area the realinement of the street pattern was apparently continued until the close of the colonial period, for a late 18th-century description mentions the tortuous, unplanned paths and irregularly spaced houses of some Sierra pueblos, which today have the grid pattern (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285–405). At the present time only the Tarascan *ranchos* (formed after the colonial period without direction from a centralized government) are characterized by winding streets and scattered dwellings, and probably illustrate the pattern of a pre-Conquest village (map 15).

One of the outstanding features of the grid pattern imposed by the Spaniards is the plaza, or square, located in the center of the settlement. Every Tarascan village has its plaza, which functions as the commercial, social, and administrative center of the town (map 16; pl. 2). A [361] semblance of a garden and often a bandstand occupy the center of the plaza. Administrative [344] buildings (the *palació municipal* or *jefatura* and the jail), often the school, stores, and the dwellings of the more prominent citizens face the streets bordering the plaza. Moreover, the square is the site of religious and civil festivals and the market. [346] The church, however, rarely faces the plaza, but is often placed one-half to one block distant.

Away from the plaza, which in the larger towns is surrounded by a contiguous group of buildings, most Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra are characterized by widely spaced dwellings separated by house lots. Compact towns with contiguous building throughout occur in the Lake region and in the Zacapu Basin. (Maps 16, 17; pl. 2.)

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 27b]

[24] For a discussion of the introduction of the grid street pattern into New Spain, see Stoppelaeveld, 1947 b.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 27 a] Sierra

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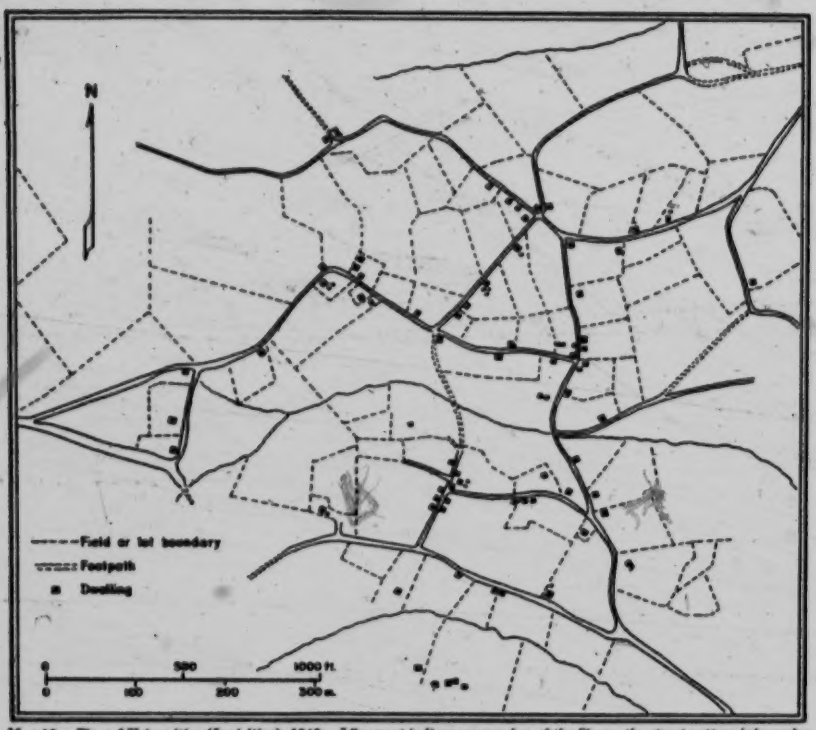

MAP 15.—Plan of Uringuitiro (Juaquitiro), 1946. Like most indigenous ranchos of the Sierra, the street pattern is irregular and dwellings are widely spaced.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 27-b]

HOUSE TYPES [22a]

342 The most striking material cultural element of the modern Tarascans is the wooden house (*troje*), constructed of logs or large planks placed horizontally and interlocked at the corners by notching or cogging in a fashion similar to the log house of Scandinavia.[23] Ordinarily the Tarascan structure is square or rectangular in plan, carries a 4-shed roof of shakes, and has a porch or veranda

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[22a] Since Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1944) have discussed Tarascan house types in some detail, only a summary of the subject will be given here.

[23] South of Lake Pátzcuaro the wooden troje often lacks the usual notched corners, but the ends of the planks are housed in an L-shaped corner-piece (pl. II).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 27 c]

342 attached to the front, which usually faces away from the street and toward the interior of the house lot (pl. 3). The wooden *troje* is found mainly in the Sierra, where constructional materials are abundant, and extends south to the limit of the pine forest; its eastern limit has not been determined. In the Lake, La Cañada, and northern areas houses with adobe or stone walls, rectangular plan, and two-shed roofs of tile predominate. The above distributions, however, are not rigid; occasionally a few old wooden *trojes* are encountered in the towns around the lake and in the northern plateau (pl. 4), and adobe and stone construction is increasing in the Sierra.

[Text continues bottom of P. 28b---Analysis]

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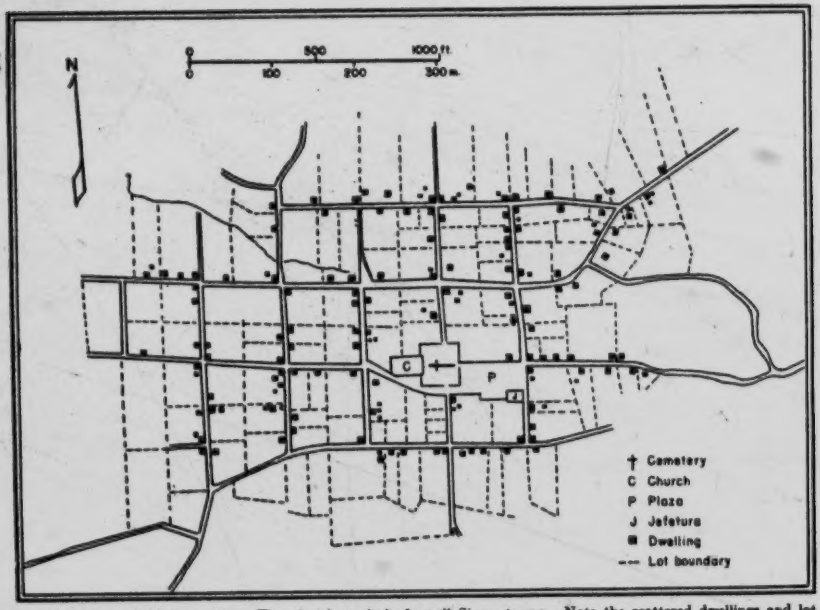

MAP 16.—Plan of Ahuiran, 1946. The plan is typical of small Sierra towns. Note the scattered dwellings and lot (ekuŁau) boundaries.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 28b]

592 **Functional aspects.**—Among the Tarascans the agglomeration of buildings in an individual lot include the principal house, the kitchen, burro stable, hogpen, and frequently certain storage structures. The head of a household may build two or more sets of houses and kitchens in his lot for his married sons. The main house (the wooden 342 *troje* in the Sierra or the adobe structure in the surrounding areas) serves principally as a storehouse. The maize harvest is stored in the loft [251] (*tapanco*), which is floored with heavy planks and entered through a trap door by means of a ladder or notched log. In the lower room (floored with planks in the wooded *troje*, often dirt-floored in the adobe house) are stored small grains, clothes, personal valuables; it is also used to house images of various saints, to entertain guests, and as sleeping quarters for them; some members of the family (usually marriageable girls) often sleep in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 28-c] Sierra

342 the main house. The veranda, too, is used for storing boxes, lumber, etc., and is sometimes employed as a workplace and for sitting and gossiping.

343 The kitchen (kosina) is a separate building, usually less well constructed than the main house. In the Sierra it is often made of thin planks placed vertically and carries a two-shed roof. Kosinas of horizontal interlocked planks and four-shed roofs are sometimes seen. The chimney is unknown; smoke escapes through cracks or especially constructed vents in the roof. The kitchens in the areas outside the Sierra are usually of adobe with two-shed roofs of tile or shakes; some are flimsily constructed of upright planks or of brush, and carry a one-shed roof.[26] Obviously, the kitchen is where food is prepared and eaten;

[Text continues bottom P. 29b]

[26] In some towns where the Spanish L- or U-shaped house is present, the kitchen forms one of the rooms in the main structure.

[P. 29-a]

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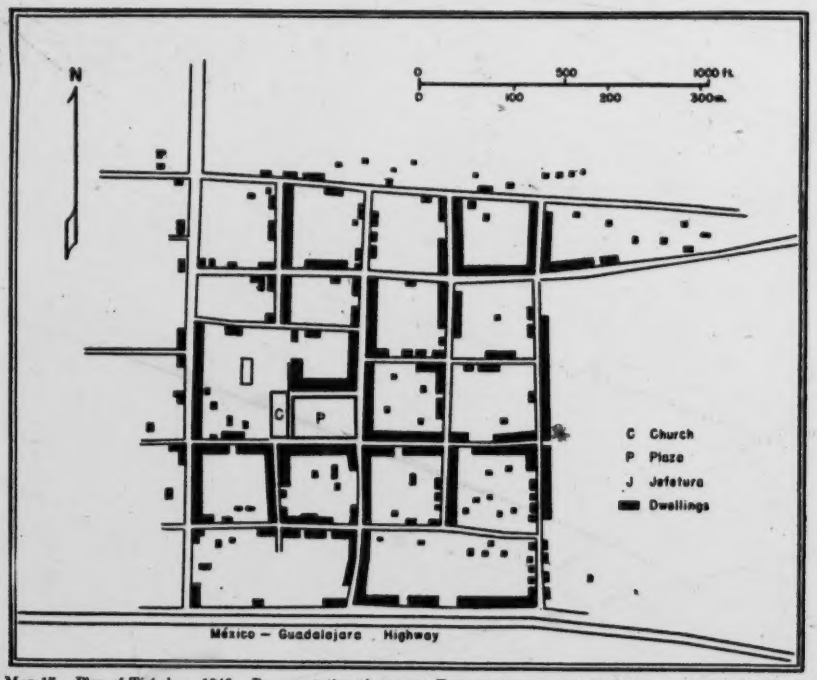


MAP 17.—Plan of Tirindaro, 1946. Representative of compact Tarascan towns, most of which occur in areas bordering the Sierra.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 29-b] Sierra

343 being the hearth place and the warmest of the buildings, it is also the main sleeping quarters of the family.[37]

The minor structures include the stable, chicken roosts, and the hogpen, all constructed of logs or rough planks; the gate roof (*puerta de golpe*) in [251] the loft of which maize fodder is often stored; and, in some Sierra towns, special storage buildings, which consist of small wooden sheds on stilts or simply small plank *trojes* resting on a 000 crude stone foundation.[38] The house lot is fenced

[37] For a description of the hearth types and kitchen implements, see Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944, pp. 16, 22-24.

[38] The special storage places are called úmutakata in Angahuan and Charapan, uakáli in Capacuaro. Literally the term "úmutakata" means "addition," and is also used for the storage space in the gate roof. The *puerta de golpe* occurs not only in Michoacán, where it is most common, but is seen in mestizo towns in the Valley of Mexico. The main purpose of the roof is to keep rain from the wooden gate.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 29-C] Sierra

The house lot is fenced
351 with adobe, stone, or logs; the portion facing the street may be enclosed by a high wall of planks, stone, or adobe, which joins the house at one end. Such structures are called ɸanɸakata in the Sierra (pl. 3). Various types of gates are used at the entrance to the house lot; the more common are the double-door affair, and those with logs placed horizontally in slots carved in opposite upright posts.

Historical aspects.—The provenience of the
342 wooden *troje* presents one of the most puzzling
171 features in Tarascan culture history. The structure of interlocked logs or planks is a relatively uncommon house type in Mexico, where it has a disjunct distribution. It is found in (1) Oaxaca among the Mixe, Mixtec, and Trique groups;

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 30 a] Sierra

342 (2) Veracruz on the northern slopes of the Cofre
171 de Perote; (3) the Sierra Madre Oriental between Apulco and Huayacocotla near the Hidalgo-Veracruz border and near the Pan American highway northeast of Jacala, Hidalgo; (4) the Sierra Madre Occidental (Durango and Chihuahua); (5) isolated spots in the Sierra Madre del Sur (Guerrero) west of Chilpancingo; and (6) the Tarascan Sierra of Michoacán. The log cabin in
342 Durango and Chihuahua possibly may have been
171 introduced by United States Confederate refugees,
177 a few of whom settled in the Sierra Madre in the late 1860's and 1870's. Located near one of the main Veracruz-México roads, the Perote people also may have obtained the idea of interlocked logs from United States or European travelers or settlers. The plank structures of Michoacan are technically superior to the North American log cabin (introduced into the North American colonies from Scandinavia in the 17th century), and are known to have existed since the last quarter of the 18th century. Log cabins were apparently unknown in Spain during the colonial period. The idea of their construction may have been introduced into Mexico from northern Europe.

342 There is nothing in the Relación de Michoacán or in the available Relaciones Geográficas (Muc. Nac., leg. 102) that indicates the presence of log structures among 16th-century Tarascans.[39] The native houses were constructed of adobe or stone with four-shed straw-thatched roofs. The first definite evidence of the modern *troje* that the writer has encountered appears in the Calderon report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73), which mentions ". . . jacales de . . . vigas horizontales cubiertas de tajamanil . . ." in Tuícuaro (f. 336v), ". . . cuatro trojes de Maderas de Pino, bien construidas y conservadas . . ." in Nocutzepo (Lake Pátzcuaro) (f. 301), and ". . . chozas (or casas) de madera . . ." in many other towns in the Sierra (map 18). In most pueblos, however, wooden houses were mingled with those of stone or adobe. Moreover, houses constructed of small logs or poles placed vertically ("*estacas plantadas*") were

[39] Log fortifications were constructed by the Tarascans at Tzintzuntzan (Ciudad Hidalgo) in pre-Spanish times (Stanislawski, 1947 a, p. 49). There is no evidence, however, that the notching technique was known. For a description of pre-Conquest Tarascan houses, see Beals, Carrasco, and McCurdy, 1944, pp. 32-36.

[712]

342 widespread both in the Sierra and in surrounding areas. The modern *troje*, then, appears to have [177] been introduced into Michoacán sometime between 1580 and 1780.

Some native constructional and functional elements were applied to the log or plank structure. For instance, the square floor plan and the four-shed roof were common features of the aborig-
342 inal house. Again, the use of the *troje* as a store-
251 house and the retention of the separate kitchen as living quarters would seem to indicate application of native uses to an introduced element. The storage of grain in the loft, however, may be an introduced European trait. As in most parts of indigenous Mexico, separate granaries (*trojes*) were possibly employed by pre-Conquest Tarascans.[40]

342 The wooden *troje* is disappearing in the Tarascan area. As mentioned above, a few old structures exist in some of the towns outside the Sierra. According to the local inhabitants, such *trojes* were formerly more numerous; however, there is no evidence that the entire town was once composed of wooden houses. Owing to decrease in large pines and firs, the cheaper adobe and stone structures are gradually replacing the *troje* in the Sierra towns.[41] Only a few small Sierra villages and *ranchos* consist entirely of wooden structures.

In addition to the interlocked plank house,
342 various roofing materials have been introduced
177 into the Tarascan area (as well as into all parts of Mexico). Aboriginally, houses were roofed with grass or palm thatch, which is still employed in the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán. During the last half of the 16th century Basque miners probably introduced the shake (*tejamanil*) to roof their houses and ore refineries at the mining centers in central Mexico.[42] From the mines the use of shakes gradually spread to Indian villages situated

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 32a]

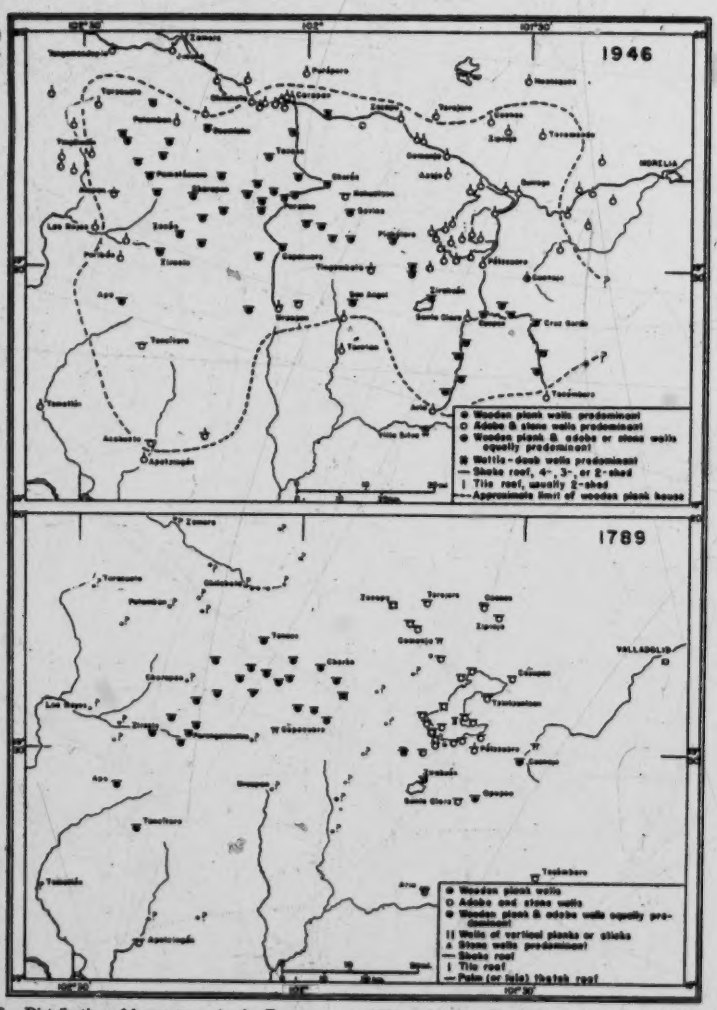
[40] One of the "temporary structures" depicted in the Relación de Michoacán is similar to the modern vaulform granaries (*cacaxtemal*) of parts of Mexico, Puebla, and Tlaxcala. Moreover, the original ms. of the Relación de Tiripitío, 1580 (in the Garcia Library, University of Texas, Austin), illustrates a vaulform *troje* similar to that shown in the Relación de Michoacán. The Tiripitío *troje* was of two stories, the lower floor being used to store maize, the upper, reached by a notched log, for storing clothes, personal valuables, etc.

[41] Fair adobe brick can be made in the Sierra by mixing the local soil (of low clay content) with pine needles.

[42] The Relaciones Geográficas of 1579-81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) invariably mention shaked roofs in mining centers of New Spain. In the modern Basque country, however, shakes are used to roof only shepherds' huts (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944, p. 34).

[P. 31]

342
171



MAP 18.—Distribution of house types in the Tarascan area, 1789 and 1946. The 1789 data are from AGN Historia, vol. 73, Calderón report.

342 within or near pine forests. By 1789 most of the
177 buildings in Tarascan towns in the Lake and Sierra regions were roofed with shakes (map 18). Today in the towns bordering the Sierra the red Castilian tile has completely replaced *tejamanil* and is slowly penetrating into the Sierra towns.[43]

THE LAND SYSTEM AND THE PUEBLO

621 Tarascan settlements are fundamentally agri-
423 cultural villages. They include not only dwellings arranged along streets and in house lots, but also the surrounding farm land. The land is the body of the pueblo, whose political and economic life revolves around land ownership and boundaries, crop planting and harvesting.

423 Few records exist on the ancient Tarascan land
311 system; most lands, however, were probably held in common. Each community owned surrounding lands, the limits of which were determined by metes and bounds; the record and adjudication of pueblo boundaries were in the hands of the village chief, who apportioned agricultural plots to his subjects.[44] As in many modern Indian areas of Mexico, the aboriginal concept of village lands and their established boundaries is indurated in the present political and economic structure of the Tarascan pueblos.[45] Such holdings in the Sierra include various types of land: *monte*, or woodland pasture on steep mountain slopes and on lava flows; cropland in basin floors (*planes*, t'pákua), on lower mountain slopes (*laderas*, uanáten), and in craters of cinder cones (*joyas*, t'pákua-supíču). In La Cañada often the following lands are held by a given pueblo: irrigable alluvium on the valley floor, *temporal* lands and *monte* on the adjacent slopes, and *humedad* lands in the Sierra. In the Lake area types of land vary from pueblo to pueblo. Often small strips of irrigable vegetable plots are held along the lake shore; most towns hold *temporal* land on the lower slopes; those on

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[43] Although used in most Spanish towns (except mining centers) in New Spain since the late 16th century, tiles began to appear in the Lake Pátzcuaro district only in the late 18th century. In 1789 Pátzcuaro was the only town in the vicinity with tile roofs (approximately 30 percent of the houses were roofed with tile, the remainder, with shakes). In the same year one house in Naranja boasted of a tile roof. (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 208, 213.)

[44] A copy of an aboriginal land title (1519) of Cherantzicurin is extant in AGN Tierras, vol. 967, exped. 8.

[45] In many respects the native land system in central Mexico paralleled that of 16th century Spain. Particularly was this true in regard to the concept of village holdings.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32-b]

423 the western and southern shore often have fields
[311] in the Sierra.

Two systems of land ownership—communal and private—prevail in most of modern Tarasca. Since the land reforms of 1915, the *ejido*, a third type of holding, has displaced most of the haciendas around the margins of the Sierra.

Since Spanish contact most of the Tarascan agricultural land has become private property of family heads. Even in the few remaining pueblos which claim complete communal ownership of their lands, a strong individualization of property has developed. The historical process of the shift from communal to private ownership is not clear. Late 18th-century documents on land disputes among the Tarascan pueblos indicate that at that time the communal system prevailed at least in the Sierra. The issuance of individual land titles may not have occurred until after the reforms of 1857. In the Sierra private landholders (*propietarios*) often possess one or more plots in the *plan*, and still others on the less fertile *laderas*. Size of individual holdings varies greatly, since land is purchasable. Normal holdings average 2 to 3 hectares per family. Traces of the communal concept exist in the minds of the modern proprietors. Although legally possible, there is little desire to sell land to nonmembers of the community. If such a transaction should arise, it usually must be approved by the town council.[46] Consequently, pueblo lands are kept intact. Moreover, individual holdings, especially those in the *plan*, are rarely enclosed, for after harvest the fields are used as communal pasture.[47] Accordingly, the final date for removal of crops and the first date for planting in unenclosed lands of each pueblo is communally regulated.

Vestiges of the ancient land system are retained in the special communal holdings found in most modern Tarascan villages. Five pueblos in La Cañada—Tanaquillo, Acachuén, Ichán, Tacuro, and Carapan—retain communal ownership of all lands, at least in name. Family heads are allotted one plot of *temporal* near the pueblo and another of *humedad* in the Sierra to the south and east. The individual allotments vary from 2 to 4

[623] [46] The Tarascan town council is normally composed of the *representante del pueblo* and his committee of six. The *representante* deals with most internal affairs of the pueblo.

[351] [47] Fences and ditches are used most frequently to divide cultivated lands from pasture and to separate individual holdings on the *laderas*, or slope land.

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[Text Continues Top of P. 33b]

[804] [48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida*; 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 224 gathering, although now of small importance, is 222 still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[Text Continues bottom P. 33b]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-b]

423 Before the promulgation of the Federal forest laws
311 (1930's), all members of the pueblo reserved the
[656] right to cut wood and lumber in the *monte* with permission of the *representante*. Today a Federal tax must be paid (but is often evaded) by each pueblo for lumber rights. Small plots of land (*desmontes*) may be cleared and planted in any part of the forest, but the farmer must first gain permission of the *representante* and his committee. In addition to the *monte* many pueblos possess certain croplands, called *tierras de la comunidad*, which are not assigned permanently to individuals, but are worked communally, usually by landless farmers, who receive a portion of the harvest as remuneration. The remainder of the crop is often stored in the pueblo as communal property to be sold by the *representante* for the town treasury or to be used as food in time of shortage.

TARASCAN
ECONOMY

241 still forms the leading crop complex, but the
177 European grains—wheat, barley, the broadbean and lentil—have become intimately associated with Tarascan agriculture. European fruits are grown with native types; Old World vegetables, mainly cabbage, have become an integral part of native food habits. But the modern Tarascan considers such crops, most of which were introduced over 400 years ago, as part of his aboriginal culture. Furthermore, although Tarascans still practice pre-Columbian shifting agriculture on steep slopes, the Old World plow has transformed indigenous cultivation on level and gently sloping lands.

Agricultural acculturation continues constantly. Tarascan *braceros* returning from the United States have brought in apple cuttings from the Yakima Valley, grapevines from California, corn from Iowa. Within the last three decades a South American *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*) has been introduced in the Sierra south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Again, alfalfa cultivation is slowly penetrating into many parts of the Sierra. Recent-
[654] ly the Federal Government introduced a few steel plows in some Tarascan villages, and here and there one sees engine-powered threshing machines slowly replacing the ancient European threshing floor and flail.

241 The Tarascans, like many aboriginal groups
177 strongly influenced by European culture, engage in two types of agriculture: field agriculture and horticulture. The former comprises extensive cultivation of grains in comparatively large fields with the plow and in small hillside plots with the hoe. Tarascan horticulture includes mainly the intensive cultivation of grains, vegetables, medicinal plants, and fruits in the house-lot gardens (ekuáru, sing., ekuárueča, pl., hispanicized to *ecuaro*); it also includes specialized truck gardening, such as that practiced on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

FIELD AGRICULTURE AND ASSOCIATED CROPS

241 There are three basic native food crops of
261 Mexico: maize (starch and oil), beans (protein), and squash (vegetable vitamin), all of which are now associated with field agriculture. In most Indian and many mestizo communities this complex forms the principal elements in the common diet; the three crops are planted together in the same field, cultivated together in the same manner, and harvested about the same time.

243 **Maize culture.**—The earliest record of maize in
[172] the Tarascan area is found in the charred ears encountered in a lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia. The date of the flow is unknown, but maize was probably known to the Tarascans when they settled in the Sierra and the northern plateau.

The provenience of maize cultivated by the early Tarascans is but a small part of the complex and obscure movements of corn from a secondary center of origin in southern Mexico or northern Central America.[50] Anderson (1946 a) has described three distinct races of *Zea mays* in central Mexico: (1) the Mexican Pyramidal, centering in the eastern highlands; (2) Mexican Narrow Ear, found in western Mexico, particularly in both cold and hot lands of Jalisco and Nayarit; and (3) Mountain Yellow, a high altitude maize (usually above 7,000 ft.) encountered in purest form in the highlands of western Mexico.[51] Located between

[50] See Mangelsdorf and Cameron (1942) on the hybridization of South American primitive maize and *Tripsicum* in Middle America.

[51] Following is a brief description of the above races as given by Anderson (1946 a, p. 171): (1) Mexican Pyramidal. Ears short, tapering regularly butt to tip; row number high to very high (16-24). Kernels dented and pointed. Color prevailingly white and pale yellow. Plants short, pronounced interveinal red or purple coloring. Shallow root system, leaves broad and pubescent. Tassels with few or no branches. (2) Mexican Narrow Ear. Ears narrow, long, irregularly long-tapered, compressed at butt. Low row num-

243 the two centers of medium altitude maize (Mexican Pyramidal and Mexican Narrow Ear), the Tarascan area has received a mixture of both. Mountain Yellow, often diluted with strains of Pyramidal, is found in the higher mountain slopes in the Sierra. Other varieties, cultivated for special purposes (green corn, sweet corn) are also found in modern Tarascan agriculture. Popcorn, however, one of the oldest maizes in Mexico, is significantly absent.

The field corns.—Economically the most important maize modernly grown by Tarascans is the field varieties, cultivated usually in the level lands and on lower slopes. Morphologically, this maize is similar to Mexican Pyramidal, but with pronounced denting of the seeds, little or no pointing, and medium row number (14–18). In all probability this type represents a mixture of western and eastern corns, with characteristics of the latter being dominant. In the Sierra field corn is predominantly white and is grown *"de humedad,"* i. e. it is planted in the moist t'upúri soils in the dry season (March or April). For this reason it is called *blanco marceño.* In the lower areas surrounding the Sierra (e. g. the Lake district and La Cañada) field corn is morphologically similar to that of the Sierra, but is predominantly yellow and grown *"de temporal,"* i. e. planted in the clayey čarándа soils immediately after the first summer rains (late May or early June). The planting of a few grains of red maize (čóču)
[194] with the field corns (both *humedad* and *temporal*) is a common practice in many Tarascan pueblos.[23] Many consider the red as "father" of all maize, and as a protector of field corn from disease, storms, and drought.

Traces of western low-row number in field maize are found scattered throughout the Sierra, where such corn is known as *maíz de ocho,* although the row count varies between 8 and 10. In many pueblos it was stated that *maíz de ocho* was grown more extensively in past years, especially by the

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ber (9–14). Kernels wide, unpeisted, slight to no dent. Color prevailingly white. Plants tall, slender; slight to high intervenal coloring. Tassel with many branches, long and wiry. (3) Mountain Yellow. Ears and kernels small, somewhat compressed. Ears enlarged at base with irregular rowing there. Color bright yellow.

[23] This practice was encountered in the following Sierra towns: Cocucho, Nurio, Urapicho, Pomacuarán, Charán, Charanátzicurín, Pichátaro. In La Cañada: Tanaquillo, Carapan. The practice was denied in the Lake Pátzcuaro pueblos. In Nurio 1 grain of red is planted with 1,000 grains of white. Many former Tarascan towns (now mestizo) follow the customs: Tanciftaro, Ape, etc. The practice may extend far beyond the present bounds of Tarascan speech

243 old people, but since the old ones have died, no one had continued its cultivation. This suggests that the western corn was formerly predominant in the area, which later was invaded by the eastern race.

Maize types are continually migrating from
243 one pueblo to another within the Tarascan area
177 and are also being introduced from the outside. For instance, *maíz de Sicuicho* has been grown in Arantepacua since 1889; *maíz de Chocandirán* (Nahuatl name for Tingüindín) is raised in Atapan; *maíz de Urúscato* in Tarecuato, etc. All such corns are morphologically alike, being differentiated chiefly by color. Again, in some Sierra pueblos farmers grow a corn called "toluca" or "tulukenio," presumably an introduction from the Valley of Toluca.[53] Around 1900 a maize called "chalco" from the Lake Chalco district in the Valley of Mexico was brought into the newly drained Zacapu Basin, where it now comprises the main corn of the surrounding Tarascan villages. Chalco is a modernly developed maize adapted to wet soils. In the Zacapu Basin it is grown "*de humedad*," and in recent years has been introduced into the Nahuatzen area.

The mountain corns.—On the steep slopes of
243 the Sierra volcanoes the small Mountain Yellow maize is cultivated in little temporary clearings (*desmonte*, čapán, čapákata). This corn is obviously mixed with eastern field varieties, as in many cases the basal enlargement of the ear is not apparent and grain form varies from point to dent. Low row number (8–14), however, is invariably present. Color varies from yellow to white, often with pink present in the pericarp. Tolerant of light frosts and infertile soils and adapted to the ancient indigenous cultivation sites and practices, this maize may be one of the oldest in the area.

The special corns: ékuárru maize (*Anderson 1946 a, 1946 b*).—One of the most interesting of the modern Tarascan corns is that cultivated in the house-lot gardens (*solar*, ekuárru).[54] It is grown mainly for roasting ears (*elotes*). It is morphologically distinct from the field corns,

[53] According to Beals (1948, p. 29), the tulukenio found at Cherán is a mountain type having definite characteristics of Mountain Yellow and grown in the slopes and mountain clearings. In other pueblos (e. g. Arantepacua) tulukenio is a field maize with Mexican Pyramidal characteristics.

[54] In the Sierra and the Lake region the term "ekuárru" is used to mean house lot. In the mestizo towns and some Tarascan pueblos of the northern area, particularly La Cañada and west thereof, ekuárru means small hillside cornfields, while the Spanish *solar* is used to designate house lot.

243 having many characteristics of the Mexican Narrow: low to medium row number (10–16), usually long ears, slightly tapering from butt to tip, and slightly or nondented grains. In color it is the most striking maize of the Tarascans: blue, blue black, dull red, wine, and often white (from field corn) mixed with the above colors (*pinto*). In most villages of the Sierra the colored *elote* corns are rarely planted outside the house lot. When questioned as to the reason for this, informants invariably answered that such maize would not mature well in the fields, that it required soil of much greater "*fuerza*." [58] Possibly this corn has been grown so long in house lots, where refuse is thrown and animals stalled, that it has acquired a necessity for highly nitrogenous soils. The ekuáru maize is not limited to the
243 Tarascan area, but is planted in a small way in
171 many parts of western Mexico (Colima and Jalisco). Among the Huichol of Nayarit it has acquired ceremonial significance. Possibly developed from the Mexican Narrow Ear in the escarpment area of Jalisco and Nayarit, this maize spread westward into Michoacán; it is rarely found in the eastern part of the Mexican plateau (valleys of Toluca, Mexico, and Puebla). In the Lake district red is the dominant color of ekuáru maize; only few ears of blue or black are seen.

Sweet corn.—This is rarely found among the Tarascans. In 1946 it was encountered in two towns, Teremendo and Chichota (mestizo). Because of its gummy consistency, sweet corn is never eaten green, but dried, mature grains are toasted to make *esquite*. The mature ears are called uačákata, for they resemble preserved green corn.

Popcorns.—The complete absence of popcorn in modern Tarascan agriculture poses a perplexing question concerning the antiquity of maize among these people. Popcorn is usually considered one of the most ancient of Mexican maizes (Anderson, 1946 a). The Tarascans were located between two popcorn centers—the western area (Jalisco, Nayarit) with its big-grained popcorns (*maíz reventador*) (Anderson, 1944) and the Toluca area with its small-grained *huilotlacaule* ("lo que comen las palomitas").

243 **Maize cultivation methods.**—Beals' (1946) description of maize cultivation in Cherán is typical

[58] In Urapicho the farmers believe that ekuáru maize is "afraid" of the fields and consequently will not grow there.

243 for most of the Sierra. Here, therefore, only the major processes and regional differences will be highlighted.

Ground preparation and planting.—On the level basin floors and lower hill slopes, land is prepared for maize planting with the plow (*arado*). [412] The ancient Egyptian two-piece affair drawn by [177] a pair of oxen is the most common type of plow used by the Tarascans and by most of the present-day farmers of Mexico. (See Beals, 1946, p. 22, for illustration of this primitive plow.) Introduced into the Tarascan area in the 1520's or 1530's, this instrument was readily taken over by the native farmers. Adaptation to the plow was possibly slow in the Sierra, where most of the aboriginal agriculture was on steep slopes; but at least by 1624 the farmers of Cherán were cultivating the lower slopes near the town with the *arado* (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13).

Prior to the introduction of the plow the flattish basin plains of the Sierra apparently were infrequently cultivated. Early accounts of Tarascan farming emphasize the importance of *desmonte* agriculture on the steep slopes. A report of 1599 describing the pueblo of Corundapan (now nonexistent) in the Sierra near Tingambato, states that the natives had no lands in adjacent basin plains, but, as was customary among Tarascan peoples, planted on the slopes in order to obviate frost hazard.[36] The probable occurrence of a grass sod in the basin plains may also have discouraged their cultivation. A description (1603) of the lands of Capacuaro mentions the large number of *desmontes*, but points out the possibility of cultivating an unused plain nearby, which was relatively free of shrubs and trees.[37] Such areas, though difficult to till with the aboriginal digging stick, were readily adapted to plow culture.

243 The plow now used in Tarasca probably has not
412 changed in form since the early 16th century. For most plowing the straight iron plow tip (8 to 10 in. long, 3 in. wide), called the *reja*, is fastened

[36] AGN Tierras, vol. 84, exped. 3. "... no tienen tierras en los llanos y así siembran en el monte como lo acostumbra toda la nación tarasca en la que es tierra fría por eslinger sus sementeras de los yelos ...." This statement is from one of the field reports which accompanied recommendations for the village congregations at the end of the 16th century. Obviously, owing to air drainage, frost hazards are less on lower slopes than on the basin flats, a fact keenly recognized by modern Tarascan farmers.

[37] AGN Congregaciones, ff. 14v–15. Fray Diego Muñón describes the plain as "... llanada ... la mayor parte rasa y descombrada, fértil y fácil de labrar [with the plow, of course] ... capaz de mucha semilla y cosecha ..."

243 to the lower point of the frame. This instrument
412 stirs, rather than turns, the soil to a depth of less than 6 inches. Within the last 50 years many Tarascans have used a small adaptation of the North European moldboard plowshare for breaking new land and for first and second plowings. For planting and cultivating maize the moldboard (which is slipped over the end of the plow frame) is replaced by the *reja*. As mentioned above, in recent years the Mexican government has supplied a number of American steel plows to various
243 Tarascan municipios.

[231] Oxen are used almost exclusively to pull the plow, to which they are hitched by the horn yoke. Mules and horses sometimes supplement oxen during maize cultivation, when the work must be done quickly. Before being planted, maize fields are plowed, this operation being called *barbecho*. In the Sierra the *humedad* maize lands in the plains are plowed twice, once in late summer and again in late winter. Temporal maize fields located outside the Sierra undergo only one plowing—in late May or early June, immediately before the rains. For planting, rows are formed with the plow equipped with the straight *reja*. Usually rows follow the contour on slopes. Two to three seeds are dropped at 1-foot intervals into the furrow by a boy following the plow and driver. Often the boy covers the seed with earth to a depth of 3 or 4 inches with a sweep of his foot. If animals are available, the first plow is followed by a second, which covers the grain by throwing earth from the interfurrow ridge (pl. 5). This plow is often equipped with a horizontal beam (*orejera*), placed back of the *reja*, which rakes earth into the furrow. Maize is normally cultivated (earth thrown toward the plant and weeds eradicated) twice with the plow, once when the plant is about 1½ feet high (*escarda*) and again when the plant begins to tassel (*segunda*). There-
[412] after, fields are weeded by hand or with the hoe. Zacatón (a form of Johnson grass) is cut with the *juda*, a machetelike sickle, similar to the *garabato* of the *tierra caliente*.[a]

412 Several forms of the pre-Columbian planting
243 stick are still used in the maize fields of the Sierra (fig. 3). These instruments, called meiánta-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P 384—MALUSI]

[104] [a] The Sierra Tarascans use many terms to describe maize in its various stages of growth. When the plant is about 4 inches high (2 weeks after planting), it is called pirán; at 1½ feet (ready for the *escarda*), hání or tuqíta; when in tassel, pájita; when ears are in hair, tuqíni or tuqíti.

[P. 37]

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FIGURE 3.—Tarascan planting tools. *a–d*, Maíntatárakuecha, or instruments for replanting maize. *a* and *b* are probably the ancient forms of the planting stick. *c* and *d* may have been derived from the triangular axe; the round form is also used in the Tarascan paddle, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d* is also called tuíucakua, or instrument for making charcoal; it is often used to break open the kiln after the wood has been reduced to carbon. *e–h*, T'okaǵakuecha or tarákuecha, sometimes used to plant maize. *e*, Pasaritárakua, instrument for flattening or patting, is more frequently employed to pat down mud and clay on the exterior of the charcoal kiln than to plant maize. *h*, Ordinary form of Tarascan metal hoe, or t'okáǵakua. *a–c*, about 1/12 natural size; *d–h*, approximately 1/10.

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tárakua,[59] are employed chiefly to replant maize which failed to germinate or was killed by frost. The most common form is a pointed, fire-hardened stick of oak or *otate*.[60] Occasionally the stick is tipped with a chisel-shaped iron piece. A less common type of planting stick, which carries a round wooden blade, 6 to 8 inches in diameter, is reminiscent of the ancient *coa*, from which it is probably derived. The blade and handle are ordinarily of oak and of one piece. In Capacuaro a meiántatárakua with a round metal blade attached to a wooden handle was seen.[61] Another wooden instrument, called *pala* or te'kátakua (sometimes simply tarákua), is used in the Sierra to plant maize in the house-lot gardens. The blade, carved of oak, is flat with an outline of the modern spade. In the wet lands of the Zacapu Basin Tarascans use this implement to plant maize in the fields.[62] There, blades purely of wood, of wood edged with metal, and wholly of metal were observed.

On the steep slopes and in small patches of soil within lava flows, where the plow is useless, the Tarascans have retained their ancient ways of soil preparation and planting. The hillside fields in the Sierra (*desmontes*) are cleared by cutting underbrush and small saplings with the *juds*, the larger trees with the ax (*hacha*), customarily during December and January. Girdling was not observed. In March the dried brush is burned, the wood ash serving as a much needed fertilizer for the leached yellow-brown soils (pl. 5). Such plots are usually productive for three to five consecutive plantings; thereafter they are abandoned for several years. A type of shifting agriculture is thus practiced on the steeply sloping lands. The small fertile plots within the lava flows, however, are permanent fields. Small permanent maize fields (*cachitos*, uatsi) also occur on lower slopes near the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Soil retaining walls at the lower edges of such fields give them

[59] Literally, instrument for replanting maize. The word "tárakua," meaning implement, or apparatus, forms the root of many Tarascan terms for various instruments used in the native economy.

[60] *Otate* is a bamboo with tough, woody stalks.

[61] According to a native of Capacuaro, the present distribution of the round-bladed planting stick includes the towns of Capacuaro, San Lorenzo, Paracho, Quinceo, Arantepacua, Turicuaro, Cumachain, and (before the volcano) San Juan Parangaricutiro, all located in the southeastern portion of the Sierra near the approaches to the *tierra caliente*. (Information supplied by Sr. Fabio Velázquez G.)

[62] The planter, following the plow, sinks the spade into the bottom of the furrow approximately 8 inches, shoves the instrument forward, prying up a section of earth, under which he casts the seed; he then extracts the spade, permitting the earth to fall back on the seed.

243 the appearance of terraces.[63] Remnants of pre-Columbian terrace agriculture occur in the vicinity of Chilchota in La Cañada.[64]

412 In the small plots described above, the large
243 metal hoe (*azada*, *azadón*, with blade perpendicular to handle) is the principal instrument used to prepare the soil. Although called by the native name (t'ekáɸakua or tarákua) by some Tarascans, [177] the *azadón* is European, having been introduced into Tarascan culture early in the 16th century. The aboriginal t'ekáɸakua (with blade parallel to handle) is no longer used to prepare soil for planting, but, as mentioned above, is still sometimes employed to replant. In pre-Conquest times this instrument (at least in the *tierra caliente*) carried a copper alloy blade (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo, 1581); the tarákua with a triangular iron blade is at present employed by the mountain people in the Balsas drainage of Guerrero (Hendrichs, 1945–46, vol. 1, pp. 31–32).

Planting in the *desmontes* and other small maize plots is performed by opening a small hole with the *azadón*, dropping in the seeds, and covering them with earth by a sweep of the foot. The seed holes are spaced 2 to 3 feet apart, but no attempt is made to form straight rows. Maize is cultivated twice (*escarda* and *segunda*) with the *azadón*.

243 *Maize harvest and storage.*—Three maize products are obtained from the field: roasting ears (*elotes*), fodder (*rastrojo*), and mature ears (*mazorcas*, šanini). Roasting ears come mainly from the special colored corns of the house-lot garden, but many are taken from the fields. In the *humedad* lands of the Sierra *elote* is ready by August in the *temporal* lands, in July.[65] At high elevations (e. g. around the *rancho* of Cherato) the development of *elote* from corn planted in March

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[63] These apparent terraces are best developed along the north and west shores of Tanto-K'ay Peninsula.

[64] The following account of the terrace agriculture near Chilchota is given in the Relación Geográfica for that town (1579):

" . . . *por ser muy pedregosos y de malpais los pisdres estan puestas a manera como gradas dexando entre grada y grada con una cara de madir de ancho limpio donde plantaban el maiz, y es esto tanto y hecho por tal orden que parecen cosa que pone espanis*" (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, f. 38v).

[65] In some Tarascan towns a minor celebration occurs when roasting ears begin to mature. The first ears picked in the village are taken through the streets by girls, who invite people to kiss the *elotes*. The ears are then taken to the village church and placed on the altar. Later, when all the fields and house lots are in *elote*, girls make special tamales (sésɸu) of green corn for friends and the family. The *elote* fiesta is apparently a vestige of a significant aboriginal harvest rite. Other minor festivals occur on the first day of the fall-corn or spring-wheat harvests, but they are usually family days and consist mainly of a "*combeta*," or drinking spree. Often special foods—tamales, or ipu (meat stew)—are prepared. There are no religious rites involved in the latter fiestas. [196]

243 is often retarded until the following December or January.

Fodder, consisting of that part of the maize
246 plant above the ears, is cut in September, when
251 the plant is still green and the ears well formed. In the Sierra, fodder is often stored on platforms constructed in trees. Normally it is taken to the village and placed in sheds or on log platforms in the house lot (pl. 5).

243 Since the late fall maize harvest of Cherán, described by Beals (1946, pp. 24–25), is typical of most of modern Tarasca, no attempt will be made to repeat the data here. In only one area—the
[493] Zacapu Basin—are four-wheeled wagons (*guallines* made of the frame and wheels of abandoned autos) used to haul maize from the fields to the village. In all other areas burros haul the ears
[492] in sacks (*costales*) or nets. Ears of maize are
251 stored in the lofts of the main house; shelled corn is never stored. The ekuaru corn that is kept for seed and food is hung by the husks in bunches (*piña*, sandáŋgata) or in rows over poles inside the house or on the veranda.

242 *Crop rotation and fallowing.*—Except in ex-
243 ceptionally fertile lands, field maize is rarely grown for two consecutive years on the same ground. In the basin plains of the Sierra, corn is often planted without fallow in spots refreshed by annual deposits of alluvium, as at the base of alluvial fans and in sink areas in the center of basins. The soils of the recently drained lacustrine plain of Zacapu are so rich that they support annual maize crops without rotation or application of fertilizer. Generally in the Sierra, maize fields in the basin plains and lower slopes are fallowed for 10 or 12 months every other year. In such fields only maize is planted. Usually during a given year, half of the plains land belonging to a village and a portion of the slopes are fallowed, the rest being planted; when the village possesses more than one basin plain, cultivation and fallow are alternated from one to the other. Ordinarily in the *desmontes* and *jollas* wheat or barley are rotated with maize (one year wheat, one year maize, one year fallow). In the temporal lands surrounding the Sierra customarily two crops per year, one of maize, the other of wheat or barley, are obtained from a given piece of ground. The land is then fallowed 8 to 12 months. (Wheat planted in November, harvested following April or May; maize planted in June, harvested in

242 November; land fallowed until following Novem-
243 ber.) Often fallow and planted fields are alternated between the slopes and the plains in the temporal lands.

Fertilization in field agriculture.—Tarascans make little or no attempt to apply fertilizer to maize fields. Occasionally animal manure (*estiércol*) from the stables in the house lots is spread over small parts of fields nearest the village.[88] Sheep and cattle, however, are turned into the fields after harvest, and shepherds are often paid to bed flocks in the fields. No commercial fertilizer is used, owing to its high cost. As mentioned above, new *desmontes* are fertilized by wood ash from freshly burned brush.

Uses of Maize—*Food.*—As in all indigenous
262 areas of Mexico, maize is the principal foodstuff
252 of the Tarascans. Six types of maize foods are common among modern Tarascans: (1) green corn, or roasting ears (*elote*, tiríapu); (2) toasted kernels ground to powder and mixed with sweetening (*pinole*, japúmata); (3) maize dough wrapped in maize leaves and boiled (*tamal*, k'uúndá); (4) maize gruel, or dough dissolved in water (*atole*, kamáta); (5) boiled maize kernels with shell removed (*pozole*, máskuta), similar to North American hominy; (6) thin cooked griddle cakes of maize dough (*tortilla*, ičúskuta), at present the most important single food item.

Elote foods.—Green corn is prepared by parching and by boiling. Without removing the inner husk, ears are often parched in the direct flames or under burning coals. Corn so prepared is called uirfkan in the Sierra. Ears roasted with husks removed are termed "uirfkata." Boiling with husks removed (jáman) is also common. Green ears are preserved by boiling and drying in the sun for many weeks. In the dried form they are called uačákata, and the consistency of fresh corn is revived by soaking and reboiling. Other types of maize foods are made from *elote:* a tamal (učépu) from early green maize; various atoles (atole de grano, atole de t'okéri, de uačákata, etc.); maize which is between the green and mature states (t'okéri) is often ground, shaped into small cakes, and boiled. The maize most frequently used for

[88] In only one instance did the writer observe systematic application of manure. This was near the new Tarascan town of Caltzontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan. In planting maize, the planter was followed by an individual who dropped a handful of manure over the seed. A plow followed, covering the seed and manure.

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252 the above-named foods is the highly colored flour types grown in the house-lot gardens.

Pinole has the widest distribution and is possibly the most ancient of the maize foods in the New World. Among the Tarascans usually yellow maize from the *desmontes* is employed for pinole. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then dry-ground on the metate, piloncillo being mixed in during the grinding process. *Pinole* is used almost exclusively for food on long trips. *Esquite* is prepared also by toasting whole grains of dried sweet or black *elote* corn on the *comal*, but it is not ground.

The preparation of tamales, pozole, atole, and tortillas among the Sierra Tarascans is discussed by Beals (1946, pp. 49–52). In preparing all four types, hard-shelled maize is first soaked and cooked in lime water to soften or remove the hard outer shell that covers each grain. (Beals mentions the use of oak ashes in soaking corn for pozole.) For tamales, atoles, and tortillas the soaked grains are wet-ground on the metate or in power-operated grinding mills (*molinos de nixtamal*). The fact that they form an essential part of fiesta and ritual foods of most Mexican Indians suggests that tamales and atoles may be more ancient than tortillas. The latter are commonplace in each of the two or three daily meals and carry no ritual significance. Moreover, the varieties of both tamales and atoles are numerous. Beals describes 10 atoles habitually made in Cherán; 11 kinds were noted in Sicuicho, only 5 of which were similar to those in Cherán. The varieties of atole are ordinarily distinguished by the addition of some flavoring, such as ground blackberries or herbs.

231 *Animal feed.*—Maize grain is commonly fed to livestock, notably for fattening hogs. Yellow corn, mainly Mountain Yellow, is considered the best for feed, as it has the highest oil content of all Tarascan corns; moreover, apparently the yellow color gene is associated with proper vitamin content for animal growth and fattening.[6]

Sale of maize.—The Tarascan Sierra is pri-
439 marily a subsistence area in terms of maize, but when crops are good surplus grain is sold to buyers from Zamora, Tangancícuaro, Uruapan, and Zacapu. The surplus maize districts are

[6] According to Edgar Anderson (personal communication), in Jalisco the Yellow Mountain maize brought down from the highlands sells at a premium in the hog-raising districts south of Guadalajara.

439 located around the Sierra in areas favored by irrigation or rich soils, such as the upper escarpment in the South or the Zacapu Basin in the North. White field maize and yellow field maize comprise the bulk of the export crop. Ekuaru maize is entirely for home consumption and most of the mountain crop is used locally. Accurate statistics on crop production and export are not available for the Tarascan area; export data probably do not exist, since public records of sales are not kept in the villages.

Bean culture.—As an aboriginal cultigen the bean 244 (*frijol*, t'aɢán) is second only to maize in Tarascan agriculture and food habits. Twenty varieties of the kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) are cultivated in modern Tarasca. Although most of these are found in many parts of central Mexico,[68] a few may be peculiar to the Sierra of Michoacán. Among the latter are small cream- or brown-colored beans called *petrona* or uašári in some Sierra villages; another is called karáɣari. The Indians regard such beans as "criollos," or natives to the local countryside, while other varieties, which carry non-Tarascan names, are acknowl-
[177] edged to have been introduced from the outside. Many wild beans are reported to exist in the Sierra, though only one, called uipínju (probably *P. vulgaris*) was described in Pamatácuaro, where it is tolerated along edges of maize fields. It is gathered and eaten, but is little liked.[69]

Besides the kidney bean, the Tarascans cultivate the large-seeded *Phaseolus coccineus* L. (*P. multiflorus* Willd.), which they call kokóɢ (the ayocote or ayocotl of the Nahuatl-speaking people).[70] This bean is rarely grown or used by mestizos and even among the Indians its cultivation is dying out.[71] It is now grown only by the more conservative people, especially in the house-lot gardens where it is planted and tended by women. Kokóɢ, therefore, must be an old cultigen in the area. Having a sweet flavor, it is not as well liked as the newer kidney beans from the outside. In some of the Lake pueblos kokóɢ has

[68] The common central Mexican varieties are: Bayo Grande, Bayo Chico, Mexicano, Colorado, Color de Rosa (Rose de Castilla), Encerrado, Prieto, Blanco, Huiguatilla, etc.

[69] Unfortunately, a seed specimen of this bean was unobtainable. Another doubtful wild *Phaseolus* is reported from Corupo; called *frijol cimarrón*, it produces a white seed and an enlarged root stalk ("rais como camote").

[70] The Spanish terms "*patate*" and "*frijols*" are also used in some localities. In Pamatácuaro *P. coccineus* is known as ʟɢpe.

[71] In many pueblos (Sierra and Lake regions) it was stated that kókoɢ was cultivated many years ago, but since the introduction of better flavored beans from mestizo towns, it was no longer grown.

244 special uses: e. g. because of its sweet flavor, it is eaten only with silacayote (*Cucurbita ficifolia*); in Ihuatzio it is ground with black maize to make pinole.

Lima beans (*P. lunatus*) may have been common formerly in Tarascan agriculture in the *tierra caliente*. In Acahuato, a former Tarascan pueblo (5 km. north of Apatzingán), a climbing brown-seeded lima called *comba* is still grown in the house-lot gardens. According to local informants, it was formerly an important bean in the Tepalcatepec Basin.[72] Moreover, the writer found a wild climbing lima in the hedge rows in the *tierra templada*, near Los Reyes.

Cultivation methods.—Except in some highly developed irrigation districts, most Mexican peasant farmers still use the ancient Indian method of planting beans with maize. In plowland Tarascans customarily alternate plantings of beans and corn along a given row (planted *intercalado*), whereas in hoe land beans and maize seeds are dropped in the same hole.[73] In either case the bean vine uses the maize stock as a climbing support, and imparts nitrogen to the soil. Beans are gathered in late fall or in early winter a few days before the maize harvest. When
[462] men are busy at other tasks, women and children gather the bean crop. Women sometimes plant beans with *elote* maize in the ekuáru; or often they plant beans alone, using poles for vine supports.

In many Tarascan pueblos bean production is declining; in some, farmers have ceased its cultivation. They claim that it is cheaper to buy *frijol* rather than to plant it, since the time and labor involved can be used more profitably at other tasks (e. g. lumbering). Others say that the soil lacks sufficient fertility to mature a bean crop. Again, in some sections of the Sierra beans are cultivated (with maize) only in newly cleared *desmontes*, where the ash from burned brush strengthens the soil sufficiently to raise one crop.

Use of frijol.—Beans are used exclusively for
[252] human food. They are boiled in *ollas* and served with salt. Tamales filled with beans are not uncommon. The special uses of kokó¢ have been mentioned above.

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[72] Hendrichs (1945-48, vol. 1, pp. 46, 228) reports a bean called "comba" from the Balsas Basin, but identifies it as *P. coccineus*. The "comba" from Acahuato was identified as *P. lunatus* by Dr. R. W. Allard, College of Agriculture, University of California, Davis, Calif.

[73] In both cases the planter carried two bags (morales), one containing maize seed, the other, beans.

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244 **Squash culture.**—The cucurbits complete the ancient Mexican crop complex. Three species of the genus *Cucurbita* are today cultivated in the Tarascan area: *C. pepo* (*calabaza común* puɹú), *C. moschata* (*calabaza de Castilla*, puɹú), and *C. ficifolia* (*silacayote* or *chilacayote*, t'ik'áɸa or tikáɸ).[74] *C. pepo* appears to be the ancient squash of the area, for it is referred to as *calabaza común* or *calabaza corriente*, and in mestizo villages nearby as *calabaza tarasca*. Surprisingly few varieties occur, the most common being oblong (20 cm. long), ribbed (10), green and yellow mottled, with the ordinary five-sided peduncle. Smooth types are also cultivated. A small *pepo*, called čekámita, is grown in a few villages of the Sierra and La Cañada. In some pueblos the common name of *C. moschata* is *calabaza de la* [177] *Castilla*, which may indicate that this squash was introduced into the area after the Spanish Conquest; it is found mainly around the edges of the Sierra. Some varieties are flat and round, similar to the pumpkins of the northeastern part of the United States. Others are small, crooked-neck types.

In contrast to its minor place in the agriculture of many indigenous groups of Mexico, *C. ficifolia* is an important cultigen among the Tarascans. Two varieties are grown, both having the appearance of a watermelon: one with black seeds (*chilacayote común*, tikáɸ), and the other with white seeds (*chilacayote-calabaza*, puɹútikáɸa). Of the two, the latter is said to have the better flavor.

Like *frijol*, squash is ordinarily planted with maize in both plow and hoe lands. Squash seeds are rarely planted in the same hill with maize and beans; rather the plantings are widely spaced (5 to 6 meters) along the rows or edges of the field in order to allow for spreading. *Chilacayote* (and often common squash) is usually planted in the fertile house lots or in the *desmontes*, where the soil has been fertilized by wood ash. Within the plowlands it is sometimes planted in a *quemazón*, a spot where a log is burned and ashes well mixed with underlying soil. Squashes are gathered in October or November before the maize harvest. [251] Chilacayotes are sun-cured on roofs or on adobe fences for 3 or 4 weeks, and are then stored in the house loft or in a corner of the dwelling.

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[74] Botanical identification of the squash seed collected in the Tarascan area was kindly made by Dr. T. W. Whitaker, of the United States Department of Agriculture.

252 *Squash foods.*—Both common-squash and chilacayote are cut into pieces and boiled with the rind. Squash is often candied with piloncillo in mestizo towns nearby, but rarely in Indian communities. Squash blossoms (kukúmu, purú-ʞʌʞáki) are boiled and eaten with salt and chile, and immature fruits are often stewed. Chilacayote, which has a watery, stringy flesh, is especially liked throughout the Tarascan area, and in the Sierra during the spring (when other vegetables are unavailable) it is eaten with an atole flavored with the nuríteni herb. In many pueblos the flesh is soaked in [273] water and permitted to ferment, forming a refreshing drink called *tepache*.[75] Finally, an atápakua, or stew of chilacayote, is often made by the Sierra Tarascans; the flesh is boiled with onion, silantro, and chile.

243 **Other native crops.**—Apart from the maize-bean-squash complex, a few other indigenous cultigens are found in modern Tarascan field agriculture. From the point of view of culture history, one of the most significant of these is amaranth (*Amaranthus cruentus*), which in most parts of Mexico is called *alegría* or *bledo* and in Tarascan, pani. The tiny (1 mm. diameter), round seeds, which occur in spikes at the head of the plant (1½–2½ meters tall), are rich in starch and oil. Sauer (1936) has suggested amaranth as one of the pre-maize cultigens of southern North America. Today it is cultivated in small amounts in many parts of central Mexico, usually in isolated Indian pueblos.

Among the modern Tarascans, especially those of the Sierra, three varieties of amaranth are grown: white, red, and black. Cultivation is usually limited to *t'upúri* soils of the highlands and to the house-lot gardens. It is planted both in plowland and in *desmontes*, but only in small patches within or at the edge of maize fields.[76] In the plowland the small grain is planted in *quemazones*. The log (usually oak) is burned in January and the seed planted in late May, immediately before the rains. The seed is also sown in freshly burned *desmontes*, but in the house lots ash fertilizer is rarely used. All three varieties

[75] Tepache is a general name for a number of drinks common to western Mexico, e. g. *tepache de piña, de silacayote*, etc. To make *tepache de silacayote*, the flesh of the squash is placed in an *olla*; water, piloncillo, and often soda water (*carbonate*) are added. Fermentation sets in immediately, and after 3 days the beverage is ready for consumption. After the first *olla* of *tepache* is consumed, more water, etc. is added to the flesh and the process repeated. The meat of one chilacayote is said to last 1 year of repeated fermentation.

[76] Fields of *alegría*, similar to those around Tulyehualco at the southern edge of the Valley of Mexico, are never seen in the present Tarascan area.

4: Wer K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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243 are planted together, the seeds being separated according to color after the harvest. The plant is cut with a sickle in November or December, the grain threshed in an open space in the fields and stored in small ollas in the troje.

The cultivation of amaranth is disappearing among the Tarascans; it would probably die out rapidly if women did not constantly remind men to plant it every year. In some Sierra pueblos it is no longer grown, but grain is brought in from [438] other towns, particularly from Pamatácuaro and its surrounding ranches and from Capacuaro.[77] Little is grown in the Lake towns or in La Cañada, the grain being imported from the Sierra. In a few pueblos it was claimed that *alegría* was neither cultivated nor eaten: Paracho, Huánsito, San Jerónimo, Puácuaro, Napízaro.[78]

262 In terms of quantity consumed, amaranth has little importance in present Tarascan diet. Its significance lies in its relict position in Indian culture. Today the most widespread amaranth 252 food among the Tarascans is a tamal called "č'apáta," made from a mixture of ground maize and *alegría*. Blue or black ekuáru maize is dry-ground on the metate; red or black *alegría* is then ground into the maize flour; a sweetening (piloncillo) and water are stirred into the mixed flour, and the resultant dough is wrapped in maize husks and boiled in an olla. In some pueblos of La Cañada ground *alegría* is mixed with wheat flour and piloncillo, of which tamales called č'apátas de trigo are made. Moreover, *bolitas*, confections made of white amaranth, are made, but are more common in adjacent mestizo towns. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then mixed with honey or a paste of piloncillo to make small cakes. These are commonly sold at fairs or on fiesta days.[79] Few ceremonial or religious uses of amaranth were found in the Tarascan pueblos.[80]

[77] Curiously, the Sierra pueblos which no longer cultivate *alegría*, but import grain for home use, are some of the more isolated, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Nurio, and Pomacuarán. In these towns no reason was given for not growing *alegría*. Possibly the inhabitants found it less bothersome to buy the grain than go to the trouble of raising it.

[78] Modern amaranth cultivation extends beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech in Michoacán. It is still grown and used in the former indigenous towns of Apo, Tancítaro, Sirahuén, Opopeo, and in some mestizo ranches north of Uruapan.

[79] In Pamatácuaro an atole is made of amaranth and black maize. Such atole is widespread in the highlands of northern Guerrero (Hendrichs 1945–46, vol. 1, p. 35), and is probably encountered in other indigenous areas of Mexico. In Atapan a pakísa (ground grain boiled in water to a solid mass) is made of red *alegría*.

[80] In Pamatácuaro atole of black *alegría* and black maize is taken especially at the maize planting celebrations. In Sicuicho č'apátas are eaten at both the maize planting and harvesting fiestas. In other pueblos special uses of amaranth were denied.

4: Wer K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 43a]

244 Tarascans plant few other minor native cultigens in the field. Camote or the sweetpotato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and jícama (*Pachyrrhizus erosus*) are planted in small amounts in La Cañada, but commercial production is found in the warm lands around Zamora, Lake Chapala, and the southern escarpment, outside the Tarascan area. Native vegetables such as chile and tomatoes are discussed under horticulture.

Introduced New World crops.—In Tarascan
177 field agriculture these consist of two tubers: the
244 South American potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) and, as mentioned earlier, an *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*).[81] Neither has much place in Tarascan food habits. The potato is now grown in some lowlands bordering the Sierra, e. g. in Comanja, where it is planted with maize. Its cultivation is slowly penetrating the Sierra, though most of the highland pueblos still reject it. Beals (1946, p. 26) states that Cherán residents began to grow potatoes around 1938.

Old World crops in Tarascan field agriculture.—
243 Among the crops which the Spaniards introduced
177 into Tarascan culture the small grains, wheat and barley, were the more significant in terms of both food value and degree of adaptation. Wheat was probably first sown in the Lake area by Spanish missionaries during the 1530's; the Spanish ranchers and *encomenderos*, however, for whom white bread was the main item of diet, were the principal carriers of wheat culture among the natives. By the mid-16th century Spanish wheat fields had been established in many parts of the northern plateau, and Tarascans of various pueblos in that area were cultivating the grain in special fields in order to meet tribute demands of the Crown and *encomenderos*.[82] Arabic irrigation
[312] techniques appear to have been introduced jointly with wheat culture, for both early Spanish and Indian wheat fields in the northern Tarascan area were artificially watered.[83] The Relaciones Geo-

[81] The name "*papa de Castilla*" might indicate that the *Oxalis* species has been cultivated in Mexico for some time. According to local informants, however, it has been known in the area south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro for only 30 or 40 years. The tuber is often seen in the Pátzcuaro market. In Pichátaro it is boiled and eaten with piloncillo.

[82] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 4) mentions that wheat was cultivated in the following indigenous pueblos of Michoacán: Acámbaro, Chocándiro, Chiquimito, Chilchota, Guanaxo (Santa María Ario), Taymeo, Indaparapeo, Zacapu. Indians, however, were slow to adopt wheat foods. During the last quarter of the 16th century the Indians of La Cañada ate wheat only in times of maize famine (Mun. Nac. leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1579).

[83] Spaniards had introduced a Mediterranean grain adapted to winter rains and dry summers into a land of dry winters and wet summers. Con-

243 gráficas of 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) indicate
177 that by the end of the 16th century wheat cultivation was well established in the Tarascan area around the margins of the Sierra, i. e., in those areas first settled by Spanish ranchers.[84] Wheat penetrated slowly into the conservative Sierra. The Relación of Tingüindín (1581) states that in the Sierra villages the Indians had not taken to wheat cultivation. Even by 1789 some of the Sierra pueblos did not grow wheat, but by 1820 the grain was at last being cultivated in all the towns, Urapicho, Cocucho, Pamatácuaro, and Cheranátzicurin being among the last to adopt it (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memoria estadística, 1841).[85]

243 Today in most Sierra pueblos wheat is considered second only to maize in terms of acreage. Some towns raise the grain chiefly as a cash crop; others consume a large portion of the harvest. The Lake area and La Cañada, however, are the principal Tarascan wheat districts. In both, wheat acreage exceeds that of maize.[86] Although wheat foods are eaten in all Tarascan towns, in none do they replace maize as the chief item of diet. Throughout the present indigenous area
[177] wheat foods play a significant part in religious festivals, apparently an adoption of European customs through Church influence.

A soft wheat called "colorado," probably a descendant of the Spanish grain introduced 400 years ago, is the principal type sown by Tarascan farmers. Both bearded and beardless varieties occur. This wheat is the "*trigo de temporal*" or "*trigo aventurado*," planted in October and harvested from April to June, depending on eleva-

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[312] sequently, to insure good yields, they resorted at once to irrigation. Later, experiments probably showed that a poor to fair yield could be obtained without irrigation in central Mexico, where occasional light winter rains occur.

[84] The wheat-growing areas mentioned: all of the northern plateau region, including La Cañada; Tarecuato (trigo de temporal); Tingüindín; [illegible] Peribán. The Pareo Relación (observations made in 1888) mentions wheat at various Lake towns: Tzintzuntzan, San Jerónimo, Eronga[illegible]taro, and Tacupato (Cocupao or present Quiroga).

[85] The Calderón report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) mentions wheat only in a few Tarascan pueblos. It specifies, however, that only two pueblos (Ocumicho and Pamatácuaro) of the Sierra grew maize exclusively. The report may have neglected to indicate many pueblos in which small amounts of wheat might have been cultivated.

[86] According to data from Secretaría de Agricultura records (1944), wheat acreage equaled that of maize in the municipio of Pátzcuaro; in those of Erongarícuaro and Quiroga the acreage of wheat was more than twice that of maize; in Tzintzuntzan, however, maize acreage exceeded that of wheat by eight times. In the municipio of Chilchota (which includes La Cañada) approximately 380 hectares were planted to maize, while 313 were in wheat. Considering the valley of La Cañada alone, wheat acreage probably would exceed that of maize.

243 tion.[87] Owing to dry conditions and usually poor
[132] soils, yields are low. The infrequent light winter rains (*cabañuelas*) often determine the success or failure of the temporal crop. Another wheat type, a white soft variety, is called *"trigo de aguas"*; sown in June or July and reaped in November or December, it is seen in all parts
[312] of Tarasca. Most of the wheat crop of La Cañada is irrigated, being sown on the valley flats in December and harvested in May.[88] In the Sierra wheat is relegated to the less fertile slope land and *desmontes*, where it is rotated with maize. In the lake area and the northern plateau towns, where the grain is likewise a rotation crop, it is cultivated on both plains and slopes. It is occasionally sown in the house-lot gardens in all parts of Tarasca.

Primitive European methods are used in wheat cultivation (pl. 6). Land is prepared by plowing with oxen, and seed is sown broadcast and covered with a brush harrow. Grain is cut with the sickle (*hoz*), bundled and tied by hand, and threshed in the *era* (an open arena floored with stone or packed earth) located in the town or in the field. Threshing is accomplished by driving mules or burros over the bundles of wheat, but where sufficient animals are lacking, it is done by flailing. The grain is separated from straw and chaff with the tarákua, or wooden spad[illegible]ll straw is carefully saved for animal feed. ([illegible]e-powered separators are just beginning to appear in the area.)

One of the most interesting aspects of wheat
252 culture among the Tarascans is the varieties of
262 food prepared from both metate-ground and milled flour. Those made from grain wet-ground on the metate include *tortillas de trigo*, a common food in La Cañada, but eaten on fiesta days (e. g. Corpus) in the Sierra towns.[89] In Charapan the tortillas are thin, round cakes often 1 to 1½ feet in diameter, which are cooked on the comal. Thicker tortillas, or *gordas*, are similarly made, but browned on the coals.[90] For the Corpus fiestas *gordas* (pirčis) ¾ to 1 inch thick and shaped like

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[87] For example, most temporal wheat in the Lake region is harvested in early April, while in the Sierra ripening is retarded until May. In Cumachuén, the highest pueblo in the Sierra, harvest occurs in the first weeks of June.

[88] The *tríguis*, or wheatfields, are watered three times annually, at the end of January, first of March, and at the end of March. Pan irrigation technique is used.

[89] In the Lake towns of Ibuatzio and Janitzio metate-ground wheat dough is mixed with nixtamal (maize dough) to make a tortilla called ítakata.

[90] Beals (1946, p. 22) mentions that in Cherán *gordas de trigo* are fried in deep pork fat. This procedure was not encountered in other Tarascan towns.

252 animals (birds, rabbits, pigs) are made in some
262 Sierra towns. In La Cañada, however, such figures are prepared from leavened flour dough and baked in the oven.[91] Another wheat food, which is eaten particularly during and immediately after the wheat harvest, is called pakésa. Wheat grains are roasted on the comal, then dry-ground on the metate. The coarse flour is cooked in boiling water flavored with salt or piloncillo. The resultant dough is eaten hot or cold. Moreover, a wheat pozole (whole grains stewed with meat, chile, *tomate*, etc.) is prepared in the Lake and La Cañada areas, but rarely in the Sierra. Again, a wheat atole (trígukamáta) is found in all parts of Tarasca. Various types of bread, called *cemitas* or auákatas are also prepared from metate-ground wheat, usually by professional women bakers. The dough is often sweetened and the breads variously shaped (round or diamond). The dough is baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven, several of which are found in every Tarascan village. Unsweetened ceremonial breads (kanákua), 1½ feet in diameter and 2 or more inches thick, are made on the Saint's day in some Sierra pueblos.

Wheat foods are also prepared from flour, milled in the larger mestizo towns nearby. A bread called kuínda is baked in the Spanish oven in most pueblos. In La Cañada and the Lake towns tamales (prepared like those of maize) and tortillas are made from wheat flour.[92] Buñuelos, a special dish prepared from wheat flour, are eaten ceremonially or as an occasional treat in all parts of Tarasca. The dough, mixed with tequisquite (a lime compound), salt, and boiled green tomatoes, is thinned into flat cakes by placing on the knee, patting and pulling at the edges. The sheets of dough are cooked in boiling lard in a *casuela*. In the Sierra both men and women prepare and cook *buñuelos*, which are eaten only on certain holidays. Often on ordinary occasions this food is soaked in a sirup of piloncillo and eaten with white atole in the Lake area.

Barley cultivation.—Small amounts of barley
243 are cultivated in most parts of Tarasca, but primarily in the Sierra, for animal feed. The grain is sown in June and harvested in November and

[91] Formerly in Charapan large pitíbis, shaped like human figures 3½ feet high, were given at weddings to the bride as a token of fertility.

[92] *Tamales de trigo* are also seen in the large markets (Uruapan, Paracho), where they are customarily taken with atole. In Paracho they are called ísaf-k.aríndo or ísaípit-ukári.

243 December. Being more tolerant of poor soils and frost than either maize or wheat, it is customarily grown on the upper slopes. As it is believed that barley improves the soil, it is frequently rotated with maize. Much barley is sown on the high slopes around Cumachuén and Pichátaro, where yellow-brown soils and a short-growing season prevail. Oats are rarely cultivated; small fields were reported only in Pichátaro and Cumachuén.

244 *Other European field crops.*—Broadbeans, lentils, and chickpeas are cultivated chiefly around Lake Pátzcuaro and in the northern plateau pueblos, where they are often grown with maize. [262] Although small quantities are raised in the Sierra, these crops have little place in the native diet.

HORTICULTURE

The house-lot gardens (ekuárueča).—These have been frequently mentioned above (pl. 7). In contrast to field agriculture, cultivation in the ekuáru is intensive; a large variety of plants (maize, beans, squash, vegetables, and fruits) are raised in each small lot; the soil is replenished by application of refuse from the dwelling and manure from the stable. The ekuáru is cultivated [462] mainly by the women and children of the household; the fields, in contrast, are worked by the men. In the gardens the women, always conservative, have retained the plants that are old in indigenous culture. Moreover, although some of the larger lots are plowed with oxen, most [412] are cultivated with two of the present forms of the tarákua: the wooden *pala* and the metal-bladed *asada*.

The principal garden crop is the *elote* maize, discussed above in connection with corn types. The cultivation of the old beans, such as kokóɣ, small patches of amaranth, and various squashes in the ekuáru, has also been mentioned. The women plant in the garden other indigenous vegetables, such as chayote (apúpu; *Sechium edule*),[38] *tomate* (tóma; *Physalis angulata*), which bears the small green husk-enclosed tomatoes; and, if water is available for irrigation, chiles of various types. The most significant vegetable grown in [262] the Tarascan house gardens, however, is the

[38] The chayote bears annually small squashlike fruits, which are boiled and served with chile. In its third year the plant develops a large tuberous root, which is dug up and boiled (nanáa) and is often ground on the metate to a flour, which is served as a gruel (ingú). The plant is reproduced by seed, or rather by planting the entire chayote fruit.

244 European cabbage (*col, repollo*), which the Indians
262 have thoroughly taken into their diet. Both the leaf and head varieties are cultivated. Almost every ekuáru in all Tarascan villages contains a small patch of cabbages, which are used for the famous čuripu, or meat and vegetable stew [94] (pl. 5). A more common stew (*repollo-šakuá*) is made of cabbage alone, flavored with red chile, onion, and silantro. The leaf cabbage is the
244 usual variety found in the Sierra. It is rarely planted by seed, but by replanting sprouts that occur at the base of the stalk. The plant is persistent, surviving the frosty Sierra winter; leaves are stripped off until the stock often reaches a meter in height. Other vegetables such as lettuce, radishes, carrots, peas, and turnips, although known in many parts of Tarasca since early colónial times, are today little cultivated or used in native cookery.

In addition to the food annuals, the ekuáru
247 contains various medicinal and ornamental plants,
249 mainly those of the Solanaceae, Fabaceae, and Compositae. In a great number of the house lots women plant a stalk or two of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*, andúmukua), used not for smoking,
[276] [278] but as medicine.[95] The *trompeta* or *floripondío* (*Datura arborea*); *colorín* or p'ɔɪénɛ́ʌ (*Erythrina americana*); two euphorbias, *chupiri* (*E. calyculata*) and *flor de pascua* (*E. pulcherrima*); and the Old World *higuerilla* or castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) are not uncommon in the house gardens of the low country marginal to the Sierra. European Compositae, geraniums etc., make up most of the ornamental plants cultivated around the house.

Fruit culture in the ekuáru.—Practically every
245 house lot in most Tarascan villages contains a few fruit trees, both Old World and native. A definite climatic distribution of fruit types exists. In the Sierra are found only the cold-tolerant deciduous fruits such as the European peach, apple, pear, quince, and the native crab apple (*tejocote* or kaɪás) and cherry (*capulín* or šéngua). In the lowlands around the Sierra, however, both subtropical and cold-tolerant fruits are cultivated. The former include the Old World citrus (limes, oranges, lemons), figs, pomegranate (*granada de*

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[94] Čuripu is eaten principally during the maize harvest period and on religious holidays.

[95] For example, in Pichátaro tobacco is taken for fever and is chewed to cure toothache.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 46-a]

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by
177 missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent
797 had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit
[242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting
[242] of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly
438 for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *cosuaua*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chata*, *marieuua*, *chata de Sarina* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *meréiuua* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1789 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 236). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 46b]

245 orchard. In such cases trees are closely spaced
438 and present an unkept appearance.

Many Tarascan pueblos in the lower and warmer areas bordering the Sierra specialize in subtropical fruits, and possibly served prehistorically as fruit supply centers for the Sierra towns. Since the development of modern transportation their produce is taken to many parts of Mexico. San Angel Zurumucapio is the avocado center of the Tarascan *tierra templada*,[88] Tingambato the chirimoya town, and the former Tarascan pueblos, Ziricuritiro and Acahuato, produce bananas, mangoes, mamey, citrus, etc. Tarascan Atapan and mestizo Tingüindín supply the western part of the Sierra with citrus, guayaba, and mangoes. As early as 1581 Atapan had become a citrus-growing center, and probably before the Conquest had produced avocados and chirimoyas for Sierra trade. The La Cañada towns have ever been the northern Tarascan fruit center. Today avocados form the main fruit speciality of Acachuén, Ichán-Tacuro, and Carapan; oranges are the chief export of Tanaquillo.[89] With the possible exception of Ihuatzio, which produces large quantities of avocado, there is no specialized fruit town in the Lake area, although the aggregate subtropical fruit production there is of importance in Sierra trade.

262 Fruits from the *tierra caliente* have long had a special significance among the Sierra Tarascans. Today at least two tropical fruits are eaten especially at religious fiestas, and special effort is made to obtain them for such occasions. Coconuts (kóko) in some Sierra pueblos are rarely eaten except during the Ramos and Easter holidays.
[439] Formerly in Charapan 2 weeks before Easter a group composed of 15 men and boys from each barrio traveled down to the Tepalcatepec Basin to fetch coconuts for eating and coconut blossoms for church decorations. The band was ceremo-
[389] niously seen off with the firing of rockets.[90] Likewise, the large plantain (*plátano macho*) is eaten

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[88] The large avocado trees in the house lots of Zurumucapio completely hide the town. Two types of the fruit are grown, the black and white-skin varieties. Both are irrigated, and the fruit is harvested in April and May. Frequently coffee plants are grown under the shade of the avocado.

[89] Other fruits produced in La Cañada: Limes, guayaba, chirimoyas, figs, apricots, jaquiniquilas (ferón), plums, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, apples, zapote blanco, capulín, a few bananas.

[90] This custom has practically disappeared in the Sierra. Most coconuts and other tropical fruit are now obtained at the Ramos (Palm Sunday) fairs at Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. In the Lake area during Easter festivities churches are often decorated with maizos (zenzontles) from the Balsas.

262 raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans [439] were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in 252 the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is [609] taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such 262 as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

Specialized truck gardening.—This is a more 244 recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans. 312 They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratarákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden [406] spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratarákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 26), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratarákua* is used also at Tarejaro, in the basin of Zacapu.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 47-b]

244 addition to the gardens of Lake Pátzcuaro,
312 commercial truck farming is also carried on in La Cañada and in Atapan, but on a smaller scale. There, fields are irrigated by diverting water from streams, a technique probably learned from Europeans.[103]

244 The native chile, *jitomate* (tom-kuaraki), *tomate*, and green beans (*ejotes*) and the Old World onion, garlic, cabbage, and lettuce are the principal products of the commercial gardens. Chile is the most significant of these, in terms of both acreage and market value. The fruit of this plant, a vitamin-rich gastrin, has always been important in the aboriginal diet. Two species of *Capsicum* are cultivated: *C. annuum*, the common herbaceous annual, and *C. fructescens*, the perennial shrub (*chile de árbol*). The latter is cultivated mainly in the house gardens. Both species re-
244 quire a long growing season and abundant water;
438 consequently chile cultivation is absent from the Sierra, but is found in the surrounding well-watered areas. Chile, therefore, has ever been a
[439] trade article between the Sierra and its borderlands.[104] Tarascan Puácuaro, Uricho, Arúcutin, and mestizo Tócuaro and Erongarícuaro are the main chile producers of the Lake. Most of the La Cañada pueblos raise some chile for export into the Sierra, but Etúcuaro, outside the valley, is the largest producer of that general district. All these areas raise *chile verde*, rather than the *chile seco* of the *tierra caliente* and Lake Cuitzeo district.[105] In both the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada areas chile and tomatoes are first planted in the *almáciga*, or hotbed, in December.[106] Replanting in the gardens is done in March, and the vegetables are harvested from June through September.

STOCK RAISING AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

231 Modern Tarascans raise most of the European animal domesticates. Most households own a team of oxen for plowing and one or two burros for hauling wood and carrying produce to market.

[text continues top of P. 49a-Ancient]

[103] In several formerly Tarascan towns in the northern plateau area vegetables are cultivated on a commercial scale. The truck farming around Ziriciguaro, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, was significant during the latter part of the 18th century. Tarascan horticulturists of this pueblo carried vegetable produce as far as the Toluca market (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 265).

[104] The Tarascan name for Chilchota is *tirápu*, which means green chile. The Sierra people have always thought of La Cañada as a producer of chile, as well as other vegetables and fruits.

[105] The chief varieties of *C. annuum* in the Lake district are *humbrillo* (*verde*), *amarillo*, and *relleno* (*bell chile*). *Chile seco* from the *tierra caliente* reaches the Sierra through the markets at Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes.

[106] The *almáciga* is likely a European introduction, although it was pre-Columbian in the *chinampa* district in the Valley of Mexico.

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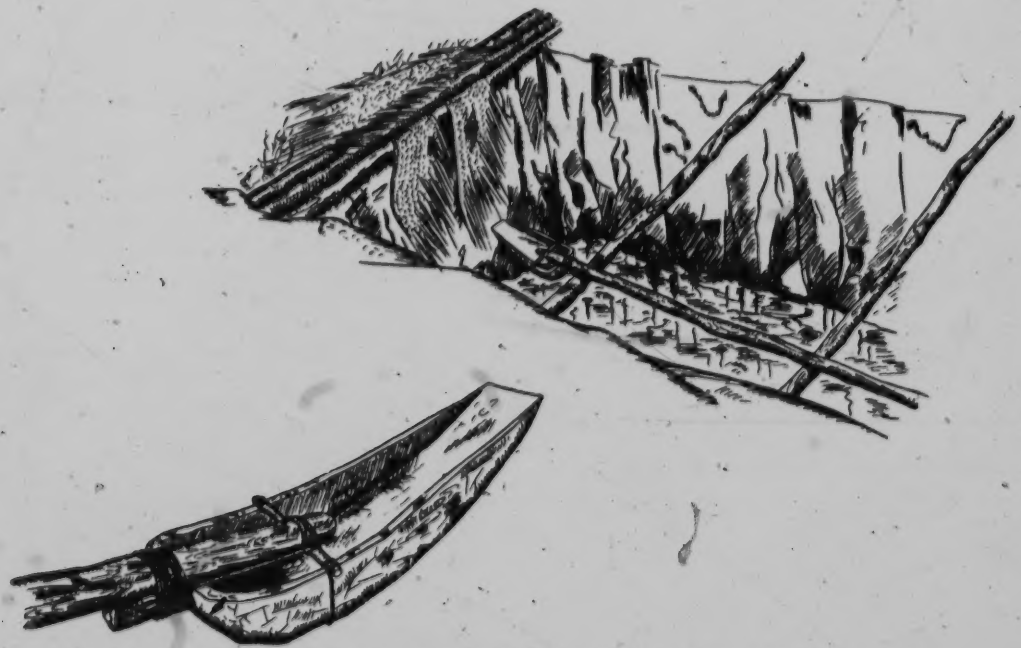

FIGURE 4.—The t'apáratárakua irrigation device. The pole to which the wooden spoon is attached is approximately 12 feet long.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 49-a]

239 In spite of unfavorable environment for stock raising, many families possess small herds (10–25 head) of cattle, which roam the Sierra forests.[107] During the latter part of the dry season some cattle die of starvation, and the springs and wells barely afford sufficient water for existing herds. The fatter animals are occasionally sold to the local butcher or home-killed for meat. Only the more wealthy have riding horses, and few except *arrieros* possess mules. When in use oxen and burros are often stabled in the house lot. All livestock is turned into the fields after harvest to graze on stubble and to fertilize the land. The small animals, such as sheep and pigs (*ganado menor*) are common throughout present Tarasca.[108] In almost every village a few families own sheep, flocks ranging in size from 50 to 1,000 head. The greatest number of flocks are found around the higher mountains of the Sierra, such as Tancítaro,[109] Patamban, and Quinceo, where summer pastures (bunchgrass) are abundant near the summits. In
[242] winter, flocks are grazed in harvested cornfields, for this is a recognized method of soil fertilization. Most of the inhabitants of the *ranchos* around Cerro de Patamban are shepherd-farmers, at least half of their time being devoted to sheep raising. During the summer months boys and girls are

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[107] Few data exist concerning the introduction of cattle into the Sierra. The original land title of Pamatácuaro, dated June 1532, mentions the possession of European domestic animals by the Indians of that village. "*Tienen las naturales como pobladeros las prehemineencias asserias de pueblo, Iglecia, campanas sonoras, armentherio: chrias de todas clases de ganados, Bacas de sientre, Buegos, asnos, ovejas y bestias mulares y caballeros . . .*" Again, from the same document: "*. . . las animales y ganados sea suyos y de compañeros tuvaño . . .*" These data were taken from a certified copy (1937) of the original document; the latter is reported to be in the *jefatura* of Pamatácuaro. If the document is correct, European animals were taken into the native culture at an extremely early date. The Ponce Relación (1872, vol. 2, p. 133) mentions herds belonging to natives pasturing on the slopes of Cerro de Tancítaro and watering at the lake on its summit in 1584. Around 1700 the people of Cheranátzicurin possessed a *sitio de ganado mayor* (pasture for large animals such as horses and cattle) near the village (AGN Tierras, vol. 867, exped. 8). In the northern plateau and *tierra caliente* regions, where colonial cattle *estancias* were numerous, many Indians quickly became *vaqueros*, but probably few acquired their own herds.

[108] Tarascans quickly adopted the sheep. By 1580 many Indians around the shores of Lake Cuitzeo possessed flocks numbering from 300 to 400 head. "*. . . crian sus carneros con tan buen orden y concierto como en España . . .*" (Mss. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cuitzeo). A great number of Indians living near the northern plateau pastures were forced to tend flocks of Spanish *encomenderos*. The Lake and Sierra Tarascans also likely acquired sheep at an early date. In many parts of Mexico the Indians rapidly took to sheep raising soon after the Spaniards introduced the animal early in the 16th century. During the colonial period Indians were the chief sheep raisers in New Spain, either as hired shepherds or as owners of flocks. Possibly the annual or semi-annual wool clip and the fact that the smaller animals are more easily herded than cattle, prompted the natives to adapt themselves readily to sheep raising.

[109] Most of the flocks on Tancítaro and other areas adjacent to Paricutin were destroyed by heavy ash fall during the spring and summer of 1943. Formerly, some Tarascans in that area owned flocks as large as 5,000 or 6,000 head. One man in Nuric is reported to have had 20,000.

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[P. 49-b]

293 During the summer months boys and girls are
[883] the full-time shepherds, driving herds up the mountain slope each morning and down to the folds near the house at evening. The elders perform the semiannual shearing and often tend the flocks in the cornfields during the winter. Professional shepherds are sometimes hired by sheep owners to care for their flocks.

The sheep of the Tarascans are small, scrawny animals, descendants of the 16th-century Spanish breeds. In a given flock about half the animals are black, the rest white (pl. 7). Often a few goats graze with the flock. The Indians are usually financially unable to improve the breed with new blood; in only one case did the writer observe a merino ram. The Tarascans raise sheep
236 mainly for wool. The *rancheros* around Cerro de Patamban shear their animals with hand clippers every 6 months. Some wool is obtained also by the girl shepherds, who pluck from the backs of sheep while the animals are grazing; as she plucks, the girl spins the wool on a whorl spindle, completing a ball of yarn as large as the fist at the end of day. In many villages local wool is used for weaving, many weavers possessing their own flocks. Otherwise the wool clip is sold to people from other villages or to mestizo wholesale buyers.

231 The hog was the first European animal domesti-
177 cate that the Spaniards brought into the Tarascan area in quantity, and was possibly one of the first of the new animals adopted into Indian culture. As early as 1525 Spaniards were raising large droves of hogs in the vicinity of Pátzcuaro in order to supply food to placer operations in the Balsas (Millares Carlo and Mantecón, 1945, p. 32).[119] Indians were used as swineherds. Throughout the colonial period large numbers of hogs were fed in the marsh areas north of the Sierra and droves were periodically driven to Toluca and the valley of Mexico (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 180). Today the hog is common in
231 every Tarascan village. Practically every household owns two or three animals, which serve as scavengers, running the streets by day; enough maize and scraps are fed the animals to induce them to return at night to the proper pen in the

[119] The hog appears to have been the first Old World animal raised on a large scale in New Spain. Moreover, hog culture was intimately connected with gold placering in Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Michoacán (1521–36). Droves were driven along with the shifting placer camps, the animals feeding on fallen tropical fruits (e. g. the *ciruela*), roots, and wild tubers in the *tierra caliente*. "*Carne de puerco*" was the chief "energy" food given the Indian labor gangs.

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kuiúka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ɨíkata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the [263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax [237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat 262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded. 252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čuɨípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uiríkata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *cazuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kuiúka is apparently onomatopoetic; ɨíkata-ambás or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ɨíkata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čuɨípu, uiríkata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 50b] Sierra

262 is eaten only on Sundays or on fiesta days by those
252 who can afford it. On festive occasions, such as weddings, a whole mutton is stuffed with cleaned entrails and head and roasted in a large oven. (The roast is called *tatemado*, or uirikata.) On less prominent occasions pieces of mutton are often cooked with vegetables to make a kind of čuípu.

Pork is always eaten fresh; cured pork, such as ham, bacon, and sausage—all old Spanish meats—, has no place in modern Tarascan diet. Pieces of fresh pork are fried on the *comal*, or boiled with vegetables. A popular pork dish, especially in the Sierra, is *chicharrones* (cracklings), which consist of pieces of fresh pig skin well-cooked in a large copper caldron.[115] *Carnitas*, pieces of meat and fat, including spareribs, side meat, leg, etc., are also cooked in the caldron in many pueblos, and are commonly served in the markets of the large mestizo towns nearby.

FOOD-GATHERING ACTIVITIES

222 Tarascan women and children gather various
262 wild herbs, fungi, and fruit to supplement agricultural products. Among these the most important are the annual greens, or šakuá,[116] collected during the rains from June through September. They are usually found in disturbed ground, e. g. within and on the edges of wheat or maize fields. The women in some Sierra pueblos recognize more than 15 varieties of šakuá that are habitually gathered.[117] These are boiled with chile and
[252] salt to make atápakua. Although eaten in all modern Tarascan villages, such greens are of greater importance in the Sierra, where the garden vegetables common in the Lake and La Cañada areas are infrequently cultivated.

Mushrooms (terékueča) are collected in all Tarascan towns, and, like the annual greens, appear only in the rainy season. They are found in the fields, in the forest growing under decaying logs,

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[115] In the spring of 1946 a *chicharrón* cooking was observed in Pamatácuaro. After killing a hog the local butchers or others set up a caldron in the plaza to cook the skin. By the time the cracklings were well done, a large group of villagers had gathered to buy them at a few centavos each. The lard so rendered was sold to one of the local stores. The cooking of *chicharrones* is also common in many mestizo towns in central and northern Mexico.

[116] Šakuá is the Tarascan equivalent of the Nahuatl "qualiti," which has been hispanicised to *quelite*, the general term now used in Mexico for any kind of wild annual used for greens.

[117] Unfortunately, the Sierra was visited during the dry season, and consequently specimens of šakuá plants could not be collected for botanical classification. Verdolaga (*Portulaca oleracea*) and tender amaranth shoots, however, are common šakuá varieties.

222 and even in sheltered spots in the village streets.
262 Again, collecting is done by women and children, though men may bring home a mess of mushrooms found while cutting wood. Eight to ten edible varieties are known in most towns. Children are trained early to recognize the poisonous kinds, called uaríč-terékua (ghost mushroom). Terékueča are prepared by boiling and then frying
[252] in lard; they are also roasted with salt on the *comal* or over live coals; sometimes they are boiled and mixed with chile sauce. A *tamal* nákatamal-terékua) is often filled with boiled mushrooms. Aside from mushrooms, the fungus growth on maize ears is likewise called terékua (the *cuitlacoche* (*Ustilago maydis*) of the Aztecs), and is similarly prepared and eaten.

In the Sierra acid fruits, particularly berries, are other food items collected. The fruit of the native blackberry bush (*zarzamora*, ɸ'tún), which grows best in disturbed ground along hedgerows and on edges of fields, is gathered in May and June. The berries are eaten fresh with salt and are used to flavor atole (*atole de zarzamora*, ɸ'tún-kamáta). Other fruits commonly gathered include piníki, an orange-colored berry often carried to mestizo markets; tejocote and *capulín*, both gathered wild or semicultivated in hedgerows; wild grapes; the cherry tomato (šapíndikua), which grows along the edges of cultivated fields.

The buds (šamáš) of a wild *mezcal* type of agave is another food item commonly gathered in the Tarascan area and in most parts of Central Mexico. The buds and lower fleshy ends of the
262 leaves of the plant are roasted in a hole about 1
252 meter deep and 1 to 2 meters across, which is usually dug on the forested slopes where the wild agave is available. A fire is built in the hole, and after it has died down somewhat rocks are placed on top. When the stones become hot, the agave is placed in the hole and covered with maguey leaves and earth. After 3 days the cooked agave is taken out and carried to various markets where it is sliced and sold. Roasted agave is often termed *mezcal* (siuáta), but it must be distinguished from the distilled liquor (s'áku) of the same name. The former is rich in starch and is possibly one of the more ancient foods of Mexico.

Aside from food plants, the coarse roots of
222 zacatán grass (*Muhlenbergia macroura*) are collected by men throughout the Sierra. Called *raíz de paja* or *raíz de zacatón*, the dried roots are sold in

222 mestizo towns nearby for the manufacture of scrubbing brushes. This activity is not peculiar to Tarascans, for it is carried on by both mestizos and Indians in high altitudes of the Mesa Central where the grass grows in abundance.

263 Before the eruption of Paricutin in 1943, honey gathering was an important collecting activity in
222 the Sierra. The heavy fall of volcanic ash killed or drove away all wild bees in the area, terminating the ancient trade of the *panaleros*, or honey gatherers. Formerly there were 15 *panaleros* in Urapicho, and several in Cherán and Tanaco. In the spring of 1946 it was rumored in some pueblos farthest from the volcano that a few swarms of bees were returning. (See Beals, 1946, pp. 13–14, for a description of honey collecting in the Sierra.)

HUNTING ACTIVITIES

224 In pre-Conquest times hunting formed a significant part of the food quest among the Tarascans. Deer, rabbit, and grouse were hunted in the Sierra, while migratory waterfowl, chiefly ducks, were taken in the Lake area (Relación de Michoacán, p. 15). Today only duck hunting on Lake Pátzcuaro still has economic importance, and there it is limited chiefly to fishers—the islanders and some *rancheros* on the Tarío-k'eri Peninsula. Nine varieties of migratory ducks (principally of the genera *Nyroca*, *Mareca*, and *Nettion*) are recognized by the fishermen. Customarily bird hunting starts on the Día de los Muertos fiestas (October 31 and November 1), when as many as 100 ducks are killed by a single hunter, and continues until the departure of the flocks in late March. The p'atámu, or spear propelled with the
411 throwing stick (ɟapáki, or the Nahuatl *atlatl*), is still employed by many duck hunters. The spear, with a *carrizo* handle 3 m. long, carries 3 points, called the *ɟaqa* (k'enéta), each 7 cm. in length (fig. 5). Old flintlocks (*carabinas de chispas*) are also used by the Urandén islanders, but many modern hunters from Janitzio possess modern shotguns. Ducks are eaten in the Lake pueblos and many are sold in Pátzcuaro. Waterfowl are hunted by Tarascans likewise in the Zacapu Basin.

224 In the Sierra, hunting is looked upon as a
[517] pastime by most modern Indians. Men and boys often hunt deer, squirrels, and rabbits with flintlocks and some modern rifles. Game, however, is largely depleted in the Sierra. Beals

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM of P. 51b--Analyst]

[P. 52-a]

411

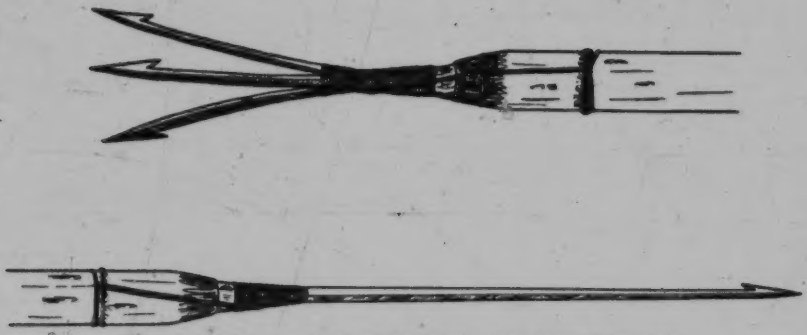

FIGURE 5.—The fish spear (above) and flaps (below). Approximately ½ natural size.

224 (1946, p. 19) mentions the use of pit traps and snares in Cherán.

FISHING

A large part of pre-Conquest Tarasca was
226 inhabited by fishers, most of whom were part-time farmers.[118] There were two important fishing areas: (1) the northern plateau region, dotted with lakes and marshes, and (2) the central lakes, Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén. Fishing was also practiced in the shallow lagoons in the Cotija graben west of the Sierra and in the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers in the *tierra caliente*. In the above-named areas fishing continued unchanged throughout most of the colonial period, but during the last 150 years it has declined mainly in the northern and western sections, owing to desiccation and draining of marshes.[119] In Lake Pátzcuaro, fishing has been declining since the mid-18th century. By 1789 all the inhabitants of the south-shore pueblos had ceased to fish (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–302v), and today Lake Pátzcuaro fishers are limited mainly to the islands and a few small *ranchos* on the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula. Only ves-

[118] The Nahuatl name for the Tarascan area (particularly the section around the central lakes) was Michuacán, meaning the land of the fishers.

[119] The desiccated areas where fishing was once significant included the basins of Zacapu, the Tarimbaro lowland north of Morelia, the Tangancícuaro Basin, the lowlands southeast of Lake Chapala, and the chain of lakes (Guadalupe, San Juanico, Magdalena, Tacámecuaro) in the Cotija graben. Some fishing is still practiced by mestizos in Lakes Yuriria and Cuitzeo, although the waters of both are constantly receding, and the latter occasionally dries up completely. The western portion of Lake Chapala, formerly Tarascan territory, is still fished. There are some nine mestizo fishermen at Zirahuén, and carpa are still caught in the *tierra caliente* streams. This fish is dried and carried to the Sierra towns for consumption on fast days.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 52-C] Pátzcuaro

226 tiges remain in some of the mainland towns, where a few farmers fish part-time along the shore to supply local demand (map 19).

The fish resource.—The native fishes of Lake
136 Pátzcuaro are common to most lakes and streams of the western part of the Mesa Central. Most of the commercially important species belong to the genus *Chirostoma* (Atherinidae), which vary in length from 2 to 12 inches. *C. estor* is the famed *pescado blanco* (kurúča urápiti) of Pátzcuaro; *C. bartoni*, the *charal* or č'arári, is a tiny species that is sun-dried and sold over a wide area; *C. grandocule* is called k'uerépu, although this term is usually applied to the young of other species. Other genera include small fish, notably akúmaıa, or *sardina* (*Algansea lacustris*), čéua (*Allophorus robustus*), and t'íru, which includes at least four genera of the Goodeidae family (*Goodea luitpoldii*, *Neoophorus diazi diazi*, *Allotoca viripara*, *Skiffia lermae*). Around 1930 a black bass (*Micropterus* (*Huro*) *salmoides*), called *trucha* or *carpa*, native to eastern North American streams, was introduced into Lake Pátzcuaro presumably to increase a failing fish reserve. The *trucha*, however, upset an established biotic equilibrium by feeding on the small littoral fish, almost exterminating the t'íru and diminishing the stock of čéua and č'arári. In addition to fish, freshwater shrimp (šapitu) and frogs (kuanása, *Rana pipens*) inhabit the lake and are often caught and eaten.[139]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 549]

[139] A large literature exists on the fish resources of Lake Pátzcuaro. The more important works are Ancona et al. (1940), Osorio Tafall (1944), and De Buen (1943, 1944).

[P. 53]

Pátzcuaro

226
162

MAP 19.—Distribution of fishers around Lake Pátzcuaro, 1940. Data from official census, 1940.

Fishing techniques and associated tools.—
227 Fishing with native Tarascan nets predominates in Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén. Both the net and the hook were employed in pre-Conquest times,[131] but at present the latter is of secondary importance. The large *chinchorros* (uarúka) and the smaller čerémekuas are the only nets used today. The former is a seine, employed for catching *pescado blanco* and *trucha* in midlake, while the latter, a gill net with a fine mesh, is placed along shore to trap the small č'arári and k'uerépu [132] (pl. 8). Prior to the introduction of the *trucha* the picturesque *mariposa* or butterfly nets (k'oruča) were commonly employed for catching t'íru. Owing to the near extinction of this fish, these nets are no longer seen, except in Janitzio, where they are displayed to tourists. The hand net (*cuchara*, uirípu, čiúru) has likewise practically disappeared. All nets used by the Pátzcuaro fisherman are home-woven.

Other fishing tools include the spear (*arpón*, atárakua), now used to kill *trucha* in shallow water, and the hook (*anzuelo*, jupíkata-tárakua).[133] Shore traps are occasionally used by a few fishers of Uricho and Puácuaro. Fish poisons are not employed. To improve habitat conditions of open-water fish, such as *pescado blanco*, portions of the lake bottom are often cleared of aquatic grasses (*zacate*, pučúrini) with the uarómatárakua, a pole 3 m. long with a sickle attached to the end.

An indispensible fishing tool and means of water
501 transport is the Tarascan canoe, a flat-bottom dugout hewn from a pine or fir log. Owing to the

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226 [131] According to the Relación de Michoacán, Tarascan officials oversaw the net fishermen and those who fished with hooks (p. 16). Moreover, "... *de noche pescan con red y de día con anzuelo*" (p. 149).

[132] The *chinchorro* often measures 100 to 150 m. long and 8 m. wide. In the center is a pocket (*bolsa*) of fine mesh. Four people are necessary to handle the net in midlake, and it is usually operated from one boat. The net is manipulated by ropes (anjitatárakuada), 50 to 60 m. long attached to its two ends. Once the net is cast, it is formed in a semicircle and slowly pulled forward and upward, while the catch settles into the *bolsa*. The čerémekua is usually 6 to 8 m. long and 40 cm. wide. This net is used somewhat like a trap. It is fastened to poles in shallow water near the shore and left for 2 or 3 hours. When lifted, the net usually contains several small littoral fish, their heads caught in the fine mesh. This type of čerémekua can be operated by one person. A longer čerémekua (often 100 m. in length) with a coarser mesh is sometimes used to catch *pescado blanco* in deep water offshore. Like the smaller variety, it is operated by one person, who attaches the top of the net to log floats and one end to his canoe. The net and boat are permitted to drift in midlake usually through the night, while the attendant gathers in the trapped fish from time to time.

[133] The atárakua is composed of a stalk of *carrizo* 4 m. long, to the end of which is attached a long barbed-iron point (60 cm. long). The spear is hurled either above or beneath the water. Regarding the use of the *anzuelo*, the cord supporting the hook is usually attached to a piece of *carrizo* or *ciate*, 1 m. long, a series of which is permitted to float on the water. A strike is indicated by the tilting of the stick, which is hurriedly picked up by the boatman.

501 drying up of lakes in the northern and western sections of Tarasca, the distribution of the dugout has decreased in area during the last 100 years. At the present time the Tarascan boat is used on Lakes Pátzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Chapala; two old dugouts on the small pond at Tarejero represent the remnants of the once extensive canoe traffic in the Zacapu lagoon.[134] Most of the Lake [438] Pátzcuaro boats are made in the Sierra settlements of Cumachuén, Capacuaro, and in the highlands to the south, mainly around the *rancho* of Santa Juana. The boats are dragged to the lake shore, where they sell for 100 to more than 600 pesos each. They are said to last for 3 to 5 years before becoming waterlogged. Two sizes of boats are seen on Lake Pátzcuaro—the small ičáruta for two to four persons, used for shore fishing, and the larger tepári, which carries from four to eight individuals and is employed in midlake fishing and for transport.[135] The smaller boat is paddled with the *pala* or šótakua, which has a round blade of pine (25 × 28 cm.) attached to a handle of oak or *téjocote* varying in length from 30 cm. (for children) to over 2 m. The larger canoes are both paddled and rowed. Sierra folk from Cumachuén and Capacuaro manufacture oars and paddles, which they market in Erongarícuaro and Pátzcuaro.

226 **Fishing methods.**—In most parts of the lake, fishing is done in the early morning hours between 5 and 10 o'clock. Fishing is seasonal, most activity occurring during the dry season (November to May). *Chinchorreros* usually operate in groups of four; often blood relations, the group divides the catch equally. An owner of a net and boat often hires *peones* to help with the *chinchorro*, paying wages or dividing the catch. The wife and children occasionally help set the čerémakua along the shore, and often women aid with the *chinchorro*. Midlake fishing is open to all inhabitants of the Lake area who pay a federal license of 1.50 pesos annually. By custom, however, the people of a particular settlement have exclusive fishing rights along the shore of their lands; those from other pueblos may not fish the shores of

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[134] As late as 1872 heavy canoe traffic is described between Tarejero and Zacapu (Pérez Hernández, 1872, p. 119). Late in the 16th century small reed boats were used on Lake Chapala (Ponce Relación, vol. 2, pp. 19–20).

[135] Measurements of the dugouts: The ičáruta has a length of 2.5 m. to 6.5 m., width of 60 cm., and depth of 40 cm.; the tepári ranges from 6.5 to 11 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 50 cm. deep.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55-d] Pátzcuaro Sierra

226 another without permission from the authorities of the latter.

Fish preparation.—*Pescado blanco, trucha,* and
252 akúmaıa are usually taken to market fresh, although the latter is sometimes fried on the *comal* before being sold. The tiny k'uerépu and č'arári, however, are invariably sun-dried, the catch being spread on a petate, which is placed near the door of the dwelling where it can be easily watched
[439] (pl. 11). Since pre-Conquest days dried č'arári has been one of the main exports of the Tarascan lakes. It was distributed into the *tierra caliente,* the Sierra, and as far east as Toluca.

LUMBERING ACTIVITIES

313 The Tarascans, possibly more than any other aboriginal group of Mexico, have been exploiters of forest products since pre-Columbian times. During the Empire period one of the important officials of the *caltzontzin* at Tzintzuntzan was in charge of "the keepers of the forests," who cut beams and made planks for public, and probably private, use.[126] Not only were large beams and logs used in the construction of temples, but also in the building of forts against Aztec raids. During the colonial period the pine forests on the northern flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán were heavily exploited by Tarascan woodmen for beams, planks, and shakes for the Guanajauto and Zacatecas mining districts.[127]

Much of the timber resource of northern Michoacán was depleted by the end of the 18th century. Relatively untouched by colonial exploitation, the pine and fir forests of the Sierra de los Tarascos, although constantly diminishing, have remained the principal source of timber for the indigenous population. There are few contemporary Sierra Tarascan men who cannot handle an ax or lumber saw. When the maize fields do not demand their attention, the family head and his sons are usually in the forest cutting timber or gathering resin. The Sierra Indian is consequently both a farmer and a lumberjack. Some are professional woodsmen, who live in the village but seldom engage in agriculture. Little lumber-

[126] Relacion de Michoacán, p. 17; ". . . *diputado sobre los que guardaban los montes que tenian cargo de cortar vigas y hacer tablas y otra madera de los montes . . .*"

[127] This exploitation began immediately after the Guanajuato mines were opened ca. 1554, and extended into the post-colonial period. After the exhaustion of the local wood supply, Zacatecas began to draw on the northern Michoacán lumber reserves during the first part of the 17th century (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 1, p. 315).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55b] Sierra

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as communal property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house [439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Wood-cutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapió, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[138] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[138] Although in some pueblos (Paracúaro and ranchos, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

314 picked up by trucks from turpentine distilleries in Uruapan and Morelia. Charcoal is a minor commercial forest product made by Tarascans living near mestizo towns. The latter comprise [372] the principal markets for charcoal, which has never entered Tarascan culture.[129] Other minor forest products consist of *ocote* splinters, used for primitive interior illumination;[130] softwoods 313 (madroño, jaboncillo, aile, etc.) for lathe work; pine and fir for cabinet work; etc.

Within the last 50 years the commercial sawmill has penetrated into the Sierra. Lumber companies purchase cutting rights of standing timber from the pueblos and set up a steam- or (when near a power line) electric-powered saw in the midst of the forest.[131] When the suitable timber has been depleted (under Federal inspection), the mill closes down, and the remnant of the forest reverts to the pueblo. Although most [464] companies bring in mestizo labor, many Tarascans from villages nearby obtain seasonal work in the sawmills, thereby supplementing their usually low income. Because of their ephemeral character, the number of mills in the area varies. In 1940 there were five mills in the Sierra proper; in 1946 the number had decreased to three.

During the last 100 years cutting has exceeded natural timber growth in the Sierra. Clearing of new plowland to sustain increased population and commercial lumbering have been the major factors of forest depletion. Moreover, disease has recently destroyed acres of pine in the vicinity of Tarecuato, and volcanic ash has laid waste the forest within a 3-mile radius of Parícutin. Lumbering even by the Tarascan woodsmen is often wasteful. Large trees are sometimes cut and left unattended for years until rot renders the wood useless.[132] Improper tapping for resin and testing for shakes often kill many trees. The sawmills, operating on a much larger scale than the native lumbermen, are even more destructive, and in former years they depleted large sections of Sierra forest. Approximately 50 years ago the timberland in the eastern part of the Sierra east

[129] The main charcoal-producing towns in the area are San Lorenzo (Uruapan market), Opopeo and Cuanajo (Pátzcuaro market).

[130] The *rancheros* around Pamatácuaro gather much ocote, which the women market in the large mestizo towns bordering the Sierra.

[131] In 1944 the pueblo of San Felipe sold its forest to an Uruapan company for two million pesos. The proceeds were deposited in an Uruapan bank, where they remain communal property.

[132] Such wasteful exploitation was much in evidence in the forest lands of Pamatácuaro on the southern slope of Cerro de Patamban.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56-6]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

Among most people lacking modern transporta-
438 tion facilities and mass production techniques,
472 cottage industries, often termed "native crafts,"
463 are characteristic of the local economy. Owing to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population[123] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agavé fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 Like so many of his material culture elements,
463 the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[123] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 3.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

177 aboriginal and European products and techniques.
463 Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern wood-
[412] work the adz and the lathe are probably European and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide
[281] have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal.
[286] Although the ancient belt loom is used for most cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European tech-
[325] niques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 An interesting aspect of cottage industries is
178 their ephemeral character. Owing to movement
[166] of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[184] The pottery industry in Santa Fé
[323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was
[294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan
[282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft
[325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[184] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

[P. 57-C]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]

Pueblo	1946	1941	1822	1780
Aeuchuaq	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ahuiran	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Tablecloths. Woodwork: Violins. Turned work.	Weaving (cotton): Mantas. Belts. Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings of cotton thread.	Knitting: Men's cotton stockings.
Angahuan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Arantepacua	Capotes. Brooms.	(?)	(?)	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Aranza	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(Depopulated.)
Arocutin	None.	(?)	(?)	Petate weaving.
Atapan	None.	None.	None.	None.
Azajo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.

See footnote at end of table.

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1841	1822	1769
Cahuantzin (Parícutin)	Weaving (cotton): Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).	(?)	Weaving (cotton).
Capacuaro	Woodwork: Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts.	Woodwork: Boxes.	(?)	Woodwork: Boxes.
Carapan	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Charapan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf.	Weaving (cotton). Woodwork: Rosaries. Chocolate beaters.	Woodwork: Rosaries. Malacates.	Weaving (cotton. Woodwork: Rosaries.
Charás	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Napkins. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf. Embroidery work.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork (1742).
Cherán-Atzicuirin	None.	None.	None.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Chilchota	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Comachuen	Pottery.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries.	Woodwork: Rosaries.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries. Other turned work. Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (1742).
Cocucho	Leatherwork: Shoes. Belts. Saddle leather. Pottery.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Comanja	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Conejos, Los (Parangaricutiro).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).
Corupo	Woodwork: Cabinetmaking. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Boxes. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Phonetic molds. Boxes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Cuanajo	Woodwork: Cabinet work: Boxes.	Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work. Boxes.

See footnote at end of table.

[P. 59]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1948	1941	1923	1780
Cocucho—Continued	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.			
Comachuén	Woodwork: Batons. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars. Woodwork (1762): Saddle frames.
Erongarícuaro	Potato weaving	(?)	Potato weaving.	(?)
Huécato	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ichán	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tócuato	Potato weaving. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Janitzio	Netting. Weaving (cotton): Men's belts.	(?)	(?)	Netting.
Jarácuaro	Hat making. Palm leaf. Weaving. Belts. Adobe making.	Potato weaving.	(?)	Potato weaving.
La Pacanda	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nahuatzen	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Cloth. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Leatherwork: Saddles. Belts.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Saddles.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Shoes. Saddles.
Naranja	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Napízaro	Potato weaving.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nocutzepo	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Nurio	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Hat making: Felt.	Hat making.	Hat making: Felt.
Ocumicho	Clay toys.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Weaving (cotton)
Pamatácuaro	Woodwork: Spoons. Batons. Hat making: Wheat straw. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).

See footnote at end of table.

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1769
Paracho	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Turned work. Cabinet work. Toys. Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work. Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.
Paramban	Pottery. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Pottery.	Pottery.
Pichátaro	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Rebozos. Woodwork: Cabinet work. Broom handles. Bateas. Hat making: Palm leaf. Petate weaving.	Weaving (agave). Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work.
Pomacuarán	None.	Weaving (cotton). Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings.	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (?).
Pátzcuaro	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Quiroga	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Capotes.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Quiroga	Woodwork: Bateas. Turned work. Chairs.	(?)	Woodwork: Bateas. Boxes.	Woodwork: Bateas. Woodwork (1742): Bateas. Boxes.
San Andrés	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
San Angel	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Santa Fé	Pottery.	(?)	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Bateas (painted). Boxes (painted). Petate weaving.
San Felipe	Ironwork. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Ironwork.	Ironwork.	Ironwork (also in 1644).
San Jerónimo	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Belts. Blankets.	(?)	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving. Woodwork: Boxes.

[1] See footnote at end of table.

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1780
San José	Pottery.	(?)	Leather work: Tanning. Woodwork: Saddle frames.	(?)
San Lorenzo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Santo Tomás	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Sevina	Woodwork: Bateas. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Sicuicho	None.	None.	None.	Weaving (cotton).
Sirio	Woodwork: Spoons. Bateas.	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)
Sopoco	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tacámaro	Petate weaving. Capote making.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
Tanaco	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates.	None.	(?)	(?) Pottery (1742). Woodworking (1742). Saddle frames.
Tanaquillo	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tarécuato	Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates. Costales. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Rope making.	(?)	(?)	Weaving (agave).
Tarejero	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Tarécuato	Hat making: Wheat straw. Palm leaf. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Leatherwork: Shoes.	(?)
Trinidaro	Pottery: (Hat making ceased in 1938.)	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Tócuaro	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Masks.	(?)	(?)	None.
Tócuro	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)

See footnote at end of table

[P. 62-a]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1822	1780
Turicuaro	Stonework: Metates. Woodwork: Bateas. Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Capote-making.	Stonework: Metates.	Stonework: Metates.	(?)
Tzintzuntzan	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.
Uayabio	Hat making: Palm leaf.	None.	None (?).	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames.
Uriche	Petate weaving.	(?)	(?)	Petate weaving.
Zacán	(?)	Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (cotton): Mantas.	(?) Woodwork (1644): Bateas. Rope making (1644).
Zirosto	Woodwork: Bateas (disappeared since volcano). Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Piloncillo molds. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Bateas (painted).	Woodwork: Bateas. Woodwork (1644): Bateas. Rope making (1644).

[1] Sources: 1644, Basalenque (1644); 1742, Villaseñor y Sánchez (1746–48); 1780, AGN, Historia, vol. 73; 1822, Martínez de Lejarza (1824); 1941, AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 704, Memorias Estadísticas, 1941; 1946, Field observation.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 62b]

438 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest
463 times, have completely disappeared. The fine
Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the
beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924,
178 pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground
pith of maize stalks, from which various objects
(mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared
in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then disappeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican
kitchens,[135] and tile roofing is used extensively in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.62 c]

323 most parts of the country. As in pre-Conquest days, the manufacture of clayware in Mexico is still a cottage industry in which various towns specialize.

Including Tzintzuntzan (largely mestizo), there
323 are nine pottery towns in the present Tarascan
438 area: Santa Fé, Comanja, Zipiajo, Huánsito, Santo Tomás, San José, Patamban, and Cocucho. With the exception of Cocucho, all are located in the čaránda, or clay-soils district north of the Sierra, usually near deposits of suitable firing clay (map 20). The Cocucho potters have always hauled clay from the vicinity of Tangancícuaro and San José, for suitable deposits rarely occur in the Sierra. Other pottery towns, now mestizo, are also located in the northern clay area (Tangancícuaro, Capula, Villa Morelos, Penícuaro). Moreover, other Tarascan villages in La Cañada (Sopoco, Ichán, Tacuro, Tanaquillo), in the Zacapu

[138] The common clay kitchen utensils include various types of pots (*ollas*) for boiling; the *comal*, or round, flat piece placed on the hearth for frying, broiling, and toasting; small saucers (*cazuelas*) for frying and from which food is sometimes eaten; water jugs (*cántaros*); drinking cups (*vasos*).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 63a]

323 Basin (Tiríndaro), and in the Lake area (San
438 Jerónimo and Erongarícuaro) make pottery on a small scale, mainly for local use.

Modern Tarascans use both the hand and the mold techniques. The latter is usually accompanied by application of lead oxide glaze. The former is still used in only three pueblos—Comanja, Zipiajo, and Cocucho, where it is performed solely by women.[128] In Comanja the lower part of the vessel is shaped from a single daub of clay. A depression is made in the center and the walls are built up with the hands by pressing in small daubs of clay. The outer and inner surfaces are smoothed with a corncob. The result is a well-balanced vessel with walls of even thickness. The vessels are rough-finished, rarely polished, and litharge glaze is never employed. Firing is accomplished by placing pottery on a pile of dried manure. The pots are covered with dried grass (*zacatón*), which, when lighted, ignites the manure. The grass ash is permitted to cover the pots, a hole being left in the center of the pile to permit smoke from the smoldering manure to escape. After 3 hours the pottery is fired to sufficient hardness. The chief ceramic products of Comanja are the large water ollas, called "*comanjas*," which are marketed in the Sierra, the Lake area, and in some of the mestizo towns to the north. Similar ollas are made by an identical process in Zipiajo, but on a smaller scale.

In Cocucho the ceramic process is similar to that of Comanja, except that the base of the vessel is formed on the bottom of a broken olla and part of the wall is built up of rolled pieces of clay (pls. 9 and 10). Firing is also similar, but pine bark and rotten wood, rather than manure, is employed for fuel; this process probably represents the truly aboriginal technique. The Cocucho women make large ollas with thick walls, especially famed as tamale cooking pots throughout the Sierra. This olla, rarely used outside of the Sierra, is called kukúču, from which the village derives its name. The tunúči, a small flat olla used as a *tlascal* (receptacle for tortillas), is also made.

[128] The native hand technique was practiced in other Tarascan towns during the 18th century. In 1729, according to Matías de Escobar, "*Es cosa que admirar como que los he visto en Tiripitío* [southwest of Morelia] *como labran cuanto* [los] *quieren, sin las ruedas y moldes de los Españoles. Un pequeño cuero y una mala navaja son todos los instrumentos con que obran*" (Escobar, 1924, p. 143). Both the hand and mold methods appear to be native in Mexico, although the latter was known to Europeans. See Foster, 1948, for a discussion of native and introduced elements in the modern mold technique.

323 The manufacture of these two Tarascan pots is
438 slowly dying. In 1946 only 10 women were making pottery in Cocucho, whereas in 1841 it was made in practically every household of the village (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

Today by far the greater amount of Tarascan pottery is made with molds by both men and women.[137] None is manufactured with the potter's wheel. All who use molds have taken
[117] over the European glaze technique and the firing oven. Tarascan mold-made pottery can be differentiated according to finish. The "Patamban" type, for instance, carries a beautiful green glaze, known and admired over most of western Mexico.[138] Green glaze is also used in Santo Tomás and Santa Fé de la Laguna, having been recently introduced into the latter pueblo. Pottery hand-painted with brilliant floral designs on a background of black glaze is a specialty of Santa Fé de la Laguna. This unusual technique was
[117] introduced around 1900, and was readily adopted by the inhabitants, whose former industry was batea painting. As mentioned previously, the inhabitants of Santa Fé de la Laguna began to make pots during the last quarter of the 19th century. Since then their ware has become
[439] known throughout Mexico, and some is imported by United States curio shops. In 1936 the technique spread to Tiríndaro, when daughters of a Santa Fé potter married into Tiríndaro families. The most common modern household pottery is the Red ware, either glazed or polished, made in Tzintzuntzan, Huánsito, San José, and Patamban. Before being fired the large pieces, such as ollas and *cántaros*, are usually slipped with a red clay solution and then burnished with iron pyrites. A handsomely polished surface, similar to that of the pre-Conquest wares, results after firing. (Such ware is fired only once.) Smaller pieces are often glazed with litharge. Glazed pieces are fired twice, the litharge being applied after the first firing and the glazed surface appearing after the second. Designs are often painted in white (*tierra blanca*) and black (*tierra*
[439] *de hormigón*). Red ware is carried as far as Guadal-

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[137] See Foster (1948) for a detailed description of the mold technique used by the potters of Tzintzuntzan.

[138] To produce the green color, pulverized copper oxide (*cobre quemado*) and yellow flinty quartz (*pedernal*) are added to the lead oxide (litharge) solution, which is applied to the pottery before firing. A black glaze is also made by adding a mineral called *tierra de hormigo* and pedernal to the litharge.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 64-d]

438
×323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and
[439] Mexico City.

Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the
[177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. P[illegible]ndigenous
[177] and European techniques are en[illegible], neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

283 **Spinning.**—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.)
[286] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

286 **Weaving.**—Tarascans weave all agave and cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáratakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 64-b]

286 found in most parts of indigenous America south of the United States (pl. 11). Customarily, only women operate this loom; however, in Tarecuato agave fiber is woven with it by both men and women, and in Tanaco, exclusively by men. Until the 1880's the most important fabric made with the belt loom was the cotton *manta*, a simple white cloth used for native clothing since pre-Conquest days. The cheap factory-made cottons [177] of Puebla and Veracruz have completely displaced the indigenous *manta*, so that today Tarascans weave women's and men's belts (*fajas*), shawls (*rebozos*), aprons (*delanteras*), tablecloths and napkins (*servilletas*). Widths of cloth ranging from 1½ inches (women's belts) to more than a yard (*rebozos*) can be woven on these looms. Designs are usually woven into the above-named articles, the warp threads being first arranged for large widths on a long stick (šekuárakua) and for the narrow *fajas* on the šekuáni, an arrangement of four to five small sticks placed in the ground. Some of the finest examples of cotton weaving are found in the Sierra pueblos: Paracho (whose women make the Tarascan "*rebozo corriente*"), Ahuíran (women's belts), Angahuan (women's belts, aprons, *rebozos*), Charapan (belts, aprons, tablecloths), San Lorenzo (tablecloths, belts).

In the early colonial period the weaving of agave fiber was apparently widespread in the Sierra (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14), but today it is limited to Tarecuato and Tanaco.[139] In these villages the main agave fiber products are *morrales* (square bag with shoulder straps), *ayates* (coarse piece for wrapping articles to be carried on back), and *costales* (coarsely woven sacks for carrying goods on mules and burros). The fiber of *maguey bruto* 283 (akámba t'aímiti) is used for the finely woven morrales, while that of *maguey del toro* (torakámba) is employed for the coarser *ayates* and *costales*. Leaves of the agave plant are cut and the fiber extracted and carded. After drying, it is spun by (1) rolling fibers on the thigh with the hand, or (2) with the malacate. The fibers are woven on [286] the belt loom in the same fashion as cotton[140] (pl. 11). A piece of the agave fabric is doubled over and sewn on the sides to make the morral, and a shoulder cord is added. Other agave fiber [439] products made in Tarecuato include rope and

[139] Agave fiber products were manufactured in Pichátaro during the last century (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

[140] The loom for weaving agave fiber is called nápatakua in Tarecuato.

283
439 cord; these and the woven articles are marketed in Guanajuato, Jalisco, the *tierra caliente*, and in all parts of the present Tarascan area.

Woolen products are woven mainly on the
286 European loom, which was introduced early in the 16th century.[141] During most of the colonial
[177] period this loom was used principally in the *obrajes*, or cloth mills established by Spaniards in various parts of Mexico near an abundant supply of wool. Indians first learned European weaving techniques in these mills, the labor for which came from surrounding native pueblos. By 1540 an *obraje*, operated by 26 forced native workers, had been set up in Acámbaro (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 33), and before the close of the century woolen mills existed in Taximaroa and Valladolid (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 225). Moreover, Indians quickly learned to spin wool, for tributes of spun wool were exacted from some pueblos, possibly to supply *obrajes* nearby.[142] It is not clear when the Tarascans began to use the hand loom in their own villages; possibly some looms were set up in the northern towns in the 16th century.[143] A report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) on the Tarascan pueblos of Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra, however, mentions the use only of the native loom. The first indication of a native wool industry in the Tarascan area comes from the Martínez de Lejarza report of 1822, which cites the *obrajeros* of San Juan Parangaricutiro (later the most renowned of the Tarascan blanket-weaving towns) and of several northern mestizo towns.[144] Tarascan wool weaving on a commercial scale may be post-colonial, having little economic basis until the break-down of the large woolen mills at the close of the colonial period. Today woolen blankets
[438] (*cobijas*, *serapes*) are made on the European hand loom in 24 Tarascan towns, Nahuatzen and prevolcano Parangaricutiro being the largest pro-
ducers.

[141] Strands of wool are sometimes mixed with cotton in making women's belts. Often the warp is of woolen strands, the woof of cotton thread.

[142] For example, ca. 1540 the people of Puruándiro (Michoacán) contributed each week two arrobas of spun wool (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 117).

[143] The Relación de Chilchota (Mus. Nac.) states that some natives in the town made clothes of wool, but the type of loom used is not given. Moreover, according to the Relación de Cuitseo (Mus. Nac.), the Indians living around the lake " . . . *tradan lana a los comerciantes para hacer ropa para sentirse, y sus mujeres la hacíaca* . . ." Again, the type of loom used to weave wool is not given.

[144] The northern towns mentioned: Morelia, Zinapécaro, Zitácuaro, Tacámbaro, Jiquilpan, Huaschita, La Piedad, Huaniqueo, and Tangamandapio. At that time the latter pueblo was wholly Tarascan; according to Martínez de Lejarza (1824, p. 227), ". . . *sus habitantes trabajan telares de algodón y lana.*"

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets, [438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

Embroidery and sewing.—In the Sierra villages 531 of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran, 438 Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro. 286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180). [439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus- 294 try was introduced probably in early colonial [177] days.[145] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurio (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.) 294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of 438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[145] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 68.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

294 *trensas*. In practically every Tarascan pueblo
438 women, children, and sometimes men weave *trensas* in their spare time, while walking to and from market, and while herding sheep. Braids are sold in the main markets, where they are purchased by hat makers. Little wheat straw is now braided, palm leaf being more durable and more easily handled.[147] After they are pressed and straightened with wooden rollers (fashioned like a clothes wringer), the braids are sewed together in spiral form, beginning at the crown. The brim and crown are made separately and sewed together. In Jarácuaro wooden forms are used to block crowns. Most hatters employ a Singer sewing machine, but those of Urapicho, Pamatácuaro, and Zacán sew by hand. In some towns hat making is disappearing, owing largely to factory competition. Pichátaro, formerly an important hat town, now has but four hatters. In 1936 the industry disappeared completely in Tiríndaro.

Tule weaving.—The indigenous sleeping mat or
285 *petate* (k'uírakua) is found in most of highland
438 Mexico. Also, the fire fan or *soplador* (p'unítatarákua), an indispensable kitchen utensil, is woven of tule. Mats and fire fans are made wherever tule is available—along the shores of shallow lakes, marshy areas, and river banks. Consequently, the villagers living around Lake Pátzcuaro are the chief tule weavers in the present Tarascan area (map 20; pl. 12). In San Andrés 90 percent of the working population make *petates*. Even a few families in the Sierra towns of Pichátaro and Cherán fabricate mats from tule reeds imported from Erongarícuaro. Formerly the towns near the northern march[1] districts were important *petate* producers, but there the industry has greatly declined with the desiccation of wet areas and disappearance of the tule brakes.[148] Tule is likewise being depleted along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. The *petateros* of Puácuaro, Napízaro, and Uricho import reeds from Jarácuaro Island, the local supply having been exhausted years ago.

Tule reeds are cut with the sickle, semidried, and bundled for transport or storage (pl. 8). In

[147] Hats of wheat straw are now made only in Pamatácuaro, Teremedo, and Apo (mestizo).

[148] A few *petates* are still made in Tarascan Tarejero, on the border of the former Zacapu marshes; in mestizo Etúcuaro (Tanguancicuaro Basin); and in Tacátzcuaro (near the Cotija graben lakes). Moreover, the industry is still carried on in some of the Lerma Delta towns east of Lake Chapala, and in a few villages around Lake Cuitzeo.

[1] [probably should read 'marsh'.—Analyst]

285 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat
438 making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'uírakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[148] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake
438 Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton
[283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

Capote making.—In many parts of indigenous
294 Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to
[171] those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made
[438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are im-
[439] ported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[149] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 67a]

[148] Other types: The k'amérita (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the ťimánitepéntsela (1 m.×80 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; ítetiŝan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranches along the shore of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula.

[149] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

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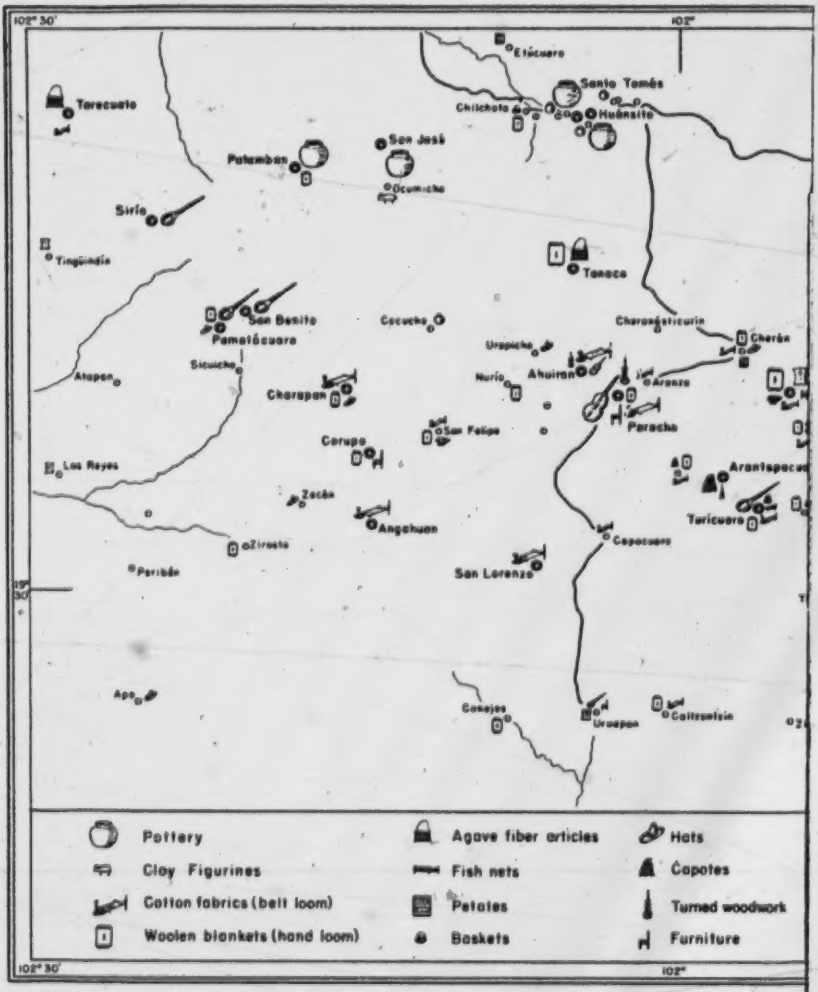

[Facing page 66; section A]

MAP 20.—Distribution of handicrafts in the m

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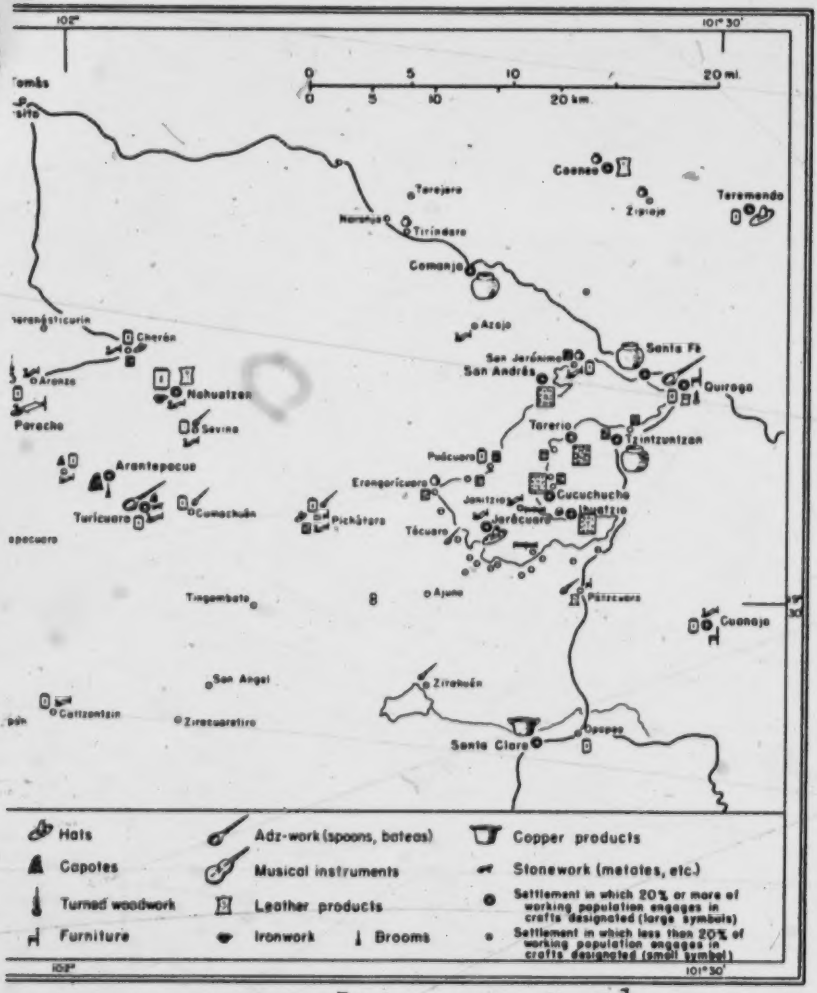

ion of handicrafts in the modern Tarascan area. [Facing page 66; section B]

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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 679]

294 palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are [439] marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an [177] introduced trait.

412 **Broommaking.**—This is another minor industry now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. [171] The result is a common broom found in all parts of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

322 According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the [177] natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[180a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[180a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1960, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in Garcia Library, Univ. of Texas).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 67-b]

322 industry more than 150 years old; in only five of the present towns do more than 25 percent of the working population engage in woodwork.

Adz work.—This is the simplest of the wood techniques now practiced by Tarascans (and by other Indian groups, as well as by mestizos in many parts of Mexico). Before the Conquest the Indians shaped boats from a single log and carved delicate figures on throwing sticks and tom-toms, possibly using obsidian and copper cutting tools. With the introduction of the [177] European steel adz and gouge early in the 16th century, native wood carving was greatly facilitated. One of the earliest European objects which the Tarascans carved with the adz was the saddle frame (*fuste*), an industry which disappeared 100 years ago. Today wooden spoons 322 and bowls (*bateas*) of softwoods are the principal 438 adz and gouge products, Pamatácuaro and its offspring settlements Sirío and San Benito being the chief producers.[151] These objects are also made in the Tarascan villages of Turícuaro, Cumachuén, Pichátaro, Zirosto (formerly important) and Sevina (where the industry was introduced a few years ago), and in the mestizo towns of Pátzcuaro, Tócuaro, Zirahuén, Uruapan, Quiroga. Spoons and bowls are made from softwoods: *jaboncillo* (šápu), *palo blano* (uráپit-úku), and *aile* (pámu). Occasionally *bateas* are made of pine. Tools include the common adz and vari- [412] ously shaped gouges, which are driven with a wooden mallet (pl. 13). The products of Pamatácuaro and surrounding settlements are marketed in all parts of Michoacán and sometimes are taken as far as Guadalajara and Mexico City.

Lathe work.—This represents one of the most characteristic forms of modern Tarascan woodcraft, Paracho being the center of the *torneros*. Formerly the simple bow lathe was employed to make bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters (*molinillos*), chessmen, toys (tops, yoyos), darning eggs, etc. (See Beals, 1946, p. 43, for illustration of bow lathe.) Since 1942, however, when a power line was constructed near the town, most of the bows have been replaced by electrically powered lathes. About six *torneros* in Paracho and five in neighboring Ahuíran still use the bow. Formerly turned objects, chiefly rosaries, choco-

[151] It is doubtful that wooden *bateas* were carved before the Spanish Conquest. Gourds of *Crescentia alata* probably functioned for the modern *bateas*. The "*bateas*" employed in early Spanish gold placering in the *tierra caliente* were likely fashioned from *Crescentia* gourds.

322 [438] late beaters, and *malacates*, were made in Charapan and Cocucho, but this activity has now disappeared. Most of the turned objects are shaped from madroño wood (panáꝗkʀa). Carving is done by pressing variously shaped steel chisels and gouges against the whirling block of wood. [531] In Paracho, designs are painted and burned into objects, and the surface lacquered or varnished. [177] The wheel lathe, an early Spanish introduction, is used by most cabinetmakers in the area for turning wood.

Cabinet work.—As mentioned earlier, cabinet work was rapidly adopted by Tarascan craftsmen in the early colonial period. In the 17th and 18th centuries inventories of miners' and merchants' household goods in west-central and northern Mexico rarely fail to mention chairs, tables, boxes "de Mechoacán." The majority of present Tarascan towns has at least one cabinetmaker who partially satisfies local demand for furniture. In [438] Paracho, Corupo, and Cuanajo—the Tarascan furniture centers—carpenters make chairs, tables, bed frames. Cuanajo is famed for its wooden chests, which are marketed in all parts of Michoacán. Most furniture is made from pine wood with simple tools (saw, mallet, plane, chisel, gouge). As mentioned above, chair and table legs are turned on the wheel lathe (fig. 6). The more common jointing techniques used include mor-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 68-b]

322 ticing and tenoning, housing, and dovetailing. Some pieces are joined with wooden pegs; metallic nails and screws are never employed.

322 534 [938] **Musical instruments.**—The most sophisticated of Tarascan woodwork is the manufacture of stringed instruments in Paracho. This pueblo has been the guitar town of Mexico since colonial times. In 1940 Paracho claimed 49 guitar makers and three individuals who made violins (including base viols). The art has spread to neighboring Ahuíran, where three men made violins in 1946. Local woods—*firímu*, *aile*, and *palo blanco*—are used for the top and base of the guitars; for sides and handles and inlaid designs walnut and cedar are imported from Mexico. Some *guitarreros* utilize local pine and fir for the tops of violins and base viols. The wood is cut with a small saw and planed to desired thinness. The top and base are cut from a pattern; the side bands are soaked and bent into place, being glued to the top and bottom pieces and held in place with braces. Strings and metal parts are assembled, and the instrument is varnished and waxed, ready for the ultimate consumer. Most *guitarreros* work on a [939] contract basis for Mexico City or Guadalajara buyers, and many Tarascans have moved their trade to the larger towns, mainly Mexico City, where their products bring higher prices.

The age of the Paracho guitar work is not known.

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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 68 c]

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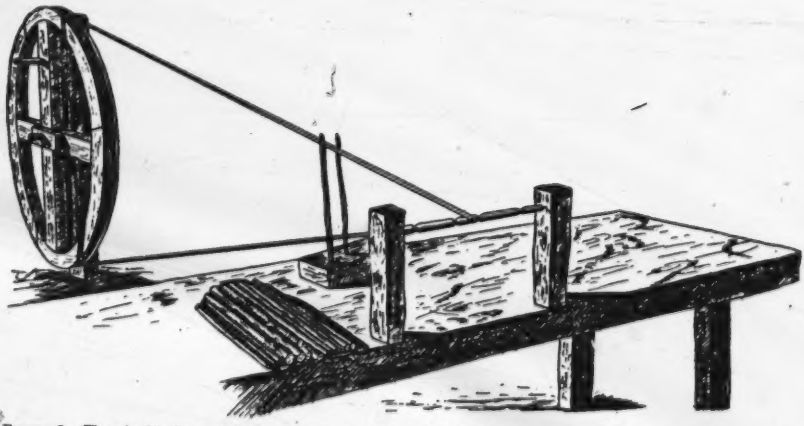

FIGURE 6.—The wheel lathe, used by most Tarascan cabinetmakers for turning wood. The wheel ranges from 2½ to 4 feet in diameter and is usually turned by a small boy.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 69-a]

322 It is first mentioned as an established industry in the report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344), indicating that it had been introduced for some time.

LACQUER WORK

386 Modern lacquerwork in Michoacán is closely associated with wood carved with the adz and
322 lathe. Before the Spanish Conquest various gourds (*Lagenaria*, *Cucurbita*, and *Crescentia*) were lacquered with a varnish made from the insect *axin* (*Coccus axin*) and *chía* (*Salvia* sp.) This industry probably centered in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins (Brand, 1944, p. 60) and was extended into the towns near the southern edge of the Sierra, e. g., Peribán and Uruapan. After the introduction of Spanish adz work during the colonial period, lacquer was applied to wooden *bateas* in Peribán, Zirosto, Zacán, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. *Bateas* were painted, but not lacquered, in Cucupao (Quiroga) and Santa Fé de la Laguna. Today few Tarascans practice the art, the famous *bateas* of Uruapan being lacquered by mestizos. Some of the turned vases and bowls of Paracho are finished with tung oil and synthetic lacquer purchased in mestizo markets.

LEATHERCRAFT

282 Probably one of the first native Tarascan crafts stimulated and expanded by the early Spaniards was leatherwork. With the introduction of cattle, Tarascan tanners were able to multiply leather production, which formerly had been based on deerskin, to meet the heavy Spanish demand for saddles, halters, shoes (the famous "*zapatos de baqueta de mechoacán*").[182] Tanning was done with local oak bark, as it is today (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13). During the colonial period leather-
282 crafts were centered in the northern Tarascan
438 towns near the pastures and hide supply, and in a few pueblos of the Sierra. The latter included Cherán, Cheranátzicurin, Ocumicho, and Nahuatzen, which was one of the largest tanning centers

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[182] Fray Toribio de Motolinia's statement of 1540 on the Tarascan leather industry is revealing: "*Han deprendido a curir curamiras . . . son buenos zapateros, que hacen zapatos y sarcillas* [slippers], *borceguíes* [high shoes], *pantaflos, chapinas* [wooden shoes with leather straps] *de mugeres; . . . este oficio comenzó en Michoacán, porque allí se curten los buenos cueros de venados. Hacen todo lo que es menester para una silla ginete bastos y fusta, cruzas y sobrecruzas . . .*" (Motolinia, 1903, p. 183). According to the Relación de Michoacán (p. 16) "*cotaras de cuero,*" or leather sandals, were made for the cultzontzin in pre-Conquest times.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 69-b]

282 in the Tarascan area.[153] By the latter part of the
438 19th century leathercrafts began to decline, and today within the Tarascan area only Nahuatzen (largely mestizo) continues to tan hides and make saddles and other riding equipment.[154] Some Tarascan towns now boast of one or two *zapateros* who make huaraches of imported leather for local consumption. The principal huarache-making centers are now the surrounding mestizo towns: Coeneo, Zacapu, Tinguindín, Los Reyes, Uruapan, Ario de Rosales.

METALCRAFT

325 **Copper work.**—The Tarascans were probably the foremost metallurgists in pre-Columbian Mexico. They worked gold, silver, and copper. The precious metals were formed into ornaments and disks, which the *caltzontzin* stored on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro; useful objects, such as axes, *coas*, and spearheads, were made of copper (Relación de Michoacán, pp. 104–109, 122–123). Although definite archeological evi-
325 dence is not yet at hand, it is probable that the
172 Tarascans purified native copper and extracted metal from simple oxide ores by smelting (Hendrichs, 1940, p. 327).[155] From cursory inspection of copper artifacts extant in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia, it appears that Tarascans cast copper objects (axheads) in stone molds. After casting, the axes seem to have been further shaped and possibly hardened by hammering.[156] Accidental, rather than deliberate, alloying with tin and zinc probably occurred.

325 The Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins contained
316 the ancient copper mines and metallurgical sites.
172 Hendrichs (1940, 1945–46) has described several probable ancient copper mines sites in both the

[153] AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13; Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362; AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 178–179. The present northern Tarascan towns of Zipiajo, Azajo, Campanja, Tatejero, Tirindaro, Naranja, and Teremendo were all producers of shoes and saddles in the latter part of the 18th and in the 19th century.

[154] Beals (1946, p. 44) states that in 1940 one person from Aranza was tanning hides in Cherán. The old men of Ocumicho remember the manufacture of the black "*zapatos de sequatar*" in their town during the last century. These were sold throughout the Sierra as well as in surrounding mestiso towns.

[155] The Lienzo de Jucutacato, a 16th-century representation of the migration of a people from the Gulf of Mexico into the Tarascan country (where they learned metallurgy) clearly depicts smelting of ore or metal (probably copper) apparently with the aid of charcoal and forced air draft (blowpipes) at the ancient copper center of Jiculán (Jiculán Viejo), 20 km. south of Uruapan.

[156] Microanalysis of Tarascan copperware has not yet been undertaken. Until the results of such analyses are known, it is impossible to make definite statements as to ancient metallurgical methods. Interestingly, the flange shape of the modern Tarascan steel axhead is identical with that of the copper axes found in archeological sites in the Balsas Basin.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 70-a]

325 southern and northern drainages of the lower
172 Balsas (Guerrero). However, the mines of
316 Inguarán in the northern drainage of the lower Balsas in Michoacán were the main source of the metal. Smaller deposits, such as those of Sinagua, were gophered over a wide area. The villages
[438] of La Huacana, Jicalán, Sinagua, and possibly Tzatzio appear to have been the chief pre-Columbian copper refining centers.[157]

325 Needing copper for the manufacture of brass
438 cannon, the Spaniards quickly levied tribute in copper bars on various pueblos in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins. Later, adventurers (in the name of the Crown) took over the native mines
[177] at Inguarán, probably introducing European smelting techniques. The main 16th-century Spanish smelting and refining center was Tzatzio, 10 miles each of Ario. This center was located within pine and oak forests, which afforded raw materials for charcoal, and was near the chief highway from Pátzcuaro to the *tierra caliente*. Copper ore and probably native copper was carried by Indians to Tzatzio from the Inguarán mines, which lay 15 miles to the south (AGN General de Parte, vol. 5, ff. 311–313, 1601). Tzatzio was probably an ancient copper center, and the experienced Tarascan metallurgists were retained by the Spaniards to continue with European methods. Before the end of the 16th century the Spanish Crown had established an *asiento* in the Michoacán copper industry, in order to insure a steady supply of metal for the foundaries in Mexico City.[158] Between 1607 and 1614

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[157] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540, state that the Spaniards exacted tribute of copper bars from La Huacana and Jicalán (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 123, 294). Moreover, every 20 days 20 Indians of Coyuca carried copper bars to Mexico (ibid., p. 80). Coyuca, located near the confluence of the Balsas and Cutzamala Rivers, may have been a collecting point for small lots of copper refined in various pueblos of the middle Balsas drainage. At the end of the 16th century copper was still being mined, refined, and made into tools at Sinagua (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo). Tzatzio was one of the first Spanish copper smelting centers in the area, and was probably an old Tarascan center as well (AGI Aud. de México, leg. 256). In passing, it should be noted that the old La Huacana was located near the Inguarán mines. In 1759 the town was destroyed by the eruption of Jorullo, and a new settlement, the La Huacana seen on modern maps, was established near Tamacuaro 15 miles west of the old site (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 393–394)

[158] Under the *asiento*, or contract, system, control of various industries was farmed out to private individuals. In the case of the copper industry of Michoacán, administrative control was purchased from the Crown for 6-year periods. The administrator was obliged to furnish the Government a stipulated amount of copper annually at a fixed price. In 1580 an official survey was made of the copper industry in Michoacán. The surveyor recommended that owing to forest depletion around Tzatzio and the consequent difficulty in charcoal supply, refining operations should be moved to Ario, near abundant pine forests (AGI Aud. de Mexico, leg. 256). It is doubtful that this move was made, since in 1607 copper was still being refined at Tzatzio (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 166).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 70b]

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official copper refining operations had shifted 20 miles northward to Santa Clara (Villa Escalante), which has remained the copper center of Michoacán to this day (AGN Minería, vol. 22, exped. 3). In addition to copper bars for the royal artillery, the colonial administrators established the manufacture of caldrons and other copper vessels, which they sold to all parts of New Spain (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 389).[159] Colonial copper production, however, was not limited to the royal refineries at Santa Clara, for as late as 1789 braziers were still being made by native coppersmiths at Jicalán (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 366). Moreover, some copperwork was done in Pátzcuaro throughout the colonial period.[160]

Today the sole survivors of the former Tarascan copper industry are some 30 mestizo coppersmiths in Santa Clara, where the renowned *casos* (caldrons), vases, and bowls are still manufactured. Ore or native copper is no longer refined; instead, scrap copper is purchased, melted down, and cast in earthen molds. Sixteenth-century hand bellows are still used to force an air draft; charcoal is employed for fuel. The cast vessel is finished and hardened by alternate annealing and hammering.

Ironworking.—With its concomitant tools (bellows, hammers, anvils, tongs, etc.), ironworking was introduced into Tarascan economy early in
[177] the 16th century. Curiously, one Sierra village, San Felipe de los Herreros, became the foremost ironworking center of Michoacán during the colonial period and the early 19th century. In 1644 bridle bits, spurs, locks and keys were fashioned and marketed in surrounding Spanish and mestizo towns (Basalenque, 1886, vol. 1, p. 467). As late as 1851, 68 families (practically the entire town) were professional smiths, supplying the countryside with plow tips, hoe blades, axheads, woodworking tools, etc. In 1946 three

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[159] During the 17th century Tarascans from all parts of Michoacán were forced to work in the Inguarán mines and the *fundiciones* at Santa Clara. Most of the *fundidores* came from the *tierra caliente* and from the *tierra fría* towns of Ziroeto and Patzcuaro (Zavala and Castillo, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 166; vol. 7, p. 240). In 1789 there were 8 copper refineries at Santa Clara, each operated by 30 to 40 men (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 389).

[160] The Relación de Pátzcuaro of 1581 (p. 47) mentions "*herreros y caldéros.*" Basalenque (1886, vol. 1, p. 451), writing in 1644, states that copper bells were made in Pátzcuaro. As late as 1862 (Romero (1862, p. 7) writes of Pátzcuaro coppersmiths, who were refining ore from Inguarán and Churumuco. Several new copper deposits in Michoacan were exploited during the last quarter of the 18th century, e. g., the mines of Apupato, near the old site of Urecho (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 328) and those of Chirungaguaco, near Tuzantla, south of Zitácuaro (AGN Minería, vol. 62, exped. 1; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 92).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 71-a]

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's "*planchas de hierro*" were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited 324 to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauáni), *manos* (pozékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andesite (ťakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

The structure of trade among the Tarascans is 438 not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of 441 central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made *metates*. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly *bateas*).

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441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

443 **The market (uašájpikuaru, or "the place where**
438 **people sit").**—Sunday is the most important market day for the Tarascans.[183] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[184] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[185] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text Continues top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] [183] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[184] Formerly Parícán was one of the largest *tierra caliente—tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fruits markets are still held in Parícán however.

[494] [185] Within the last 5 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden buses or taxis to market. Since 1942 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Etrosto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

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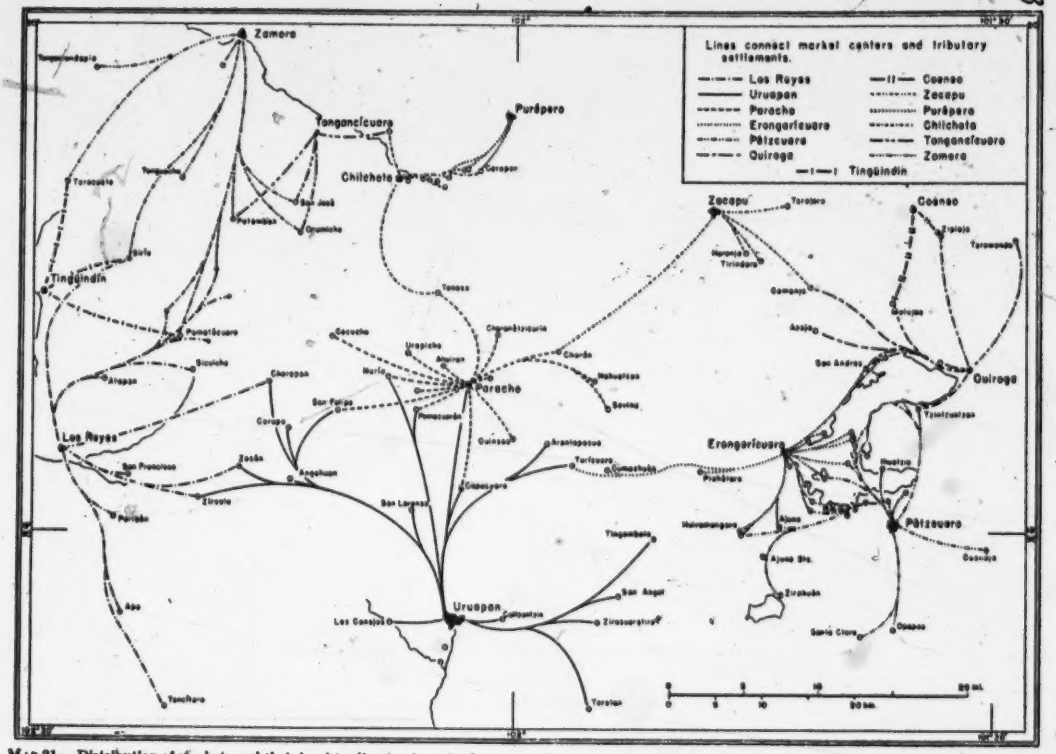
[P. 92]


Lines connect market centers and tributary settlements.
Los Reyes
Uruapan
Paracho
Erongaricuaro
Pátzcuaro
Quiroga
Cocucho
Zacapu
Coeneo
Zamora
Tangancícuaro
Purépero
Chilchota
Tingüindín
Tanaco
Tocumbo
Ario
Tacámbaro
Tiquicheo
Apatzingán
Los Conejos
Tancítaro
Tingambato
Ziracuaretiro
Tarécuato
Pátzcuaro
Ihuatzio
Tzintzuntzan
Ajuno Sta.
Zirahuén
Santa Clara
Ocampo
Guacaja
Tarécuato
Tarejero
Naranjo
Tiríndaro
Gamaras
Angáo
San Andrés
Tzacapu
Tlazazalca
Jiquilpan
Sevina
Chavinda
Cherán
Uripicho
Nahuatzen
Sicuicho
Pamatácuaro
Tocuaro
Paracho
Quinceo
Cocucho
Urapicho
Aquiqui
Nurio
Cherán
Zacán
Angahuan
San Lorenzo
Cuanajo
Tingambato
San Angel
Zirosto
Pátzcuaro
Ihuatzio
Tzintzuntzan
Ajuno Sta.
Zirahuén
Santa Clara
Ocampo
Guacaja
Tarécuato
Tarejero
Naranjo
Tiríndaro
Gamaras
Angáo
San Andrés

443 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practically every village lively trading accompanies the
443 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
438 some instances such markets are large enough to
796 be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongarícuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
[651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Puríbán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Puríbán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[167] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[168] [177] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanicization of the native population.[169]

The professional traders.—The *huacalero* (inspikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last 443 vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaiakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large 443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many 439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

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[438] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and México. Regional
[443] handicrafts were represented as follows:

Article:	Origin	Vendors (number)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
Blankets	Jiquilpan	1 stall.
Reboses	Paracho	1 stall.
Women's belts	Nahuatzen	1 stall.
Straw hats	Apo	1 stall.
Agave rope	Tarecuato	2 stalls.
Pottery	Patamban	12 stalls.
Pottery	Santa Fé	1 stall.
Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Peribán	1 stall.

[167] Cherán, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[168] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[169] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the *juzgado*, or town hall

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

Although they do not use the large *huacal*,
443 many women of the Sierra devote most of their
438 time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite
492 of inroads of motor transportation, still account
443 for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into
[171] use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacan, Ziristo, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ayate*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[74-b]

443 Like the *huacalero*, the *arriero* in the Tarascan
492 area has functioned chiefly as a commercial inter-
439 mediary between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra fría*. During the colonial period, however, some mule skinners extended operations into the northern mining districts. Moreover, various mestizo towns in Tarasca became *arriero* centers—strategic points along the main routes where mule trains met, animals were sold and traded, supplies purchased, and merchandise exchanged. Such towns became residences of many muleteers. A series of these centers lies within the *tierra caliente* and includes Apatzingán, Huetamo, and Coyuca. Another series is located within the *tierra templada:* Uruapan, Ario, Tacámbaro. Other centers are found in the *tierra fría:* Cotija, and, formerly, Parangaricutiro and Jiquilpan. Most of these towns still function as *arriero* centers, and although motor transportation is continually replacing the mule and burro, some of them will continue to serve as way stations for fuel and repairs and collecting points for products carried out by trucks.

443 Since the construction of motor roads in many
494 parts of Tarasca, former *arrieros* and *huacaleros* have begun to use public busses and semipublic trucks to transport merchandise. Pottery vendors, for example, stand for hours along the highway, hailing through-trucks to take them and their goods to Guadalajara, Morelia, or Mexico City. Moreover, heavy sugar and *cascalote* trucks now operate from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes into the *tierra caliente*.

The wholesale buyers represent a modern type
442 of merchant, who with the advent of road construction have begun to penetrate into the Tarascan area. Grain dealers from Morelia, Zamora, and Uruapan now run their trucks into the Sierra towns to buy surplus wheat. Again, many woodworkers in Paracho are on contract to city wholesalers for turned work and guitars, which are collected at intervals in trucks or passenger cars.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 75]

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PLATE I.—Physical landscape. *a*, Portion of a Sierra basin near Arantepacua. *b*, Southwestern part of Lake Pátzcuaro; Jarácuaro Island and newly formed Pacándo Island, upper center. *c*, Cultivated floor of cinder cone center near Cherapan. *d*, Lake Pátzcuaro, looking northward; note volcanic islands in middle of lake and the Uruapán lakes immediately off shore. *e*, Mixed pine-oak forest at edge of maize field, Cherapan. *f*, La Cañada, looking westward, or down valley.

[End-plate 1]

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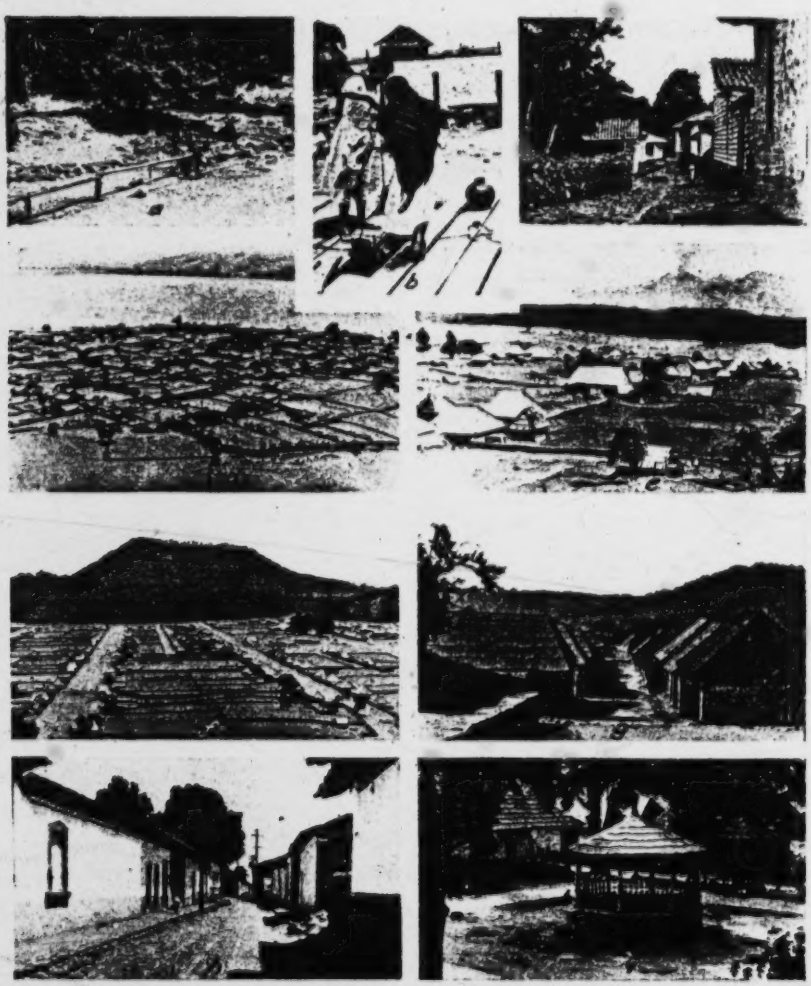

PLATE 2.—Water supply and settlement. *a*, Wooden aqueduct at Pátzcuaro, which brings water from the local spring (center) to the outskirts of town. *b*, Hoisting water from one of the public wells in Charapan. *c*, Street in Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d*, Panorama of San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro, showing compact assemblage of adobe structures. *e*, Partial view of Zacán near Parícutin Volcano (background), showing grid street pattern, scattered dwellings, and large lots. *f*, Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo), founded in 1944 to house refugees from destroyed San Juan Parangaricutiro. Nearly all logs were transported from old San Juan and reassembled on the new site. *g*, Street scene, Charapan (Sierra). *h*, Street scene, Tiríndaro, Zacapu Basin. *i*, Plaza at Charapan.

[End-plate 2]

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PLATE 3.—Houses types. a, Front view of door from inside house lot, Quiroga. b, Back view of door from the street, Shesdan. Note the plank wall (bardahuas) to left of house. c, Elaborately carved door, Cherapan. d, Planks fastened by L-shaped metal-pins, Cuanajo. e, Notched plank ladder leading to loft door, Cherapan. f, Braced gate, Shesdan. g, Type of Tanscuaro. Note tile roofs.

[End-plate 3]

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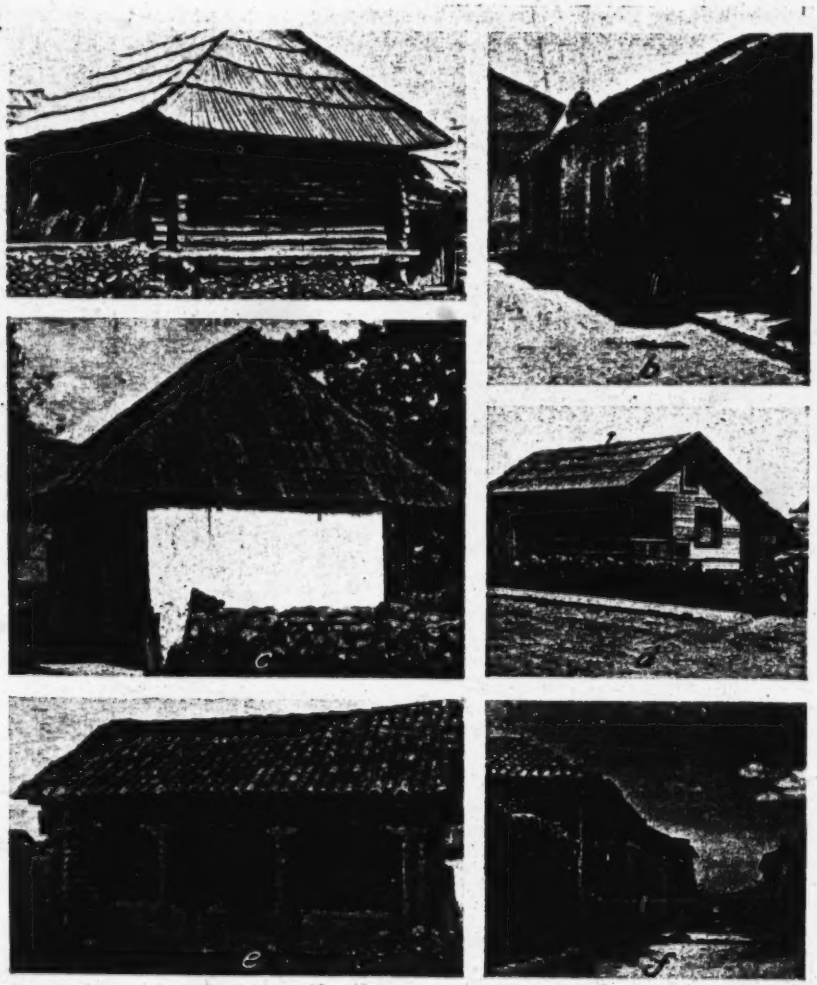

PLATE 4.—Home types. *a*, Old log structure, Zirahuén. *b*, Old wooden type, Tlalpujahua. *c*, Adobe house at Ajo. The flow plan and roof are similar to those of the wheat type. *d*, Wooden house at Cuhuacán, the nearest pueblo east of Uruapan. These new structures are North American in appearance. *e*, A modernized Mexican two-chief house, San Jerónimo. *f*, Street scene, San Jerónimo. The houses at left with the high verandahs front in effect seen in Lake Pátzcuaro towns.

[End-plate 4]

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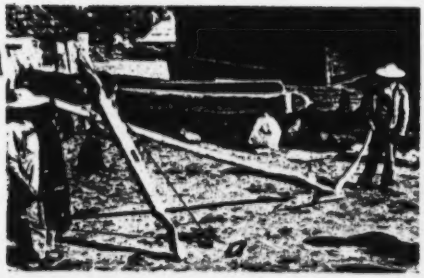

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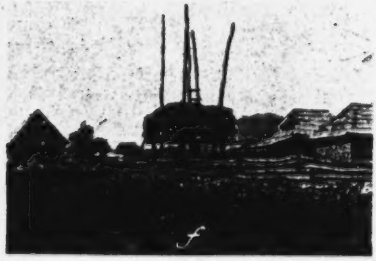

PLATE 5.—Maize culture. *a*, The Egyptian plow, still widely used in Mexico (Yuria). Note straight steel tip (*reja*) which slips over endpiece of plow yoke and good near end of tongue; leather strap used to fasten yoke to horns of oxen. *b*, Planting maize near Cuitzeo, Mich. The first plow, which opens the furrow, is followed by two small boys, who drop seeds at regular intervals. The second plow covers the seeds. *c*, Contour plowing near Cuanajo. Field of young maize. *d*, Hill of maize and beans in bee land near Chilchota. Plants are about 1 week old. *e*, Newly burned dooryard near Apo. Note wood ash, which will be mixed with underlying soil. *f*, Fieldcorn on which maize fodder (*zacate*) is stored, Zacio.

[End-plate 5]

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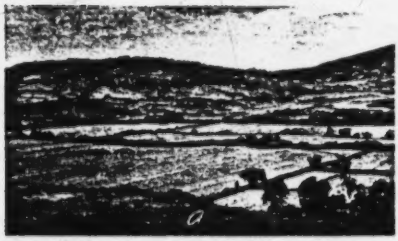

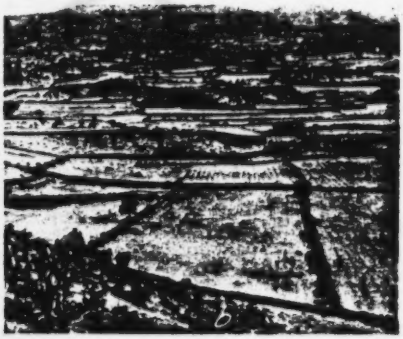

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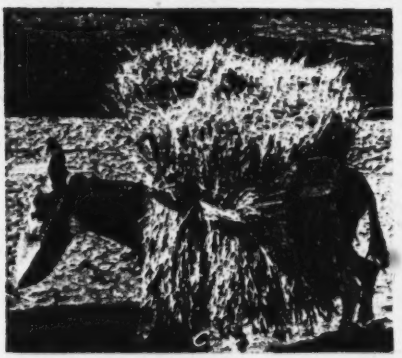

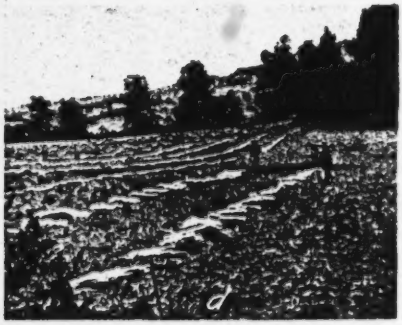

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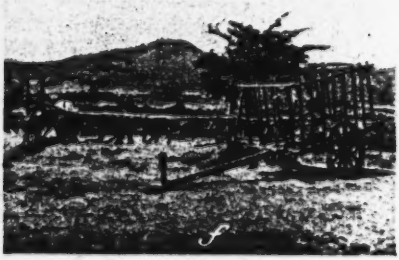

PLATE 6.—Wheat culture. *a*, Irrigated wheat fields near Chilucta, La Cañada. *b*, Temporal wheat fields on the northern edge of the Sierra, near Tirindaro. *c*, Method of hauling wheat bundles to the threshing floor, Apo. *d*, Cutting wheat with the sickle, near Pichátaro. *e*, Threshing wheat with flails, Sirio. *f*, Threshing wheat in the ox with horses, at Cocucho. The cart (right) is used in many parts of Tarasco to haul wheat bundles and maize fodder.

[End-plate 6]

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PLATE 7.—Horticulture and domestic animals. a, Large plowed abadal, San Felipe. Note cactus fence enclosing fruit. b, Small patch of cabbage in house lot, San Felipe. c, Vines of chayote in abadal, Tanaquillo, La Cañada. d, Irrigated vegetable plot along west shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, near Arócutín. e, Ditch wall and poles (tepalcatzitzimes) used to lift water from ditch to irrigate fields. Near Uricho. f, Sheep grazing in harvested maize field, near Tarasco. g, Herding sheep near summit of Cerro de Pahamban. The flock is from the ranchs of Uringuitiro. h, Sun bread in house lot, Angá.

[End-plate 7]

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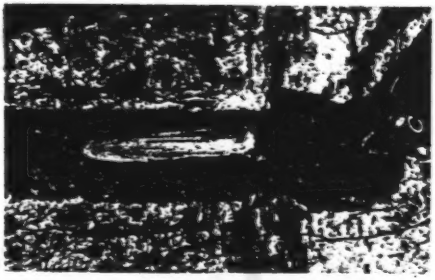

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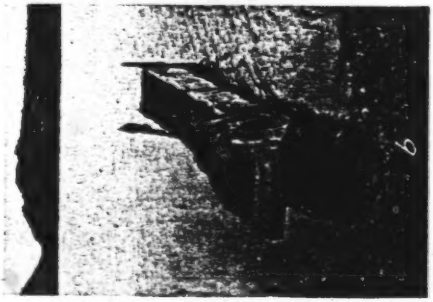

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PLATE 8.—Pottery and house construction. *a*, Chinchorro mats drying on La Pacanda Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. *b*, The small Huanta dugout, Lake Zirahuén. Note pottery attached to rear of canoe. *c*, Typical method of pottery drying (near Charapan). The rein keys into the clay vessel attached to the tree. *d*, The small Arenkua, or gill net, drying (Janitzio). *e*, Sawing planks in rear of canoe. *f*, Burning charcoal near Capacuaro. *g*, Cut-over land between Jarácuaro and Tzintzuntzan, now in maize fields and pasture. *h*, Wood, pottery shops of Cerro de Pelaccho, near Pátzcuaro.

[End-plate 8]

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PLATE 9.—Cuanalan: Pottery making at Cuanalan. *a*, Vessel being started from a single mass of clay. The vessel is worked on top of the mouth of a broken olla. *b*, and *c*, Bottom portion of vessel being shaped. *d*, Piece of clay being rolled out on board. *e* and *f*, Sides of vessel are built up by adding pieces of rolled clay.

[End plate-9]

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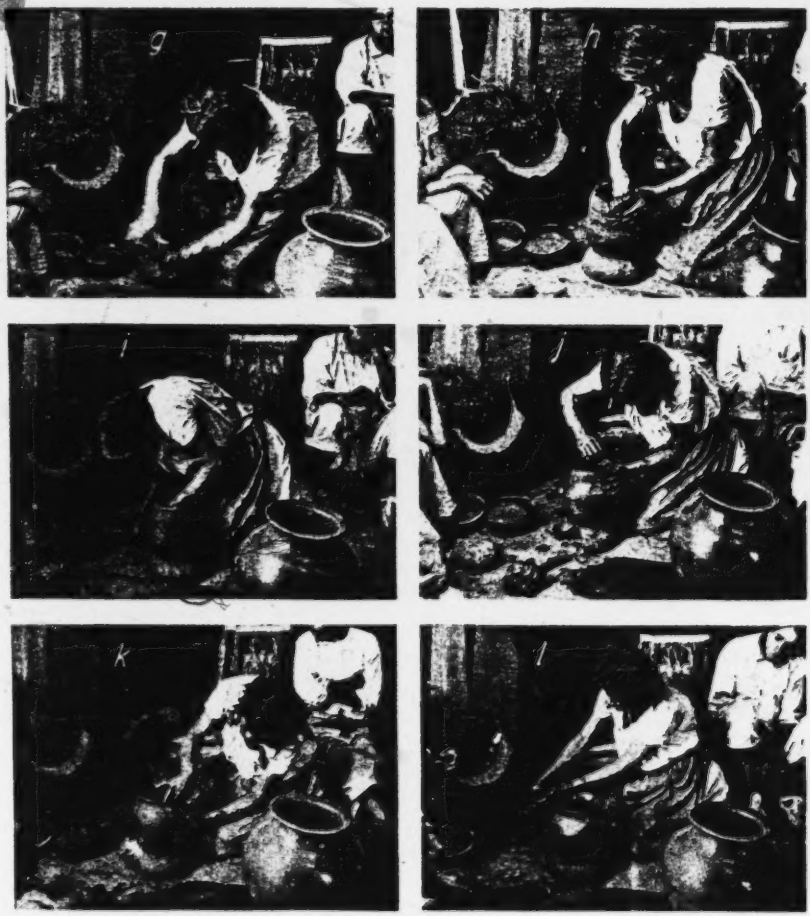

PLATE 10.—Cocucho: Pottery making at Cocucho (continued). *g* and *h*, Rolled pieces of clay are worked into sides of vessel. *i*, Sides of vessel are smoothed with corncob. *j* and *k*, Lip of vessel being shaped. *l*, The finished olla. The vessel was made in about 25 minutes.

[End-plate 10]

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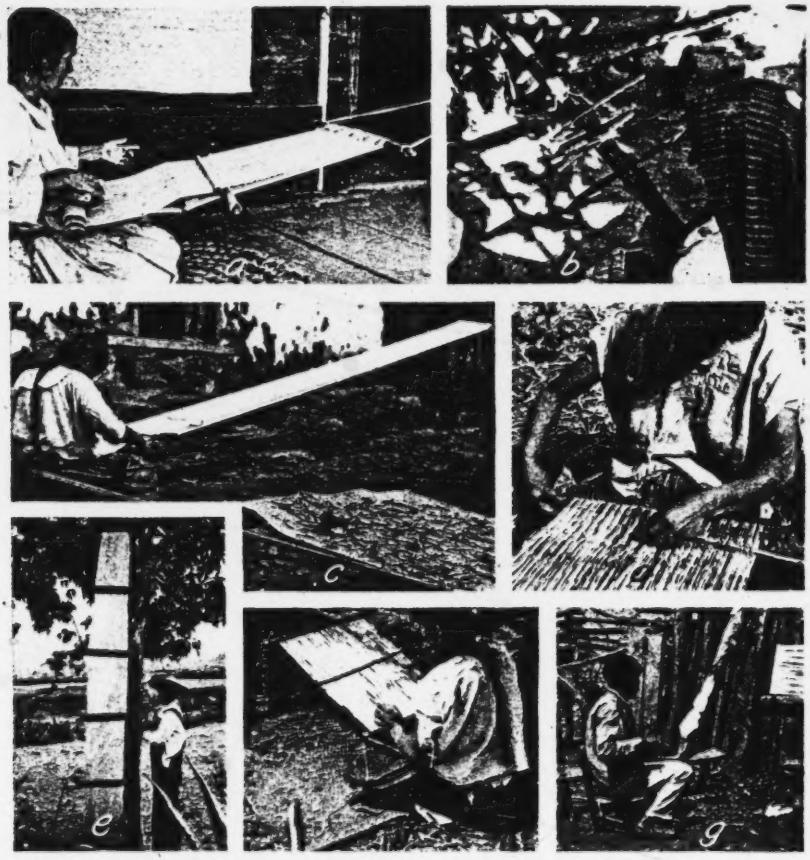

PLATE 11.—Textiles. *a*, Weaving cotton cloth for aprons on the native belt loom, Charapan. *b*, Weaving women's belts (*ajas*), Asajo. The belts vary in width from 1½ to 3 inches, carry various designs, and each is of several brilliant colors. *c*, Weaving men's sashes of white cotton thread, Janitzio. C'arari is drying on the petate, lower right. *d*, Weaving a morral of agave fiber, Tarecuato. *e*, Stretching woven pieces of agave fiber, Tarecuato. Each piece is doubled over to make a morral. *f*, Weaving agave fiber on the belt loom, Tarecuato. *g*, Spinning agave fiber with the malacate, Tarecuato.

[End-plate 11]

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PLATE 12.—Textiles. *a*, A ninpa of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many potters make over their own ninpas, but sometimes purchase of the brakes are issued to tule sellers, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Janitzio Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into sacks and stacked in shocks. *c*, Weaving petates, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making ozpiton, Arantepacua. Work is done inside the kitchen. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the bowl of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tzintzuntzan. *f*, Baskets woven at Ihuatzio. The large one (left), called *tecómate*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The flat round basket is called *p'Akícua* and is used to carry fish and tamales. The trefoil basket is a *thamal* (the Tzintzuntzan call it "*tamalín*") for tortillas. The handled basket at the right (simply named "*canasta*") is for carrying eggs, pinoncillo, and other fish.

[End-plate 12]

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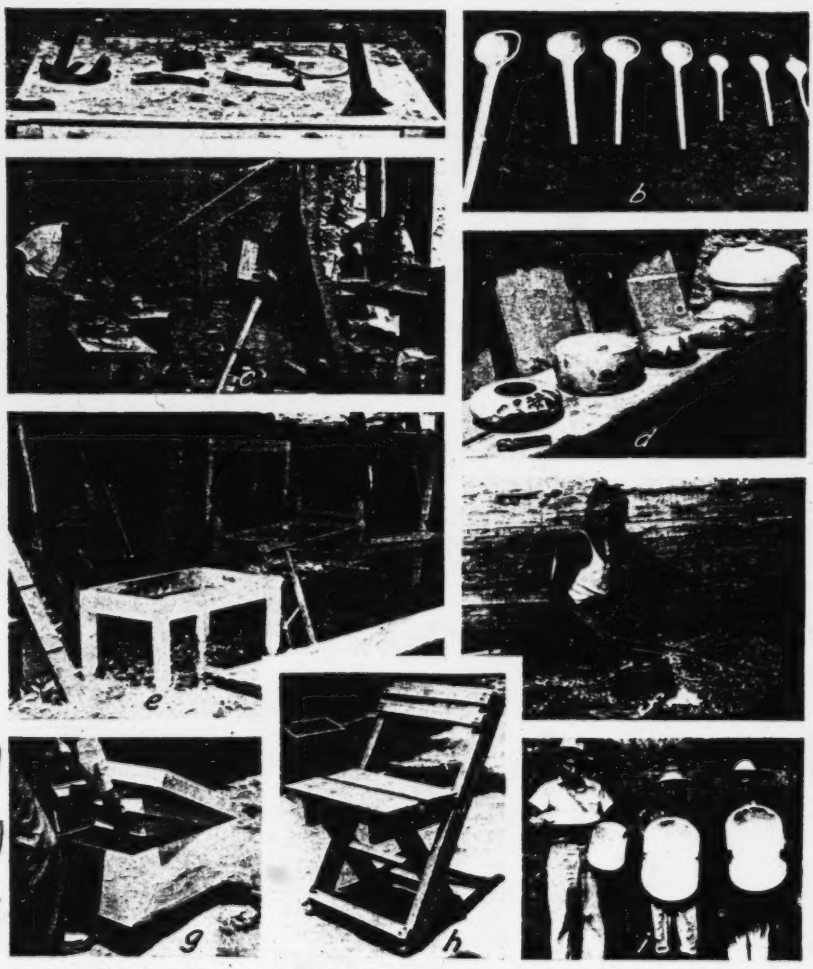

PLATE 13.—Woodwork. *a*, Gouging tools, Paracho. *b*, Wooden spoons and ladles, Paracho. *c*, Modern electrically powered lathe shop, Paracho. *d*, Turned objects made at Paracho. *e*, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cocupao. *f*, Making mahaches with the bow lathe, Paracho. *g*, Nest of wooden boxes, Cuanajo. *h*, Small (3 feet high) folding chair commonly made in Cuanajo. *i*, Metates made at Sirio.

[End-plate 13]

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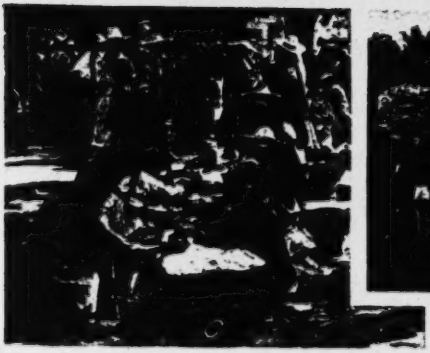

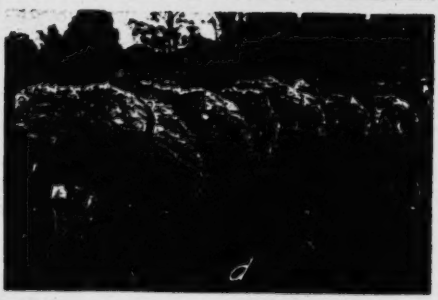

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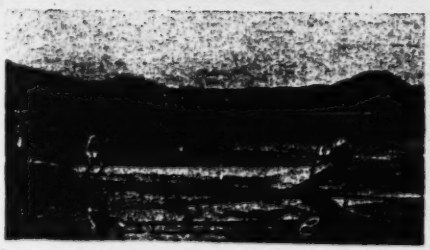

PLATE 14.—Markets and transport. a, The Sunday Sorrend and fish market, Zacapoaxtla. The wood vendor at left has already harvested a pile of sprouting fir a few feet in the basket. b, Potter's section of the Sunday market at Tenampa. c, The bread vendors of the Zacapoaxtla market on this plate. d, A bride of leaves for spring plants (pals leaves from the dove cabbage) in Ixtlán de Juárez. e, Main town [illegible] leading on the road from [illegible] for the Sunday market. f, Smoking dismantled chairs and tables from Cuenca to the Cuenca market.

[End-plate 14]

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[Title page]

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

121 171 ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

171 526 One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence 171
that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only 526
village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conserva- [101]
tive Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. 526
Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the
two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*,
is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of [237]
a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári*.

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town.
The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in [624]
the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play.
The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following [796]
the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgua*. An official called the *kiéŋi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéŋi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akúčperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atásutákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento [104]
Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia [171]
Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.

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FIG. 1

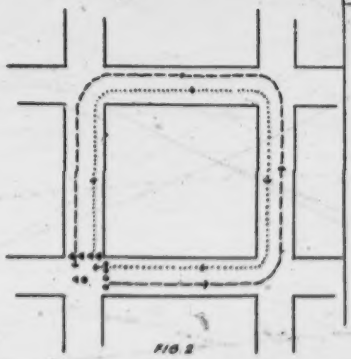

FIG. 2

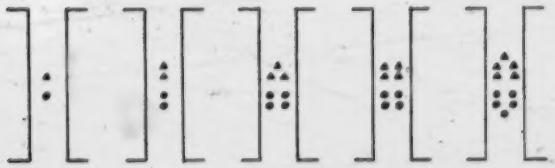

FIG. 3

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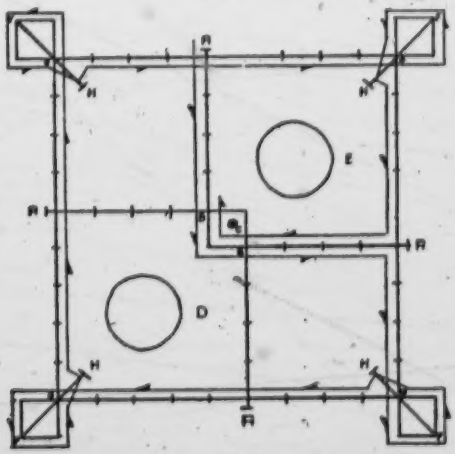

FIG. 4

Figure 1. Sticks used in *udsuhuni*.
Figure 2. Arrangement of course around a town block of *udsuhuni*. Players are shown at the starting position.
Figure 3. Various arrangements of players for *udsuhuni*.
Figure 4. The board used for *holicsidhus* or quince. The lighter line with arrows indicates the course followed by the pieces of one player. The letters are referred to in the text.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526 X

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883] —

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171—

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Kolíps atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskákua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurínpkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *ra* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "l" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *kolíps* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

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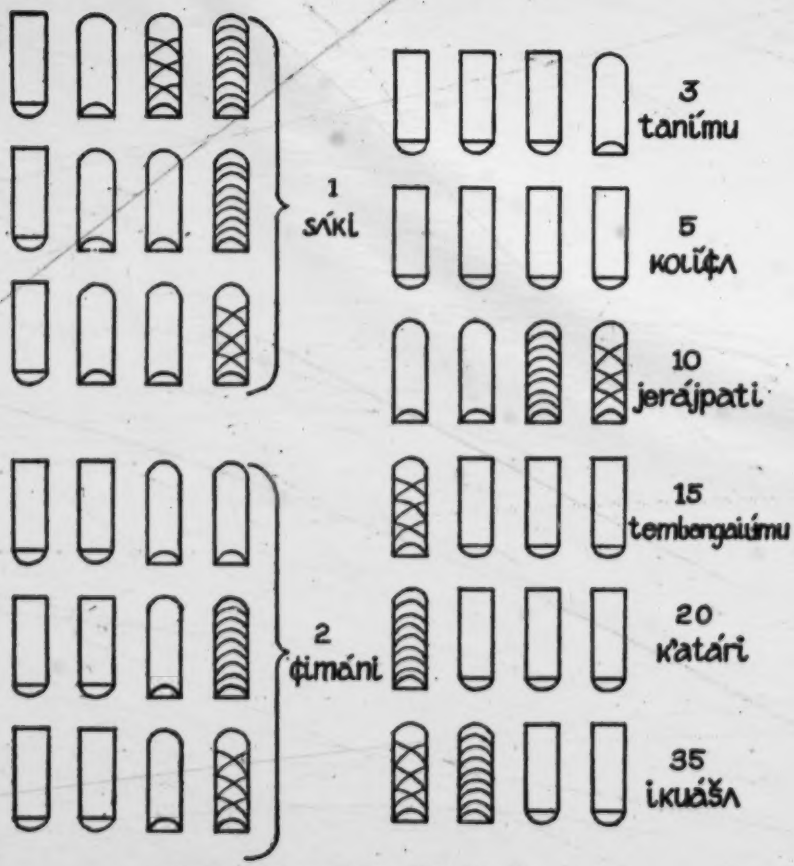

Figure 5. Scoring methods used for *kolicutáhua* or quince.

route this may happen. In this case the second arrival "kills" the first, which then must begin again at A. Until put in play again a "killed" piece must stay in circles D or E according to the player to whom it belongs.

Points F are called *anájţikun* or summit. Once a piece makes the circuit of a loop at the corner of the board, it does not touch point G a second time, but goes instead to point H, *unandándani*. In this way there is no possibility of confusion as to whether a piece is entering or leaving the loop.

To complete the course each piece enters the interior track a second time. If the piece safely reaches any spot past point B it is regarded as having finished the circuit. The player who first gets all four of his pieces past B wins the game.

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The dice are called *kolíṗatárakua*. They are half round on one side, flat on the other and are about a palm breadth in length. Usually two sticks are split in half to make the four dice. The round side of one die is painted with parallel lines, while a second is painted with crossed lines. Figure 5 shows the markings and methods of scoring.

The game is played especially during the rainy season. On the eve of the feast of Assumption, August 15, it is played in the house of the caretakers of the saint or *cargueros*. On the day of the fifteenth it is played in the plaza. On this occasion money bets are often made.

Móskukua (*pieces*). This game is played by two players, each with twelve pieces which are placed on the board as shown in figure 6. The pieces may be

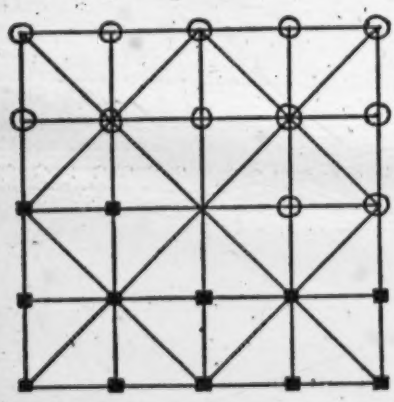

Figure 6. Starting arrangement of pieces for *móskukua*.

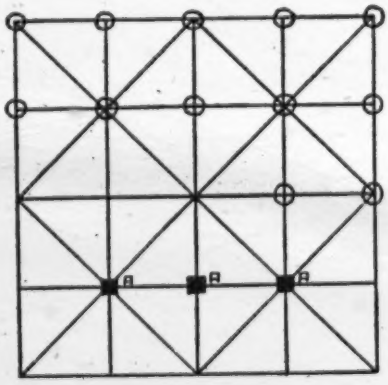

Figure 7. Starting arrangement of pieces for *kuato*.

advanced one space at a time unless there is an opponent's piece on the same line with a vacant space behind. In this case the piece jumps two spaces and "eats" the opponent's piece, putting it out of play. The player whose pieces are all eaten loses the game.

This game is also played during the rainy season and especially on the fourteenth and fifteenth of August, the feast of Assumption.

Kuato. This is the well known Mexican game of Coyote and Hens. It is played on the same board as *móskukua*. Twelve hens and one coyote are placed on the board as shown in figure 7. The coyote may be placed at any of the three spots marked A. The hens seek to encircle the coyote so the piece may not be moved. The coyote, on the other hand, seeks to eat all the hens, jumping over a piece and eating it whenever there is a vacant space behind a hen. There are no special times for playing this game.

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When others of the more isolated and conservative Tarascan towns are studied, probably more games will come to light. In the more progressive towns, games seem to be almost totally lacking, except such Mexican innovations as card games. For example, at Cherán, which was the subject of intensive study, the only game encountered was *atáɹukuni* if one except the various European games of modern character. Even *atáɹukuni* is now rarely played and few of the young people known it.

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Systems of Political Control and Bureaucracy in Human Societies

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[Title page]

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the cacicazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of [101] some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, [105] bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti- [423] clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations 128 that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

594 The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete political functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin 66 active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and 612 these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.

423 A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or 66

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic,
66 plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Durazno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944). 608 66

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo. [631]

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect. 572 66

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits. 622 572

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno. 571 66

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these
66 social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its
unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight
men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political
matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at
large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly
convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases
are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by
the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are gener-
ally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme
cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings
and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distri-
bution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the
ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent in-
terest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of
formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by
that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the
same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have
been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only
[621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno,
like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending fac-
tions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political
563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using
mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have them-
selves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo cul-
ture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian
followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both
groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political de-
mands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and
supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In
the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contest-
ing state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The in-
digenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan ven-
detta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such
as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems trans-
late downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between na-
tional structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct;
the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chair-
man.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community
organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

coveted because of the higher financial rewards. The nominal pay in both cases is supplemented by bribes and "cuts" from taxes, and by the ego satisfactions of exercising power. Elections take place by public vote every one and three years, respectively, following the informal composition of ballots and considerable discussion at open meetings. High public attendance at these meetings is due both to genuine interest and to fear of persecution if the cacical group should suspect boycotting. Although the duties are formally allotted to specific officers, such as a judge, the officers of both governmental arms actually operate as a group, rather flexibly playing the several roles. In 1956, for example, the civil secretary also functioned at times as judge and mayor. 632 [661] [666]

Both the formal arms of government are controlled by the informal cacicazgo. Today, the preplanned ballot is always finally accepted at the public meetings. Under conditions of centralized autocracy, at least one officer in both the civil and ejidal arms is an inner core leader, and when political troubles are anticipated two offices in each branch may be filled by such nuclear individuals. In the heated election year of 1956, for example, the civil secretary, the ejidal president, and the president of the ejidal watch were nephews of the cacique; the cacique himself was ejidal treasurer, and an old "fighter" and friend of the cacique was judge. 66

Cacical systems, however, swing between the two extremes of autocratic centralization and contentious fission. When the historical process of contentious fission between the energetic "ex-have-nots" of agrarian politics reaches its extreme, both factions may offer ballots for both branches of government. They will be hotly contended in a variety of ways. The result may be that both factions are represented, as in 1927, or that one faction controls the ejido and another the civil government, as in 1945. Such formal reflexes of a breakdown of informal hegemony are invariably accompanied by a so-called "bad time," with attempts on the lives of the caciques of both factions. Cacical patterns thus rend communities and at other times provide a highly political integration, both in the name of a social and material progress that may actually take shape in the form of schools and public works. The extremes of contentious fission and autocratic centralization do not seem to be correlated with the degree of formal collectivization of the ejido, although such institutional collectivization does make it easier to exercise dictatorial powers and to extract larger financial cuts. On the other hand, the importance of centralized control for continued drainage of the ejido legitimizes the term "hydraulic caciques" (Wittfogel, 1957).

Both formal governments of Durazno are independently related upward to higher, formal structures. Durazno leaders have occupied numerous formal positions at higher levels owing to the salient informal role of the tiny pueblo in the intrigue, violence, and heartfelt radicalism of Michoacan politics. Politics and the cultivation of political leaders have in fact become a sort of communal specialty in Durazno. Durazno caciques founded and held numerous offices in the state-wide peasant League of Agrarian Communities; they have been municipal presidents three times, state congressmen three times, and, once, substitute to a national congressman. They have always formally controlled the important "Regional Committee," the regional organ of the National Peasant Confederation. While highly atypical with respect to this prominence, Durazno does exemplify the role that tough, sophisticated, and land-controlling Indian caciques can play in regional and state politics. As the people say, "Some towns specialize in hatmaking, others in pottery. Durazno specializes in politics." 631

Primarily four political methods have been used by the caciques and their followers for the past forty years. The first, verbal persuasion, takes place in small informal groups and at the frequent political meetings; by comparison with other villages Durazno is a beehive of political discussions. Verbal persuasion figured especially during the 208 66

208 stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touch-
66 ing the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but
661 with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Durazno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Durazno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

667 The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

579 The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil
664 war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Durazno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Durazno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

171 Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

114 1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

113

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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* 191 *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 186 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from 554 an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[122] Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

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178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
[114] during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan
area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on
the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about
fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to
be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanan-
cha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but ap-
parently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it
had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoa-
443 cán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal
requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of
merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make
the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several
places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second
Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday
has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the
year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious
aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special
church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people be-
cause they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The
clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday
then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had
been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the
present parish priest was in residence.

But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
178 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
533 holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same special-
ized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about
the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the
time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to
have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the
trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

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beaters, *rebosos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and 178
giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, 796
although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various [467]
reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community 796
"played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took 578
place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political [622
upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected 662]
mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and 533
woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as 796
the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances per- 535
formed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day 796

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

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535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin.
796 We were told that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, ". . . The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious
175 Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoa-
535 cán . . ." León goes on to say,

796 The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.[2]

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.[3]

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."[4]

535 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to
554 twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

[2] Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletin del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 2a epoca, T. I, Mexico, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

[3] *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

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chosen was born in another community and another was technically illegitimate—since her parents, although living together for many years, had never been wed either in civil or religious ceremony. The Huananchas came from all quarters of the pueblo. Participation itself, through enabling one to be among those directly concerned with "making the holiday," may well have been a means of acquiring prestige in the community. The Huananchas *may* have been chosen in the same manner as were the *Cargueros* (the officers of the trade groups) in the past. That is, a committee decided who should participate and then notified those nominated; these people might then beg off if they had good arguments. This was the procedure outlined for naming the *Cargueros* who were then responsible for organizing the various trade groups in past years, however no specific comments were made about the manner of choice of the Huananchas.

In the dance all of the little girls wore pink satin or sateen dresses. These apparently were made for the occasion. On their heads they wore gilded crowns with brightly colored artificial flowers attached. The elegance of each dancer's dress and the number of sprays of flowers on her crown were subjects of much comparison, both by the dancers themselves and by their mothers. It was observed that one of the dancers was visibly distressed over some unkindly comments about her hair which was not curled like that of the others, and because her crown bore fewer flowers. There is thus an informal, but effective, status ranking of the dancers and their families in terms of the costumes worn.

In the dance the four biggest girls—representing those who formerly used to carry the image of the Virgin—form a rectangle. Between them are the three shorter and younger girls. (See "a," Fig. 1). We were told that the center dancer of these last three represents the pennant bearer and is supposed to carry a blue pennant. She is known as *Pendonpasi*. One of the others was supposed to carry copal or incense, and the third one a candle. Actually, the dancers carried nothing when they performed in 1948. It is probable that the description given really refers to what the Huananchas used to carry in processions, and not what they held in their hands during the dance.

The only step for the entire dance is an extremely slow and, to the outsider, monotonous "simple" but the patterns which the dancers perform vary.[5] When dancing in the town hall for the various political and other officials the performance continued for approximately 45 minutes; at other times the dance was limited to about 20 minutes by elimination of the repetition of the various patterns. In the town hall and elsewhere the girls were surrounded on all sides by observers during their performance. In the description which follows, "front" refers to the two dancers closest to the officials, "back," to the two dancers farthest from the guests of honor. The three other dancers form a center row. All dancers face the guests of honor most of the time.

The dance begins with all seven girls making two very slow turns in place in

[5] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Here the authors have the following to say about a religious dance which they observed in the Internado in Paracho: "The dances are very prolonged and they always last several hours, accompanied by a terribly monotonous music." (Translated from the Spanish).

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535 a clockwise direction (see "a," Fig. 1). The tempo and nature of the music then change and the dancer in the center (the *pendonpasi*) makes a half turn to the left and dances around each of the two back Huananchichas, then circles each of the remaining two dancers in the center row, first one and then the other. Next the front Huananchichas are circled and the *pendonpasi* returns to the center and turns once to the right in place (see "b," Fig. 1). Now the two back Huananchas move forward. The one on the left crosses the one on the right behind the *pendonpasi* and continues to circle first the dancer to the right of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the Huananchicha in the left front. After this she returns to her place in the back left corner. Her partner in the meantime is circling the dancer to the left of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the right front Huanancha and is returning to her place in the back right corner (see "c," Fig. 1). Next, the two Huananchichas in the front proceed in approximately the same fashion, except that instead of circling the two rear Huananchas they skirt them without completing the circle (see "d," Fig. 1). When they have returned to their places, the remaining two center dancers start to do their "turns." These involve circling first the front Huanancha opposite their standing position and then the back Huanancha who is standing on the diagonal from this, and finally returning to their starting places (see "e," Fig. 1). When this is completed all dancers take a half turn in place clockwise and return to starting position counterclockwise (see "f," Fig. 1), then the three center dancers step close together, the rear Huananchichas come up beside them (see "g," Fig. 1) and together they march slowly forward between the two front Huananchichas, bringing all into one straight line (see "h," Fig. 1). At this point the girls are given a large bowl full of confetti and small hard candies which they throw to the assembled guests of honor who are at the front of the dance area.

The dance is supposed to be performed twice in public, once at the church or in the street in front of the church, and once for the mayor of the town and such visiting dignitaries as may be invited to observe the performance in the mayor's office. In 1948 no performance of the dance took place in the street; the priest came to the mayor's office to watch the dancing there. Following this the girls, sometimes their mothers and always a group of older women in whose charge the dancers are, go to call on the important merchants and dance for them. After this, the dance is performed at the home of each of the dancers. The neighbors all crowd into the patio to watch. There is no set time for arriving on these rounds, so no special preparations can be made. One simply hears the music coming down one's street, and if interested follows it to its destination. If you happen to have one of the dancers in your own family the assumption is that the group will come to your patio eventually. The older women who escort the dancers were, in the past, the organizers of the fiesta, and during the year they used to help to keep the church in good order and decorated. These women also used to operate a "hospital" (after the models first established by Don Vasco de Quiroga in the 16th century) near the church. Supposedly their presence with the dancers is to serve as chaperones for them, although some of the residents were heard to comment that the opposite may

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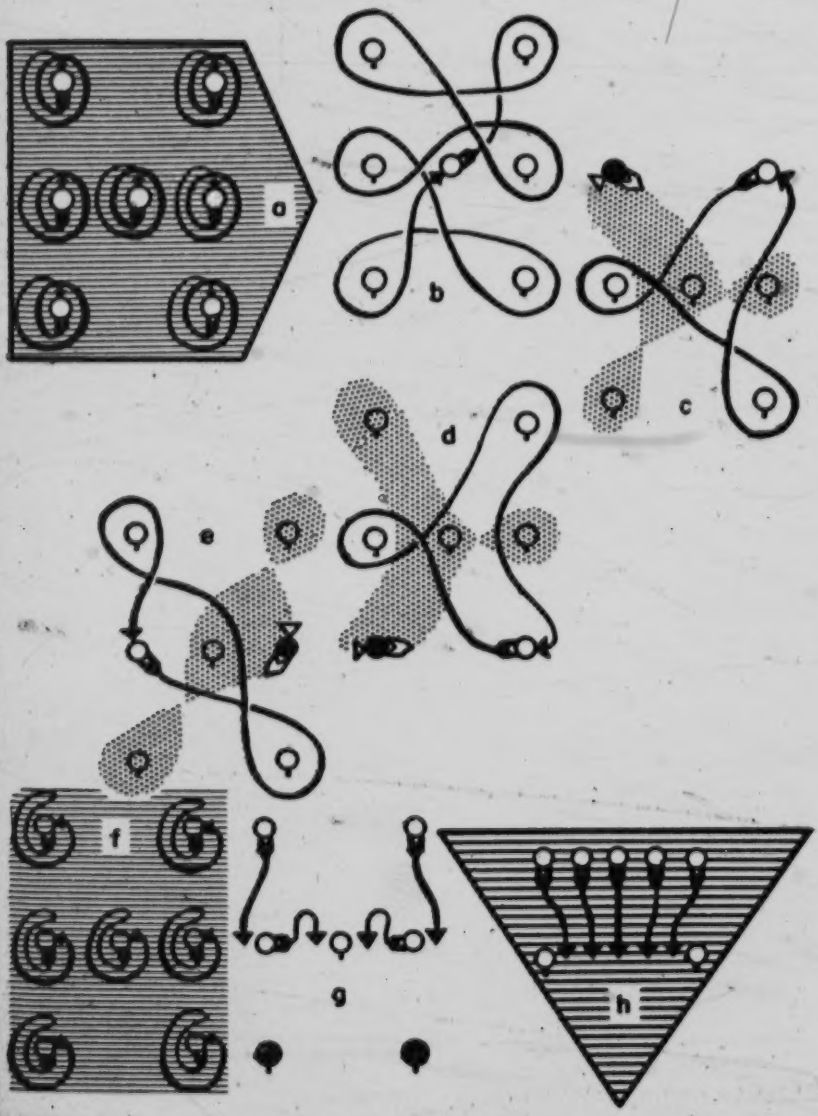

FIG. 1: Huanancha Dance.

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535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored [574 by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in 273] nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

538 Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." 535 He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, 178 very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar 535 dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said 796 it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week 114 after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

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Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

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In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

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From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

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1948—some of the earlier functions of the office had disappeared and little save the outer formality of the performance of the dance remained. The fact that the performance has not yet been entirely eliminated indicates that the dance still holds meaning for at least some of the members of the community. It may do no more than give status and prestige to the families of the girls who take part. Yet if this is so, it is of some interest that this method of gaining position in the community continues to be recognized and approved. On the other hand, it seems plausible to explain the survival of the dance of the Huananchichas as a loose bond between the earlier sacred beliefs, practices and orientations of the community and the newer, more secular, emphases which are continually gaining ground. For the majority of the younger members of the audience it may well have been that the performance of the dance held no very deep emotional significance, that it was merely another spectacle of the Corpus Christi fiesta. Many of the older people, on the other hand, seemed to derive genuine satisfaction from its performance, if only because it reminded them of the past.

Detroit, Michigan

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Indexes of PHYLON are published annually in the December issue; the contents are also indexed in *Psychological Abstracts*, the *Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service* and the *International Index*.

 [Title page]

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Sierra Tarascans

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS[1]

121 A STUDY in a Mexican community provided opportunities for the collection of material for a statistical study of the bases of ethnic identification. In Paracho, a community in the Sierra Tarascan region of Michoacán, it appeared possible that a racial classification of the population might prove useful in the final analysis of certain anthropometric materials. The investigation was to study the effects of migration upon the physical dimensions of returned migrants in comparison with those of non-migrants and a question on the "race" of the subjects' parents was included on the data sheet. After a few records had been taken it became evident that the responses to the "race" question were such that they would be of little aid in the analysis of the anthropometric data, but that they might be of some sociological interest. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the responses to this question with a view to the insights gained into the ethnic categorization of a people by itself.

114 Although much has been written concerning the definition of Indian and Mestizo in Latin America, to the author's knowledge there has been 121 no quantitative study designed to show the degree to which several possible classificatory devices are employed by the natives of a region in categorizing themselves. Furthermore, there has not been any study designed to show which segments of a population manifest changes in attitudes regarding ethnic identification.

121 It has frequently been said that membership in either the Indian or the Mestizo (Ladino) group in Latin America is a matter of socio-cultural 186 rather than biological affiliation.[2] In communities where both Indio and Mestizo are locally distinguished, interaction between these groups is said to be similar to either class-like or caste-like relations.[3]

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[122] [1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

[2] Julio de la Fuente, "Ethnic and Communal Relations" in *Heritage of Conquest*, ed. by Sol Tax (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 77.
Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian" in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 262-305.
Harry Tschopik, Jr., *Highland Communities of Central Peru*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 5 (Washington, 1947), pp. 11-15.

[3] Julio de la Fuente, op. cit., pp. 76 ff.

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186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo. [101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns — "The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no overt conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those 563 with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans 565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin 563 America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

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in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho. 186 563

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration. 125

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized. 124 [114] 128

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking. 186 [563]

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio*, *Indígena*, *Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesclado*, *Cruzado*, *de razon*, Mestizo, half and half, *revueltas*, and white.

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186 mercial transactions and specialized production for sale outside the region), whereas the women, mostly sequestered in their homes, remain conservative, and consequently more "Indian-like." The responses may, however, represent a real sex differential, *i.e.*, more women than men na-
582 tive to the community — with men from elsewhere marrying into the community. In 201 matings where data on the birthplace of both spouses
621 were available, both were from Paracho in 72.6 per cent of cases, 10 per
186 cent of the husbands were from elsewhere, 8.5 per cent of the wives were from other communities, and in 9 per cent of cases both were born elsewhere. Slightly more men than women, therefore, do marry into the community, but this difference is not large enough to explain the sex difference in ethnic attribution.

TABLE 1

186 "RACE" OF FATHER AND "RACE" OF MOTHER

Mothers reported as	Fathers reported as Indian	Fathers reported as Mestizo	Total
Indian	130	33	163
Mestiza	16	61	77
Total	146	94	240[5]

χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 300.28 $P < 0.0001$

Whereas sex of the parents does influence the responses, sex of the respondents seems to have virtually no effect. Females reported 66.9 per cent of 139 parents to be Indian, whereas males reported 63.5 per cent of 386 parents to be Indian. The difference is not statistically significant.

When the data taken from the record sheets are compiled in terms of the age of the respondent (see Table 2) another tendency may be noted. Both relatively and absolutely more Indian parents are reported by older respondents. Those 40 years old or less reported 48 per cent of fathers and 54 per cent of mothers to be Indian, in contrast to 73 per cent and 76 per cent respectively by individuals who were 41 years old or over. Conversely, of course, the percentage of Mestizo parents is approximately the same as that of Indian parents through the 40 year age group, but thereafter the proportions change markedly and membership in the Mestizo group is claimed for far fewer parents.

These age trends may be interpreted in several ways. First, the younger informants, in ascribing to their parents membership in one or the other ethnic group, may reflect an awareness that their current way of life is less Indian than it is Mestizo, and may extend this to their parents. With more education and a wider outlook one would expect to find among youth a greater bias toward being counted as belonging to a larger ethnic entity than that of the region, and to the ethnic group with a somewhat higher education — the Mestizo in both instances. On the other hand, the marked

[5] Some variation in total number from table to table results from the fact that not all respondents gave information on all points. Furthermore, where data on parents rather than on respondents are tabulated information from only one sibling interviewed is included.

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increase in reported Indian parents by the older group may also reflect awareness of the social changes which have been occurring over the decades, and the heavy incidence of Indian parents reported may merely be a reflection of the fact that "things were not always thus." One elderly man, commenting on the changes which he had seen in Paracho since his youth, said, "In that time the people spoke only Tarascan, and the race was *naturalito*, all *Indios* here. Since the burning of the town (in 1917 during the 1910-1920 Revolution) the people speak only Castilian."

TABLE 2

AGE OF RESPONDENT AND REPORTED RACE OF PARENTS

Age of Informant	Fathers		Mothers	
	Indian	Mestizo	Indian	Mestiza
Under 20	5	5	6	4
21-30	20	18	18	20
31-40	28	32	33	27
41-50	36	18	37	17
51-60	30	10	34	6
61 and over	22	4	20	6
Total	141	87	148	80

These explanations are admittedly not biological. Indeed, it can be demonstrated empirically that to the extent to which the question aroused any interest at all, the residents of Paracho are not concerned with genetic (racial) explanations. Of thirty-seven explanations as to why their parents are considered to be Indian the following reasons were given: the parents were "from here in Paracho" in thirteen instances; they were "born in Paracho" in nine instances; they were said to have been born "in an Indian place" in nine instances; they were described as descended (in the male line) from those who had come to Paracho from Paracho Viejo in the 16th century in five instances. The eight other reasons included the following: "Because in 1901 the people were more *Natural* and today they are more civilized"; "parent is *Indigena*, but on the basis of color is with the French or the Spanish"; "All of us are pure people, Indians — we are of this population"; "In that time there were no mixtures"; "More Indian than *de razon*, like it still is, *Natural*, no?" and finally, "Indian, the same as the rest of us."

From the twenty-one explanations concerning Mestizo parents the following tabulation results. In seven instances the parent concerned was said to have been born elsewhere. In four instances the parents are described as Mestizo because they do not, or did not, speak Tarascan. In two cases the parents were "more white." In two responses they were "like ourselves" (i.e., the speakers). And in one instance the parents were considered to be Mestizo because they were born in Paracho. Of the miscellaneous reasons the following are illustrative: ". . . my father is a little Spanish, the Indians don't have a beard." "They were *de razon*, but from the *ranchos*." One man said he did not know how to answer as his parents

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186 spoke both Tarascan and Spanish; his wife told him that his father was *de razon* and he said, "Well, my mother was this also." The other 198 individuals in the sample did not consider that any elaboration other than the answer to the question was necessary — another indication of the relative unimportance of the distinction in the town.

Through all of these explanations it can be seen that place of birth is apparently primary in determining the ethnic group with which one will later (if ever) be identified, with the ability to speak the Tarascan language second in importance. There is evidence that Tarascan as the idiom
186 of the community was no longer in favor even several generations ago.
191 Not only is the use of Tarascan in Paracho limited today to members of the oldest generation, but several people showed their dislike for the language and implied that their parents did not teach it to them, or did so only inadequately. Children today are not learning Tarascan, and this tie with Indian culture is rapidly disappearing.

186 The place of birth of the parents may be correlated with ethnic origin to determine to what extent the ethnic composition of the community depends on birthplace. The data indicate that either more Mestizos are coming into Paracho from the outside, or that more of the people who have come to Paracho from elsewhere are considered to be Mestizos. In most instances the places whence the parents had emigrated were small
[166] Sierra Tarascan villages and towns, considered by Parachoans to be "Indian places." In moving to the larger center these individuals had identified themselves (or had been identified by their children) with the more urban, Mestizo, way of life. Among parents born outside Paracho 54.5 per cent of mothers are classed as Mestiza and 58.0 per cent of fathers are reported as Mestizo.

TABLE 3

"RACE" OF FATHER AND MOTHER ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH [6]

Reported as:	Father born		Mother born	
	Paracho	*elsewhere*	*Paracho*	*elsewhere*
Indian	120	26	143	25
Mestizo	53	36	49	30
Total	173	62	192	55
	χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 14.54		χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 16.33	
	$P < 0.0002$		$P < 0.0001$	

Although a majority of parents born elsewhere are described as Mestizo, others are called Indian. The stereotype of the Indian (not native to Paracho) held by the local citizenry is similar to that reported by other investigators in Mexico.[7] The Indians in near-by communities have the

[6] Parents born in forty-six communities other than Paracho are represented in the total sample.

[7] George Foster, *Empire's Children, The People of Tzintzuntzan*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6. (Washington, 1948), p. 33.
Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 53-54.
Robert Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 75.

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reputation of being ignorant, backward, and mean. We were told that especially when drunk such Indians "get real mean." One qualification of a "real" Indian is a quick trigger finger, for as one man said, "My *compadre* from Arantepáquaro is real Indian . . . and he killed three fellows one time. And another in Aranza he killed eleven cousins in a fight over lands." 186

In recent years there has been an influx to Paracho from towns which also have both Mestizo and Indian elements defined in their population. Some of those interviewed came from Charapan, where a local political upheaval had stimulated emigration, others came from villages made uninhabitable by the eruption of Parícutin Volcano. By no means all parents reported to be Mestizos are from families which have come to Paracho in the last generation, however. On the whole, the relationship between the reported Mestizos and Indians is little altered when the "outsiders" are pooled with the locally-born citizens. [166]

In twenty-two instances it was possible to compare the children's responses with those of their parents. In twelve of these instances the child's categorization of his parent was identical with the parent's categorization of his parents — that is, where the child said his father was *de razon*, the father in turn said that his parents were *de razon*. In five instances there was a complete shift in identification between one generation and the next; in five of these five instances children regarded their parents as Mestizo while the parents regarded *their* parents as Indian. In an additional four instances there was a partial change: for example, the child reported a parent as Mestizo, while the parent concerned reported his father to have been Mestizo and his mother to have been Indian.

It is clear from these comparisons that the responses reflect a variable social attitude rather than any commonly perceivable reality. There is nothing to indicate any presence of the notion that one Indian ancestor automatically makes the possessor Indian (or that one Spanish ancestor makes him Mestizo). Where the criteria for ethnic identification are cultural rather than biological such a notion would not be expected.

It may be said that latent attitudes concerning ethnic differences within the community exist, and the answers to a question concerning these differences are suggestive of the criteria upon which the identifications are based. Such insights are helpful in understanding some of the dynamics involved in social as well as spatial mobility.

The most salient feature, from our point of view, is the lack of any intense feeling concerning ethnic identification. It is not easy for the outside observer to set up any demonstrably valid criteria by which to judge the ethnic make-up of the Paracho community. The fact that some 85 per cent of the people are interrelated, at least by marriages, would

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186 seem to indicate that the community, largely within itself, constitutes a breeding population. Relatively few outsiders come in. Furthermore, the observer's impression is that the question of ethnic origin was not one vital to relations between members of the community. Recognition is given to individuals of varying status, but no evident biological differences were observed between individuals of the highest and the lowest status. 184 So far as participation in the culture is concerned, both extremes share the same understandings and values, and those at the lowest extreme are 186 prevented from fully participating only by economic handicaps.

It is recognized by members of the community that some of their activities are akin to those of the city dweller, and pride is taken in these "modernizations." In some of their traditions, however, the ties are with the more isolated Indian communities. There is no apology for what is more Indian in Paracho although informants did comment on the backwardness of some of the "small Indian places." It can be said in general, however, that the dichotomy between Mestizo and Indian reported as extant in other Latin American communities does not exist in Paracho; there is neither stigma attached to being Indian nor prestige conferred for being Mestizo. The town is culturally homogeneous, and the modifications in the way of life are recognized as potentially applying to all within the community rather than characterizing any particular segment of the population. The distinctions made by the respondents concerning the ethnic origin of their parents therefore may be taken to indicate the children's estimation of their parents' participation in the overall cultural mestization of the town.

186 *Summary*: — First, in the community studied, asking about "race" would not be expected to be useful in distinguishing physical types or subgroups within the population because the people do not distinguish each other in such biological terms. Second, it is significant that where children say that their parents are of different ethnic origin more children regard their fathers as Mestizos, their mothers as Indians. Third, younger segments of the population report approximately similar numbers of Mestizo and Indian parents, while older respondents consistently report more parents to be Indian than Mestizo. Fourth, informants' explanations for this or that ethnic categorization are largely based upon birthplace, with linguistic criteria second in importance. Fifth, in considering place of birth and "race" of parents a slight tendency exists to report more parents among individuals who were not native to Paracho to be Mestizo than for Paracho-born parents. Finally, the impression of homogeneity within the community lends additional support to the conclusion that ethnic identification in Paracho is based upon cultural considerations.

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Sierra Tarascans

By GABRIEL W. LASKER

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community[1]

II. RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

114 KAPLAN has shown that whether individuals are considered to be Indians or Mestizos is primarily a cultural matter.[2] She reports the answers of a group studied in the Mexican town of Paracho, Michoacán to the question: "Are your parents Indians, Mestizos or what?" Such criteria as place of birth and language rather than physical appearance feature in the explanations.

For the same group for whom Kaplan has published data on the stated 141 race of the parents, I have made a series of measurements and observations of racial characteristics. Both so-called Indians (148 males and 85 females) and Mestizos (135 males and 95 females) were examined. The Indians consist of persons both of whose parents are described as Tarascans, Indians or natives (*natural*). The Mestizos comprise individuals one or both of whose parents are described as white, Spanish (*gente de razon*), or mixed.

TABLE 1

RACIAL MEASUREMENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP

		Males			Females		
		No.	*Mean*	*Standard Error*	*No.*	*Mean*	*Standard Error*
Cephalic Index	Indian	146	77.8	0.3	83	78.6	0.3
	Mestizo	135	78.2	0.3	93	78.2	0.4
Bizygomatic Diameter	Indian	148	137.2 mm	0.4	85	129.8 mm	0.5
	Mestizo	96	136.3 mm	0.5	95	130.5 mm	0.5
Total Facial Index	Indian	148	90.1	0.5	85	90.2	0.6
	Mestizo	135	91.1	0.5	94	90.0	0.5
Upper Facial Index	Indian	130	53.9	0.3	74	54.6	0.5
	Mestizo	129	54.4	0.3	87	54.2	0.4
Stature	Indian	145	1618.4 mm	4.8	84	1513.9 mm	5.0
	Mestizo	132	1628.9 mm	4.7	93	1516.1 mm	5.0

Various physical traits are considered in respect to which Europeans differ from American Indian and other Mongoloid peoples. In the Mexican town under study, however, the children of persons identified as Indian and Mestizo differ little in these features. None of the differences between Indians and Mestizos in the measurements or indices considered shows a statistically significant critical ratio (see table 1). There is, for instance,

[1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
[2] Bernice A. Kaplan, "Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community. I. Socio-Cultural Factors," PSYCHIA, XIV, No. 2, 179.

[see B. Kaplan, this file. Analyst]

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141 no significant difference in head form as measured by the average cephalic index. Also, although facial breadth is characteristically wider in Mongoloids than in other peoples, the Indians of each sex in this series are not broader in the face than the Mestizos — either in respect to bizygomatic diameter or when this is taken as a ratio of the total facial height — or of the upper facial height. When it comes to stature, however, the Indians of both sexes tend to be shorter on the average than the respective Mestizos. A previous study indicates that differences in stature are found between individuals in the same series who had spent some of their formative years as temporary migrants to the United States and those who had remained in Mexico.[3] Such differences represent the effects of milieu. It is quite possible, therefore, that any variations in stature between so-called Indians and Mestizos are also due to factors in their conditions of life — especially diet — rather than to any inherited racial differences between the two groups.

[144] [146]

144 Most of the traits which would be expected to distinguish American Indians from Europeans are descriptive attributes which have been counted rather than measured. Among these are dark brown eyes, black hair, straight hair, prominent cheek bones (malars), and markedly concave front teeth (shovel-shaped incisors). These traits are in fact slightly more common in the Indians than in the Mestizos (See figures 1-5). Among males, all five of these characteristics are found in 33 per cent of 97 Indians, but they also occur in 19 per cent of 100 Mestizos. The only males to lack all five factors are four of the 100 Mestizos. For the females the five characters are all found in 29 per cent of 55 Indians and in 21 per cent of 72 Mestizos. None of the females examined lacked all of these Mongoloid traits. As far as these particular features are concerned most of the members of the community, whether regarded as Indians or not, show some Indian characteristics.

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There are other conditions which are considered Mongoloid. A fold of the upper eyelid which covers the inner corner of the free lash-bearing margin (internal epicanthic fold) is one of them. General deficiency of facial and bodily hair is another such trait. Jutting of the teeth (prognathism) is a third. As will be seen in figures 6-8, however, neither eyefolds, mid-digital hair on the back of the fingers, nor prognathism differentiates Indians from Mestizos in this group of Mexicans.

145 A higher proportion of the persons categorized as Indians falls in the older age groups. As some traits are affected by age, it is necessary to make allowance for this factor. For instance, eyefolds tend to shift from internal to external types with age; yet age by age in this series similar proportions of the various types are found in Indians and Mestizos.

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[3] Gabriel W. Lasker, "Environmental Growth Factors and Selective Migration," Human Biology, 24: [illegible] ([illegible]).

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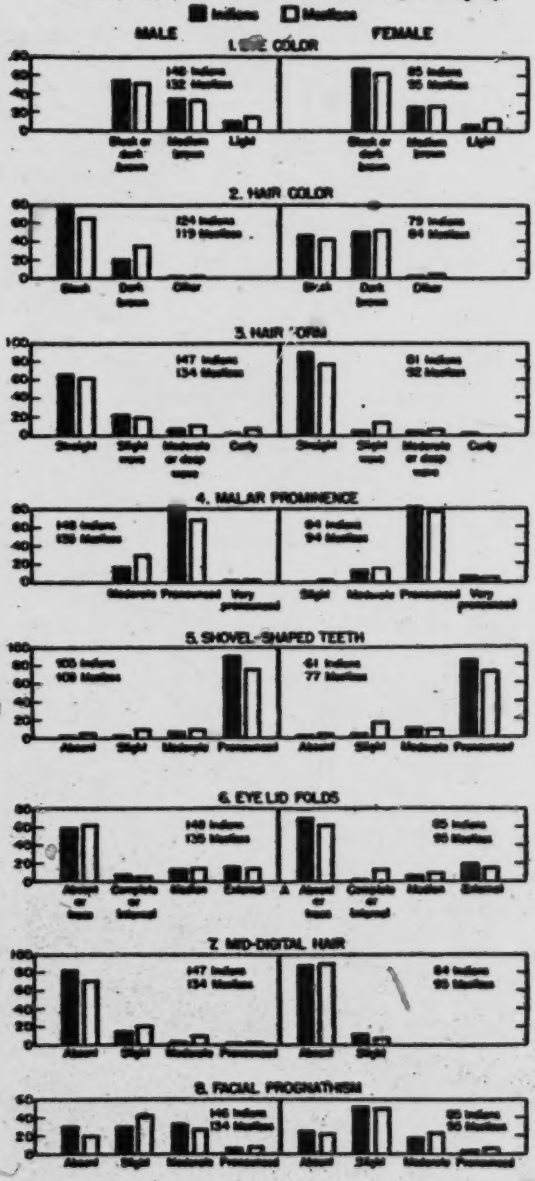
Frequency (in percent) of various racial traits by ethnic group



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145 Alveolar prognathism decreases with loss of teeth in old age and this trait has therefore been excluded from consideration, but extent of jut of the whole face (which is not noticeably affected by age) is not different between Mestizos and Indians. Some important characteristics of hair tend to change with age. Texture, baldness, greying, mustache and beard development and tendency to concurrency of the eyebrows are therefore excluded from detailed consideration; none show any close correlation with ascribed "race," however.

186 In summary, one may repeat that in the Mexican community under consideration, practically the whole range of physical types occurs both
144 in individuals whose parents are described as Indians and in those whose parents are considered to be Mestizos or Spanish. It is clear therefore that the physical appearance of the people cannot enter appreciably into their categorization of themselves. This supplements direct evidence that the ethnic identification is considered a cultural and linguistic matter and eliminates the possibility that considerations based on biological race significantly enter into the judgments.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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MADERAS DE GUSTAVO SAVIN

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[Title page]

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

The Diet of a Tarascan Village

By Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher
(Estados Unidos)

Sumario

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El presente artículo es una compilación de datos acerca del régimen alimenticio de los habitantes de Cherán, pueblo tarasco situado en las montañas michoacanas, a 4,500 pies de altura. Cherán es un pequeño pueblo de agricultores relativamente próspero ya que solamente un 10 a 20 por ciento de los habitantes pueden ser clasificados de pobres, no existiendo por otra parte, familias marcadamente ricas.

Para colectar el material de este estudio se emplearon tres métodos. 1. Una lista completa de los productos alimenticios que se consumen. 2. Una colección de los "menús" que forman una comida normal. 3. Algunas familias cultas de la localidad cooperaron consiguiendo una lista completa de los alimentos consumidos en los últimos quince días. La deficiencia de este método estriba en la imposibilidad de incluir en la lista los vegetales que se recogen en los bosques y se consumen como antojo, entre comidas.

Sin embargo, a pesar de la deficiencia del método los datos adquiridos alcanzan una misma conclusión general. Varias tablas van insertas, que muestran el régimen alimenticio. Estas tablas se encuentran distribuídas en la siguiente forma: Tabla 1: Derivada de las diversas fuentes de información. Tabla 2: Muestra el régimen alimenticio de un adulto de familia acomodada. Tabla 3: Un adulto de familia pobre.

Los autores señalan las dificultades que presenta el análisis de estos datos. Por ejemplo existe una gran variedad en el contenido vitamínico de los diversos alimentos y luego la incógnita de si los requisitos de condimentación son los mismos en todas las familias.

Es preciso hacer un estudio minucioso acerca de los alimentos que se consumen en la región, determinando mediante análisis clínicos el valor alimenticio de cada uno para averiguar qué deficiencias de vitaminas ocasionan las enfermedades.

Los autores finalmente propugnan por el mayor consumo en la región de trigo, camote, naranjas, plátanos, leche, y tomates, y recomiendan asimismo se disminuya el consumo del maíz.

121 The collection and analysis of data on the diet of the mountain Tarascan village of Cherán has raised a number of problems which it is believed may be of value to students interested in similar studies. The data and the interpretations given them are necessarily provisional and should not be regarded as more than general suggestions about the dietary situation in the village. Nevertheless, several different approaches gave similar results, and the interpretations should be of some use, pending a more thorough investigation of the subject.[1]

114 [1] The field data upon which this paper is based were collected by the senior author, Ralph L. Beals, assisted by Silvia Rendón and Thomas McCorckle, in the course of general study of the village of Cherán

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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United
113 States Department of Agriculture Circular Nº 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

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TABLE I

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	148	18,200	2,150	—	1.5	14.8	6.36	15,629
meat (beef)	8	40	90	4	.13	2.5	1.6	500
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
beans	3.5	27	50	0	—	.77	.05	350
milk	8	350	38	5	.30	.14	.16	155
cabbage	2	30	14	8	—	.03	0	16
chile	1.5	1,320	—	81	—	—	—	—
oranges	4.5	70	35	40	.12	.94	0	65
bananas	5	230	28	23	.07	.06	0.01	140
pears	3.5	6	5	3	.02	.02	.01	68
sugar	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	113
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
Totals		22,593	2,469	204	2.56	19.21	8.83	17,529

Diet of one adult for one week, an average of the diets given.
I. U.: International Units.
mg.: milligrams.

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146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than 262 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than minimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vitamin B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories. 556 511

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it [184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 ment of Agriculture Circular N° 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, 113 United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin N° 707, 1939: and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

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TABLE II

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
meat	10.4	52	117	5.7	.16	1.9	1.35	875
cheese	1.6	900	7	—	.25	.37	.52	179
bread	1	70	30	0	—	.1	.02	100
bananas	5.5	230	28	7	.07	.66	.11	154
milk	16	700	75	10	.60	.28	.32	310
lard	.5	—	—	—	—	—	H.5	127
beans	5	40	71	0	—	1.1	.08	495
oranges	12	117	100	107	.32	.11	.02	175
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
chiles	.7	616	—	38	—	—	—	
Totals (without maize)		3,835 [1]	433	207.7	1.50	5.01	2.42	2,685
maize (yellow)	192	23,600	2,840	—	2.07	19.2	8.26	20,280
Total		27,585	3,318	207.7	3.57	24.21	10.68	22,965
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, wealthy family.

[1] This would be the quantity of vitamin A with white maize.

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TABLE III

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	121	14,890	1,750	—	1.2	12.1	5.2	12,780
chiles	7.5	6,600	—	400	—	—	—	75
beans	1.5	10	33	—	—	.33	.02	250
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
Totals		23,120	1,807	420	1.52	12.91	5.86	13,363
(with white maize)		8,230	—					
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, very poor family.

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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

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121 [114] made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans [146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 146 One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

146 As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 435 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph. "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in **The Maya and their Neighbors**, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

[text continues on p. 304]

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TABLE IV

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize (yellow)	91	11,170	1,400	—	1.0	9.0	4.0	9,645
sweet potato	21	24,000	150	60	—	.38	.15	840
whole wheat bread . .	4	280	120	—	—	.4	.16	400
cheese	2	1,120	10	—	.32	.36	.64	223
beans	1.5	10	30	20	—	.33	.02	250
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
chile	5	4,400	—	265	—	—	—	50
milk	3.5 pints	2,450	260	35	2.1	.98	1.12	1,085
Totals		43,790	1,985	400	3.42	11.57	6.09	12,528
Minimum requirements.		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Sugested improved diet of one adult for one week. This is the Table 2, (very poor family) diet, substituting whole wheat bread, sweet potatoes and milk for some of the corn and chile.

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262 the poorest families in town shows that the total food cost for a family of three adults and two children could average as little as 81½ centavos
435 a week or $42.38 (pesos) a year. This would be 16.3 centavos a day per person. In contrast to this, the diet of a relatively wealthy family, in which the household numbered ten persons, cost $12.50 per week or $650.00 per year. This would be $1.25 per person per week, or $65.00 per person per year, again disregarding age differentials.[6]

146 The suggested improved diet given in table 4 actually might cost even less than the poor family diet presented. The diet in figure 4, is,
262 however, deficient in calories, as has been stated. Even with the addition of sufficient calories, it is possible that the improved diet would not add noticeably to the cost; certainly it would not cost more than a peso a week for the five persons. These data suggest that education in the use of proper foods and the changing of food habits may sometimes be more important than economic betterment as a means of bringing about adequate nutrition.

121 It must be reiterated, however, that any conclusions suggested in this paper are tentative. Imperfect as the data and interpretations are, it is nevertheless clearly indicated that extensive and accurate nutritional studies are needed. This is true, whether the major aim is to discover the possible relation of nutrition to other cultural factors, or whether it is to map out a program of nutritional improvement for the group.

[6] In these cost estimates, it is assumed all food was purchased; actually some would be grown.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

OF THE

FLORIDA STATE MUSEUM

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Number 3

EIGHT TARASCAN LEGENDS

Maurice Boyd

[Title Page]

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Gainesville

1958

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PREFACE

The Florida State Museum's field of interest includes the greater Caribbean area. It is appropriate that the first non-archaeological issue of the *Contributions, Social Sciences*, should pertain to Mexico, our sister republic to the south; should refer to the interesting but much neglected Tarascan Indians; should be prepared by Maurice Boyd, Associate Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Florida; and should be based on field work done by him while a visiting professor at the University of Michoacán in Mexico.

The Tarascans are relatively unknown in comparison with the Aztecs. They are covered by single line references or, at most, a paragraph in books written in English which deal with the history of Mexico. Yet these people were nearly the equals of the Aztecs both in military strength and cultural attainments. It is primarily an accident of geography which gave the Aztecs the greater prominence. 101 114

Dr. Boyd has made a special study of the Tarascans—their life, their history, and their culture. We are glad to present the first results of this research. 114

Ripley P. Bullen
Curator of Social Sciences

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INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation. 82 [131]

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved. 173 793 793 82

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions. 173 869 [177]

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block. 131

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of Pre-Conquest days. 131 36 [173]

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ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

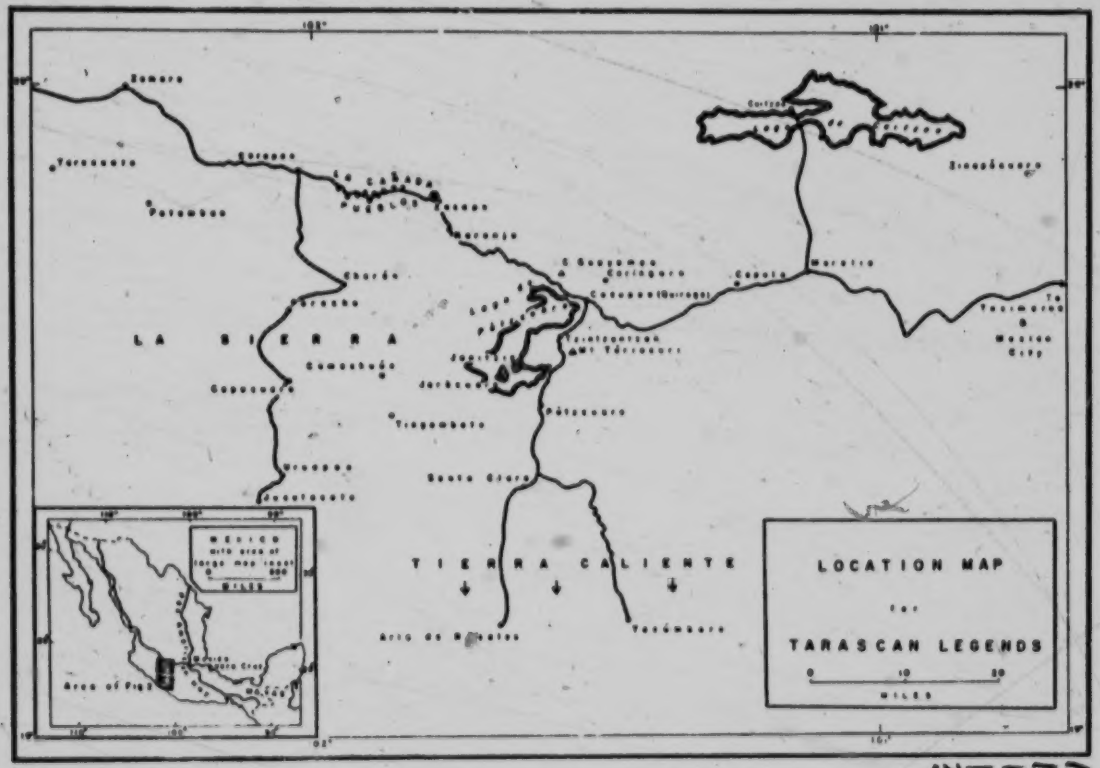

Fig. 1. Map of the Tarascan Area.

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648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

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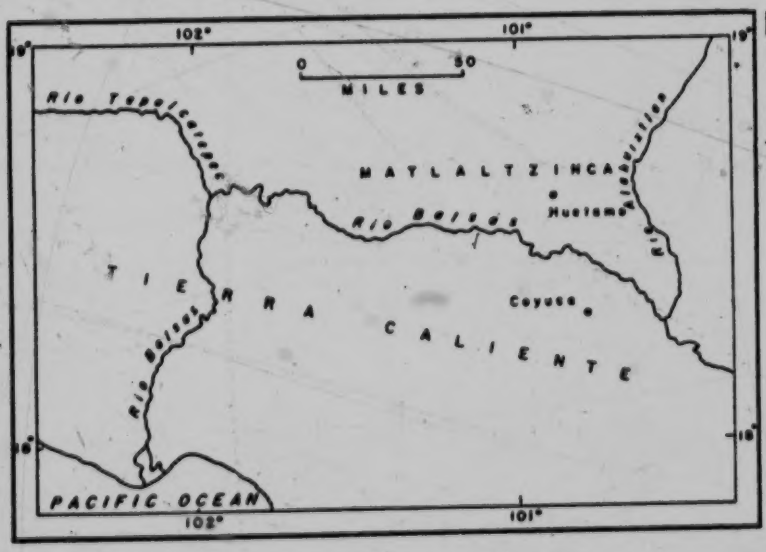
of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style. 115 539

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author. 539 126

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual 175 114



102 103 131 133 361

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison. 539 114

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[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 [128] [173] [167] The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their presumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

[175] Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 805 [175] The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 786 793 173 292 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the nation and its princes.

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nation and its princes. This account forms the principal part of the *Relación* and refers to the marvels of creation performed by their god, Curicaueri. The miracles of the creation are told in the countryside between Lake Pátzcuaro and Lake Cuitzeo as the tale of the birth of Cueróhperi.

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The Legend

In the beginning of time there was no light. The silent dwelling place of Curicaueri, the only god at that time, was full of minute (atómica) material which slowly moved around without any order or harmony. Curicaueri realized that his enormous circular eyes could not penetrate the darkness nor contemplate infinity; therefore he created four orbs of light, each burning in one of the cardinal points of the universe, and light existed.

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Great shapeless masses from the depths now were reflected in the eyes of the powerful god. From some of the mass, Curicaueri created Huriata, the sun god, naming him father and overseer of the universe. Then Huriata formed the heavenly bodies, ordering that they light the heavens in their own manner.

Thus day and night came into the world.

Through his golden mask Curicaueri smiled upon seeing the light of the four orbs, and, viewing the orderliness which Huriata had given to the universe, he desired to reward Huriata. Thus he created the moon goddess, Cutzi, and presented her to Huriata to take as his wife.

The contact of the two – Father Sun and the Mother Moon – brought darkness to the cosmos. From the two joined bodies, three rays of light broke forth upon the firmament to form three concentric circles around the dusky body of Cutzi.

From the three circles was born Cueróhperi (the creative principle or Mother Nature), the daughter whom Father Sun endowed with beauty and wisdom.

The three rays of light were extended through space, and they caused colors to be reflected from the heavenly bodies and the organized atoms.

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Curicaueri had created light; Cutzi and Huriata created harmony.

Curicaueri heard the hymn which the heavenly bodies intoned in their course through the sky. In addition, the slow, rhythmic beats of the atoms added to his conviction that his work was perfect. Retiring to his dwelling place amidst the four orbs, he sat upon his crossed legs and assumed a contemplative attitude. From this vantage point he beheld Cueróhperi, and, upon seeing how beautiful she was, he launched from his eyes four beams of light which shielded her from the sight of the world. One beam rested upon Cueróhperi's forehead, another upon her heart, another upon her hands, and the last upon her womb.

The daughter of Huriata felt herself pregnant. Below on earth, amidst the crashing of a furious tempest, she gave birth to the mountains, the seas, the lakes, the trees, and the flowers. Father Huriata and Mother Cutzi carefully attended Cueróhperi throughout her ordeal and afterwards maintained the closest vigilance over her, he by day and she by night. The gift of fertility which Curicaueri had given Cueróhperi made her always encumbered with the responsibility of deliverance.

Next she gave birth to the animals of the earth. Then came mankind, to whom she gave wisdom and the name of Purépecha.

The wisdom of the Purépecha was so great that they immediately began to govern the land with a knowing hand, cultivating and populating it in every direction. They created art and brought forth musical tones on magnificent instruments, such as the sweet-sounding ocarina and the sonorous *quiringua*. They painted with the colored plumes of birds, and they worked with stones to construct their dwelling place.

Very soon these men learned of their origin and displayed their gratitude to the gods by making sumptuous altars where they could worship the images of their gods. Curicaueri was represented as seated, with eyes and ears of the finest polished gold. They wished to denote that, in addition to being invisible, he had large eyes and ears in order to see and hear the sufferings of mankind. Besides this deity, the only things capable of seeing human beings

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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient. 539 773

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it. 535 [538] [173] [773]

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces. [292] [532]

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri. [883] [773]

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

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The Legend

After traveling for many years, centuries perhaps, the Purépecha arrived at the banks of Lake Pátzcuaro. During their lengthy migration those who had departed from the land of their origin as small children grew into manhood; the virile men grew old; and the old ones fell to the earth like trees before the tempestuous hurricane. 539 173

Sons of the sons of the original emigrants were those who finally beheld the blue sky and green mountains reflected in the crystal ripples of the lake.

Around the campfire the forefathers traditionally related that far behind lay the land which was lighted at night by the four mysterious orbs, or stars. In their travels the Purépecha had journeyed near the mountains which vomited fire, where Father Huriata had his abode. Next they had passed through dense woods and stayed for awhile in the region where the two oceans were visible – one ocean giving birth to light and the other engendering the shades of darkness. Upon their departure they circled the destroyed cities of Copán and Quirigua in the ancient empire of the Maya and passed the sacred city of Mictlan. From this point they crossed the waters of Tzacatollan upon rafts of hewn logs and, after walking for many moons, finally arrived in a fertile land. The mild climate, fragrant air, and richness of the fruit tempted them to remain here forever.

After traveling for many years, centuries, perhaps, the Purépecha had learned many things from the various peoples who had given them shelter and hunting privileges within their dominions.

From the remote villages the Purépecha learned about the course of the heavenly bodies and the change of the seasons. Also they were taught how to work in stone, to mold clay, to cook venison over a fire, and to weave the fibers of plants. Above all else they worshipped the goddess Cueróhperi, who created all earthly things, and Huriata, who cared for them by day, and Cutzi, who watched over them by night.

When they arrived before Lake Pátzcuaro, they beheld with

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amazement this marvelous spectacle of blue. The people roamed about briefly before choosing Tarerio as the site for their village. Fish and game abounded here in quantities beyond imagination.

The Purépecha were happy; but one morning Guaricaten, cacique of the island of Jarácuaro and lord of all the land in the region, arrived in Tarerio demanding to see the leader of the Purépecha.

To the venerable Cuiniurin he spoke: "Cuiniurin, since you are the eldest and the tribes obey your orders, I am speaking to you. For many moons I have permitted you and your people to rest here, recuperating from the rigors of the long journey from the hot lands of the south, whence you came. No longer can you remain here. Your race is prolific, and very soon the land which you people now occupy will not be sufficient. My own people now need this land. Leave with your belongings for the lands which are not as yet occupied."

With these words Guaricaten finished speaking and departed with his retinue, returning by canoe to the island of Jarácuaro. Cuiniurin immediately called together all his people and ordered the priest Petamuti to tell everyone assembled what was the will of their god Curicaueri.

When Petamuti rose to speak, the people anxiously leaned forward to hear his words. Suddenly all assembled saw a flock of swallows draw near. Hovering above the birds was a hawk which pursued them. The frightened birds sought refuge by alighting among the closely gathered people, and a warrior shot an arrow at the rapacious hawk. The arrow squarely struck the swooping bird, which fell dying to the ground. The swallows simultaneously arose in flight toward the four cardinal directions.

Petamuti spoke: "My chief, just as the birds so too is our destiny. Since birth we have traveled and worked, and a superior force, a supreme destiny, will conquer our enemies. Again we Purépecha shall move. Let us follow the path marked by the flight of the swallows, and where we find them singing we shall work and live happily."

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The following day Cuiniurin divided all his people into four tribes. One circled the lake eastward to the bank opposite Jarácuaro and founded Tzintzuntzan. Another tribe headed southward into La Sierra, settling in Tingambato. The third tribe traveled northward, stopping upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. The other sought refuge in the west at the headwaters of a river and called the site Carapan.

Thus it was that the four tribes, who came from the region brightened at night by the four lights of the Southern Cross, settled in the four cardinal points of Michoacán: in Tzintzuntzan, Tingambato, Zacapu, and Carapan (Fig. 1). The Purépecha built their homes of dried clay and lived like the swallows, singing and working. Valiantly they defended their land against those who questioned their right of possession. Father Huriata was with them.

On certain nights, in conformity with their sacred rites, they prepared four burning piles of wood pointing toward the four cardinal points in honor of Curicaueri. They danced and sang in joy; never was it the custom to become inebriated. Early the following day all the women would take some water and pitch it afar; the men would dispatch arrows into the sky; all the children would hurl stones through the air. Through such symbolical actions they demonstrated how they took possession of, and defended, their land against those who disputed their right of ownership.

Since then the Purépecha have possessed the land of Michoacán. They fought first with the neighboring races until, one by one, all were conquered or allied with them. Most of the credit for this has been attributed to the great Purépecha people.

Later they fought the Tecos in the west, the Huachichiles and Chichimecos in the north, and finally the Aztecs who came from the east. In all their battles they were victorious.

Their government was patriarchal; their religion remained simple and poetic; their occupations were fishing and handicrafts, the latter laboriously and beautifully executed. They were a people gentle in peace and brave in battle.

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THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
726 and other data essential to a successful compaign.

Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

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pined for the speedy return of her beloved warrior who had accompanied the king on his path of conquest.

Finally, one morning as Father Huriata's splendrous rays appeared over the mountain, hundreds of warriors filed across the vast plains of Cuaracurío. The commotion of the warriors drove to flight a beautiful hummingbird, which disappeared in the distance with the swiftness of an arrow. The princess, who had often fed the bird from her hand, watched disconsolately as it became lost from view.

Quickly she ran to greet the troops, anxiously questioning them concerning her beloved warrior. In the faces of the Tarascan fighters she beheld sadness and compassion. Trembling with fear, she fell on her knees in the path of the king.

"My father," she said, "return to me my beloved warrior who entered your service and left on this campaign. With your permission, my eyes will behold him as the vanquisher of our enemies."

The king made a gesture with his hand. The warriors fell into silence in order that all could hear the voice of their leader.

"My daughter Hapunda, beautiful 'Tzinziquin,' an arrow of the barbarous Chichimecs struck him while he stood in the midst of my warriors. Our god, Father Huriata, wanted his blood and I have deposited his heart in a box at the god's feet in the temple."

A low, audible moan came from the princess. With her eyes rolling wildly, she ran to the temple where the impressive golden disk of the god gleamed from its setting in precious [illegible]d. The grave, dignified priests were unable to restrain the impetuous Hapunda as she seized the box containing the heart of her lover and fled into the depths of the valley below. There, among the tall flowers, she concealed herself while directing her demented eyes first in one direction and then another, seeking a place to hide the box and its remains. Her insensible ears could not hear the voice of her father who futilely called and called and called.

The sun set beneath the hills and the moon passed beneath a cloud. All was dark and Hapunda remained silent. Finally, from her grief-stricken eyes emerged rivers of tears which inundated the valley.

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539 823 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 [539] [361] The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most significant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to furnish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 584 [178] The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 49 [539] 000 The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

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The Town's ? 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
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The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

? [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

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539 312 passed and she had not gone to the fountain and filled her empty jug with water. She fell to her knees and directed her gaze at the rose-rimmed cloud hiding Father Sun. Tearfully, she prayed that the god would enable her to discover water nearby, so as not to incur the anger of her parents.

Her supplication was humble and sincere, because Tzintzin was a good girl. While she remained on her knees, a small beautifully colored bird arose from the center of a cluster of flowers. At that instant the last rays of Father Sun broke through the cloud and revealed drops of water which shone like diamonds falling from the feathers of the rising bird. This was the sign Tzintzin sought.

She parted the flowers and gazed into the pure, clear depths of a beautiful and hitherto unknown spring. Filling her jar, she returned home. Her parents were greatly surprised to see her return so quickly [she actually was late but the narrator said "so quickly" to emphasize the nearness of the new spring] and they supposed that Quanicoti had aided her with the water jar. However, she explained that she had discovered a new fountain of water near the road where her people traveled for decades.

The news of the fountain spread. The people from neighboring villages came to see the new source of water. Its depth was such that they called it Quiritzícuaro (the great fountain), and it still exists today to the east of the village of Paracho.

Always when the pretty Tzintzin visited this spot to hear Quanicoti's protestations of love, Father Sun smiled approvingly upon them with his brilliant, profound eye.

HUANITA

Historical Comment

173 174 [648] In "Just as the Birds," the narrator spoke of one group of Tarascans who travelled northward to settle upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. At some uncertain time in the twelfth century, these Tarascans conquered the people of Naranjo and then moved south-

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east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region. 173 174 648

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan. 173 642 643

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century. 115 114 539 (173)

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listeners the memory of the charming Huanita. 539 173

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

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From among the Tarascan maidens she had been chosen as the Huriat-pari, the consecrated virgin of the sun god, to carry the standard of the sun for her tribe. As the Huriat-pari, she was forbidden to be the wife of any man.

But Tangáxhuan dared to arouse the anger of the gods. He spoke to Huanita of his undying love for her. She listened and was won. Eventually, though, the anger of the gods was to descend upon them.

Tangáxhuan and Huanita believed that they were living alone and unwatched in the birch forest, but the sacrilegious priest Candó knew of their hiding place. Then one day the prince left to fight at the side of his father, Tariácuri, in defense of Pátzcuaro.

By this time Candó no longer carried out his priestly duties before the altar of the temple of Cueróhperi, nor did he worship at the temple of Tacup-achá (another name for Curicaueri). Instead, he secretly burned rich incense before the image of the false god Cuenomen.

Taking advantage of the absence of Tangáxhuan, Candó kidnapped the unsuspecting Huanita. The terrified girl pleaded tearfully but in vain with the enamored priest. He carried her far away. They passed through Carapan, then Tzirapu, eventually reaching the beautiful, rustic place called Taninitzicuaro (Tangancicuaro) where three springs arose from the earth. He left Huanita in the care of one of the high priests of Xhacúnan (Jacona), the second capital of the Tequecha people. [These villages are a few miles south and southeast of Zamora (Fig. 1).]

Many suns passed. Hundreds of emissaries were sent out by Tangáxhuan in search of Huanita upon the termination of the war. From village to village they vainly sought for information concerning the daughter of the forest. Equally fruitless was the aromatic incense offered to Cueróhperi. The angry gods would not be placated.

The searchers were in Cuérecan, Jacona, Paxácuaran, Pajacuarán, Xhacunan, [villages between Zamora and Patamban.]

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and even Patamban, but vainly they fought against destiny. No one had seen Huanita. The diligent emissaries were defeated in their search. They returned home carrying branches of *parietarias* as a symbol of lamentation and sacrificed them on the altar of Cueróhperi.

One morning, at sunrise, Huanita obtained permission from the high priest to go to the springs of Camécuaro. In this shaded sanctuary the unhappy girl went to disclose her grief to the gods, beseeching Cueróhperi to return her to Tangáxhuan. She wept and her tears fell into the waters of the deepest spring of Camécuaro, where they were instantly changed into silvery pearls; at the same time her sighs of longing went to dwell among the swaying branches of the forest, forming a sad and mysterious lullaby.

Suddenly, from the underbrush, the odious Candó appeared. Upon seeing him, Huanita quickly arose, and, with her long black hair flying in the wind, she furiously hurled herself upon the malevolent priest. But he overcame her and dragged her to the base of a birch tree, whose leaves were just beginning to reflect the golden rays of the rising sun.

Huanita, exhausted but with angry eyes, was on the verge of succumbing. Candó confidently smiled and put aside his robe. He was preparing to force himself upon his victim, but a strange hum broke through the woods. An arrow sped across the clearing, passed through the body of the wicked priest, and lodged itself at the base of the tree. Instantly, warm, blue water gushed forth at the spot where the arrow punctured the tree trunk.

The arrow had been shot from the bow of Tangáxhuan, who had followed the footsteps of the traitor.

The sun had fully arisen in the east; the bell-flowers, the heliotropes, and the stars-of-the-field had now opened their fragrant petals. The silence was accentuated even more by the soft murmuring of the trickling water. The stillness was interrupted only by the last tremors of the dying body in the withered leaves and by a couple who walked arm in arm singing a prayer of love.

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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan king-
642 dom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and
643 Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion.
[539] King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of
[776] Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest
political authority but also as the representative and incarnation
[794] of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
539 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men
of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
[782] be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
539 that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to
644 generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of
648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique
644 of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival
173 in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

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white robe lined with beautiful colors.

The ancient king Singuangua, upon beholding her, was dazzled with her youthful beauty. Realizing that it would be unjust to marry her because of his advanced age, the compassionate monarch paternally consecrated her as priestess of the Sun. She was housed in the *guandaperata*, the sacred mansion of the *guananchecha* (vestal virgins) of the cult of Tucupa-acha.

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The princess Sesihángari, respecting the Purépecha traditions, graciously accepted the honor which King Singuangua bestowed upon her. Her humility only accentuated her loveliness. She only requested that she be permitted to continue her customary baths in the marvelous medicinal springs found in her father's territory. This the monarch granted with pleasure, appointing a group of the vestals to accompany her. To his surprise the waters seemed to work a miracle among the vestals, for in a short time they returned to court flowing with loveliness.

Intrigued by the phenomenon which converted the vestals into gems of magnificent beauty, the king ordered an investigation to determine the cause of the miraculous transformation. His wise men reported that the change could be traced to the magic power of the sulphureous mud from the enchanted marsh, situated eastward in the mountainous country near Taximaroa (Fig. 1). The boiling waters found there, they said, proceeded from the center of the earth and still contained their divine power.

Prince Tanimaranscua, one of the sons of King Singuangua, and Sesihángari fell deeply in love with one another. The king not only approved of their courtship but silently hoped they would marry. According to custom, a Purépecha priestess could marry only with the king's permission.

Prince Tzimtzicha, who was next in succession to inherit the throne, also loved Sesihángari and was jealous of his younger brother Tanimaranscua.

At length the old king died. His son Tzimtzicha succeeded him, and, according to custom, he took as his wives those of the preceding monarch. However, Tzimtzicha wanted Sesihángari as his wife.

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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of [631] the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, [645] Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 648 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[1] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[1] [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61). 175 539 648

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future. 173 177 539 797 648 728

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall. 173 539 787

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

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(Pirindas), and the Tarascan Emperor Calzonzin were at peace with their powerful armies. Camachuén's preoccupation on this day was with something greater and more profound. Camachuén was thinking about the divine Inchátiro, Queen of Xicalán (which means "the grace of the gods").

He was terribly disturbed because the hour had come when the villages of his people would be destroyed and his gods thrown from the temples. His race, the race of the Purépecha—descendants of King Tariácuri—had defied time and distance, sea and enemies, to place their homes on the edge of the deep blue waters of Tzirahuén, where they had erected a monument in memory of King Tziragu. But now the time had arrived when his people would wander alone among the mountains like driven beasts, because the children of the Sun would come from the east to conquer his people, take away their lands, destroy their homes, and smash their gods.

What would happen to his divine Inchátiro? In vain he had visited the sanctuary of Tazcapu [Zacapu] and made offerings to the god Curicaueri. Many mornings at daybreak he had prostrated himself in the midst of the forest and begged for the protection of the god of the sky, but without results. Camachuén remained grief-stricken.

Three moons passed. The dry leaves fell from the tall pines and all of nature was entering into a sad sleep. At last the prophecy of Guiapara, the high priest of Tzintzuntzan, was to occur. At first Camachuén thought it would be better to order his people to take arms and defend themselves until death released them. But he relented and decided to comply with the will of the gods. In tearful anguish he thought of the misery, hunger, and slavery which the future generations of his people would have to undergo. Only the Father of the Indians could know how tormented he was.

Another gloomy day arrived and Camachuén had not seen his beloved Inchátiro. He took the road to Xicalán and arrived at the palace still sad and pensive, thinking of the destiny which the gods had reserved for his people.

"Why are you sad?" asked Inchátiro wonderingly. "What sin-

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ister grief afflicts you?"

The unhappy Camachuén replied, explaining to her that the gods had become angry with the people and were going to punish them. Above all, he feared for her. Then, unburdening his heart to her, he related the following dream which Curicaueri had revealed to him:

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> I saw you reigning in your palace, divinely beautiful as always. Your gardens were covered with multi-colored flowers. All the people of Xicalán were paying tribute to you. The aroma of the fresh flowers and breezes from the fields passed through your balcony, caressing you. The gods, envious of your virtues, were watching your virginal heart, and they learned that you always thought of me ... and after that ... a shadow, black as night, covered my dream, and everything was horrible.
>
> The white men had arrived and invaded our villages and your palace. There, in your quarters, a stranger was living and you were caressing him, giving him your love and, finally, your heart. You had forgotten the oath taken before the altar of our gods. You had forgotten the hatred existing between our race and theirs. I did not raise my knife to kill the stranger, because the gods detained my hand, saying that such an act was not mine by right to do.
>
> And then my soul, wandering among the dark shadows of the night, wrote in letters of light upon your heart the phrase LOVE AND HOPE. Love and hope, that is the pathway of life which enables us to reach the abode of our gods. Love those who suffer, for they are our brothers; hope is their redemption. On the road of life must be planted our deepest sorrow in future hope.
>
> Remember that all have the right to live, and that a tenth of our good fortune must be shared with those who are hungry and needy.
>
> Remember that if you have bread, the poor do not have bread; that if you have good fortune, the

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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 731 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

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The Legend

Tacamba resided in one of the most colorful sites of the Tierra Caliente, that florid region which marks the descent of the sierra as it breaks away in a spectacular fashion toward the Pacific coast.

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Tacamba, a descendant of the legendary Hirepan, was one of the four chieftains of the Michoacán alliance. His kingdom was the richest and most fertile of the four provinces comprising the Tzintzuntzan empire. His capital city of Coyucán, the city of the eagles, sat on the edge of the river that flowed through the luxuriant tropical growth to Zacatula.

The prince was a young man. His tall, willowy stature reminded one of the tropical plant whose name he bore. His countenance was calm and profound, like the brilliance of a star on a calm, clear night. He had spent his life in the tranquility of Coyucán and in the hostilities of the army. At times his life had been like the gentle winds which wove their course through the pines; on other occasions he had lived as violently as the hurricane which pushes aside the oak that falls in its invincible path.

Generous and magnanimous by nature, he did not enjoy war. Nevertheless, when the chief of the quadruple alliance sought his help, Tacamba was the most prudent in council and the most valiant in combat. In spite of the demands of the priests, he never caused a single captive to climb the stairs leading to the sacrificial altar.

During the epochs of peace, this prince taught his people how to improve upon their cultivation of the fertile land in the kingdom and how to advance the rudimentary hand industries which had begun throughout the land.

From time to time Tacamba moved his court to a small valley bearing his name. He had constructed a walled castle on the bluff overlooking the crystalline alberca of Chupio, famous for its nightly visit by the sirens who came by a secret canal from the ocean to sing.

This fortress, situated on the elevated heights, offered a splen-

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did view in every direction. To the north the peaks of the pine-covered mountains were lost among the clouds; on the south the outline of a strange, fantastic ridge loomed through the thick haze of the hot country; directly below the palace lay the primordial valley and the poetic lake.

Here Tacamba spent many of his days devoted to important matters of government, while at night he directed his gaze upward into celestial space where innumerable other worlds gave testimony to the immense power of the gods. Was it during such a moment as this that the coming of other men to enslave his people was revealed to him? Many evenings his subjects noted that their young monarch stood alone on the roof of his palace and sang sweet but melancholy songs to Tucupa-Ácha, the supreme ruler of the universe.

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When the rumor concerning the arrival of the Spaniards spread throughout the land, Tacamba listened without showing the least surprise. He sent emissaries to all corners of his realm, and one month later twenty thousand of his men were encamped near Chupio on the banks of the two rivers which bathed tropical Turicato. He knew that the proud Aztec king, Montezuma, had sought aid from the Tarascans and he desired to be the first to offer troops.

When the court at Tzintzuntzan chose to remain neutral, Tacamba's surprise and despair was beyond measure. Cautioning his troops to stay there, the prince hastened to the imperial city in hopes that he could overcome the apathy of the aged emperor with reason and logic.

The reigning monarch of the vast empire of Michoacán was King Siguangua, formerly bold and valorous but now old and weak in body and mind.

Tacamba used his eloquence in vain. Fruitlessly he appealed to religious sentiment, to love of the Tarascan countryside, to the pride of the formerly invincible race; finally he spoke of the fear and superstition which now held in bondage the souls of the Purépecha nobles.

Sometime later a smallpox epidemic spread its desolation among the families of the kingdom. The first of the victims to succumb

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to the disease was the Tarascan king, whose death added to the panic which had already seized the people.

Then Tzimtzicha ascended the throne once occupied by the powerful descendents of Tariácuri. At the same time the Spaniards were conquering the hitherto invincible Aztec city of Tenochtitlán. Unhappily, Tacamba watched the dissolution of that race which had always distinguished itself through its strength and courage. The race of eagles seemed like a band of timid doves quivering at the presence of a hawk.

Tacamba, however, like a faithful subject, united his destiny with that of his king. Later, when the disgraced monarch of Tzintzuntzan was a prisoner, Tacamba stayed at his side and lovingly carried the heavy chains which bound Tzimtzicha. He saw how the greed of the Conquistadores for gold drove them to torture the king, and he heard the courageous dying words of the martyred Tzimtzicha.

Tacamba could no longer contain himself. Vowing eternally to hate the invaders of his native land, he placed himself at the head of many warriors and began the short but mighty epoch of slaughter and extermination before the *encomienda* system was established in Michoacán by Hernando Cortez.

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DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [1991]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uaxcata cónsecuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
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539 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the
809 pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and
577 heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the
173 Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and
867 thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is pro-
182 vided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.

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[End Plate I]

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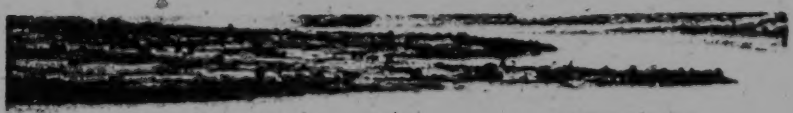

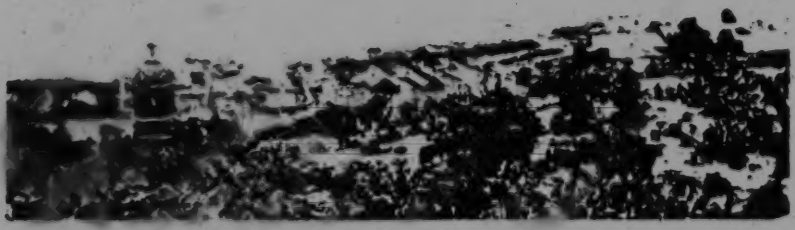

Plate I. Views of Tarascan Countryside

[115] *Upper*, looking towards village of Copula, home of Luis Espinosa, one of the narrators.

Lower, looking across Lake Pátzcuaro from top of island of Janitzio.

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[End Plate 2]

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[196] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 3]

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.

Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

[177]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[Following End Plate 3]

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FLORIDA STATE MUSEUM

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Number 1. Excavations on Cape Haze Peninsula, Florida, by Ripley P. and Adelaide K. Bullen. Price $.75.

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

114 The study of Cherán was carried out in 1940–41 as part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative undertaking of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (formerly the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional), and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. In general, the program aims at a thorough investigation of the Tarascans and their culture, both past and present.[1] An extensive program of this character is obviously the work of many persons and involves many individual projects. Consequently, a number of subjects which might have formed a part of the study of Cherán were not undertaken because they will be dealt with in other studies. The chief omission has been the lack of any general consideration of the Tarascans as a whole or any investigation of historical backgrounds. In some respects the study of Cherán would be more rounded and intelligible had fuller knowledge of the historical changes in Tarascan culture been available.

121

Unfortunately, the historical aspects of the Tarascan program are still little developed. Several years of documentary research would have been necessary to approach the study of Cherán with reasonably full background knowledge. Consequently, the description of Cherán is primarily a cross section of the culture of the community at the time of the study without any effort to interpret its historical development.

[1] For a fuller discussion of the Program, see Rubín de la Borbolla, D. F., and Beals, Ralph L. (1940) and Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1944).

[p. 1b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

122 Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several 121 reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of 177 the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. [491] In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The 177 non-Tarascan families were more or less tran- 563 sient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from 121 the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p. 1c]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

121 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both
177 from essentially Indian towns themselves, two
563 school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

The field work in Cherán was a cooperative
114 enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

In addition to the foregoing, many persons
115 in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost immumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

[p. 2a]

769 people hid them when the priest approached,
placing them out again when he moved on.
782 The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of nákatamales, bread, and
[574] fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the

[text continues on top of p. 210b]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

Of immediate concern in dealing with a group
121 as large as the Tarascans is the question
184 whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

Final resolution of the question raised seems
121 to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a

[text continues on middle of p. 210b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.2106]

769 graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day.

Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames [822] of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

The present study of Cherán reveals a num- 177 ber of points of considerable interest. Perhaps 181 the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation of Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.211b]

178 181 better wages would meet no opposition. Probably political reforms would have support if they clearly would provide more effective and representative self-government. Nevertheless, it seems probable that extensive changes in these fields would still leave Cherán life with a highly distinctive flavor. No matter how long Cherán residents have lived away from the community, and even if they have been born out of the community, they seem to accept a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which have not been successfully identified and analyzed in the present study.

121 181 In some measure a dichotomy of Cherán culture is implied in the foregoing remarks. The areas in which change is permissible and accepted may be identified as "secular" in the sense Robert Redfield (1941) has used the term in his studies of Yucatan culture change. Such a characterization might be misleading, however, for it seems doubtful if the term "sacred" can be applied equally well to the sectors of the culture where change is rejected. Certainly a Cherán resident would be nonplussed at the application of the term "sacred" to weddings and the obligations of kinship (although he might consider it properly applied to the *compadre* obligations). Primarily the sacred in Cherán is closely associated with the affairs of the Church, a view that is perhaps best high-lighted by the fact that those progressives who are most anticlerical (a position to be kept clearly distant from "anti-Catholic") are not opponents of the *costumbres*.

Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the processes again seem significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, Mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable Mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village of Yucatan hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U. S. A.), Mexico City, and Morelia (possibly in diminishing order) than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

121 181 Mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past. (Pátzcuaro has not been studied but apparently the social structure is fairly rigidly fixed in terms of the families whose signatures occur on last Colonial charter of the town with relatively little modification by present economic or occupational conditions.)

121 As indicated in the introduction, the study of Cherán thus far has been conducted in a single time dimension. Ultimately, considerable light can be shed on the present culture by relating it to its historical background. Tarascan culture seems not to have been static in pre-European times and to have changed greatly both during and after the Colonial period. Materials are probably sufficiently abundant to permit study of change in enough detail to give some knowledge of processes. Of particular interest would be a study of contemporary culture in the light of the utopian ideas of Quiroga, ideas that to a considerable degree seem to have been translated into a functioning system.

Many problems related to the individual in Cherán need further attention. The role of women in Cherán could not be adequately studied for reasons already explained; it would not be too much to say that the present study gives merely the masculine culture of Cherán. Such problems as the significance of witchcraft and its relation to personality structure and emigration should be fruitful. The pattern of growth and development and child rearing undoubtedly has bearing on this point. Similarly rewarding should be a deeper investigation of the curious contradiction between the normal concealment or denial of wealth and its ostentatious display in connection with the wedding ceremonies. The characteristics of Cherán culture and Cherán personalities which seem to make it possible for individuals to adapt readily to the outside world, spend years in the heart of industrialized civilization, yet be reabsorbed wholly into the local situation on their return should offer fruitful problems for investigation. Likewise the influence of the returning emigrant on present conditions in Cherán should be more thoroughly understood.

Most of the foregoing suggestions for study involve the role of the individual and the relationship between the individual and culture. To this field of investigation also are related

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.212b]

121 many of the practical administrative problems connected with Cherán. In the last analysis, the success of programs on behalf of the Indian undertaken by governmental agencies boils down to the problem of getting individuals to accept change.

In the field of practical administration, it should be evident that best results will be obtained if the area of culture recognized by Cherán residents as *los costumbres* is not disturbed. Officially expressed administrative aims lie primarily in the fields of economics, technology, education, and political life. Extensive modifications seem possible in these fields without tampering with the *costumbres*.

The most effective administrative measures, if it be conceded that the *costumbres* be not disturbed, seem to call for reducing the general objectives of governmental programs into specific objectives for the community of Cherán. Greater effectiveness seems likely to result if such objectives be very concrete, strictly limited initially, and held as consistently as possible. What is needed would appear to be a determination of what the desirable and practical objectives are in improving such things as farming techniques, introducing manufacturing techniques, and modifying housing. If the national objective of greater industrialization is to be realized, a clear corollary program should be developed to determine what types of industrial products Cherán residents are to be stimulated to desire. Mechanisms to protect the group initially from exploitation, both as buyers and sellers, might be desirable. In the educational field, decisions must be made and maintained over a reasonable time as to the purpose of Cherán education. Fundamentally, the problem is whether the people of Cherán are to be educated to live in Cherán or whether they are to be educated to leave Cherán. In the political field, it must be determined whether Cherán is to be self-governing and is to participate freely in a larger national democratic life. If the decision is affirmative, administrators must realize that the best school of democracy is practice in democracy and that the cure for errors is not less but more democracy.

Only when these and similar objectives are concretely framed and the necessary decisions

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

121 made can a practical program be formulated for Cherán. Anthropological studies by themselves offer no easy and golden pathway to the solution of Indian problems. The most thorough study of the Tarascans must be ineffective practically if the necessary administrative objectives are not clearly defined. The data of an anthropological study such as this can do no more than offer hints as to the "soft" spots of the culture, the areas in which change can most easily be introduced, as well as the *costumbres*, the points of resistance, such as ceremonies (not necessarily including religion), dress, dances, weddings, and death customs. The study can likewise indicate some of the major problems of Cherán, such as the underproductivity of the soil and agricultural technology, the inadequate mechanization, the probable existence of an overly large population to permit any marked rise in economic status, the need of creating new attitudes in spending (for Cherán could finance many public improvements itself), the inadequacy of the water supply, the lack of public health facilities, and the shortcomings of the educational system.

In relation to these problems, further studies are needed in which the anthropologist is aided by technicians in soil use, farming, forestry, and animal husbandry techniques. Scientific-
[text continues on top of p.213b]

APPENDIX 1

DATA ON FOOD PLANTS AND FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

The following data were collected by Silvia
121 Rendón in the pueblos of La Cañada, the next valley to the north of Cherán. As the valley is at a lower elevation than is Cherán, some differences are noticeable in techniques and in plants grown. Unless otherwise specified, the data are from Chilchota; although far from complete, they are included here because they afford some interesting comparisons, the more so in that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today.

Plants cultivated: All of the plants culti-
241 vated in Cherán as well as many others, are
262 found in La Cañada. Black maize is grown in the fields, rather than in the house lots, but, as in Cherán, it is kept separate in storage and is used only for certain types of tamales and
[text continues on middle of p.213b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.213 b]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

121 ally, such studies should be of great aid also, permitting better understanding of the fundamental limitations on Cherán culture.

Once a set of definite objectives has been established, the data of the anthropological study will be of considerable use in formulating a concrete program and in developing Tarascan cooperation. Moreover, the introduction of a program in itself, creates changes in the cultural situation. The dynamic quality of culture makes it important that administrative programs be accompanied by further study and be flexible enough to adapt to the changing situation.

Despite these remarks on the practical problems of government in the Tarascan area, it should be emphasized that the present study is primarily concerned with scientific objectives. These objectives happen to be closely related to practical considerations, for administrative objectives in Mexico call for culture change in some measure. Cultural processes and the function and interrelation of the parts of a culture emerge most clearly from dynamic situations rather than from static studies without temporal extension. Not only practical but scientific objectives can be served by the study of Cherán culture in transition.

APPENDIX 1

FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

241 atoles. Wheat is sown twice a year; one planting is in June and it is harvested in December;
262 the second is in November, in the house lots, and it is harvested in May. Beans are grown more extensively than at Cherán; the harvest is exclusively by women.

Among the plants generally grown in Chilchota is amaranth (*bledos*). The cultivation is not commercialized, each family growing a little for its own use. Amaranth is used by Indians of La Cañada for making sweets; in Chilchota it is employed in sweets, certain atoles, and in an uncooked tamale resembling a tortilla which is sold in Capacuaro.

245 A considerable number of fruits are culti-
262 vated in Chilchota. Mangoes of the *criollo* and

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

The ceremonial organization is linked with
796 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan
621 and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.9b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

I
INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan 123 town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

The problem, then, of integrating the 182 phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

The concept of folk culture as something 121 different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

121 relations, occupation, ethnic origin, or religious background. Social classes are the main segments of this type. Within the national culture, every local and class group has a distinctive subculture. The peasants often appear to be the group with the highest degree of cultural distinctiveness.

National culture and society can not be described only in terms of local and class groups. Both these groups are tied together by institutions (money, trade, property, education, government, law, religion), whose personnel does not always coincide either with local or class groups and which often, as in the case of money or law, are not really the culture of a group but rather an expression of the economic, social and political relations between the different segments of society.[4]

In applying this approach to the Tarascan scene, the following reasoning can be put forth:

There are a Mexican people and a Mexican culture. The social system under which this people lives is characterized by a division into social classes. Every class has cultural peculiarities, *i. e.*, a class subculture. One (or several) of these classes are the peasants, people primarily engaged in the tilling of the soil. Correspondingly one could speak of a national peasant culture. Furthermore, these peasants live in rural settlements every one of which has a distinctive culture due to different native background and adaptations to local ecological and social conditions. In this sense every village can be said to have a local and class subculture, or folk culture for short.

Changes in the national cultures are the
177 sum total of changes in every subculture
plus their interrelations. Some subcul-
178 tures, however, change more rapidly, or
their changes are more decisive than others in determining changes in the other subcultures. In our case, given the backwardness of the Tarascan peasants and their lesser integration into national life, their villages are neither the sources of initiative for change nor the places where changes in the national culture are prepared. The Tarascans hold no key economic position and have no control of political power. They are, rather, in the position of receiving influences from the rest of the nation, and the stimuli for change often come from the outside.

4. Steward, 1950, 113.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 8b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 One might approach the question of change from two points of view: first, how
177 local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

121 In order to discuss the relation between folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

121 In the following table the culture of
105 Tarascan villages is classified according to this dichotomy:

FOLK	NATIONAL
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

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105

FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

121 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits and institutions which respond to purely 177 local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

121 In this sense we study a process of change which is the same as that which Redfield describes as a difference between a folk 181 and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

121 historically those segments of our Western civilization among which industrialism did
181 not arise (peasantry and colonial peoples), and among which its influences were latest to act. Thus, although in many basic economic, social and religious aspects the Tarascans are incorporated into Western society and must be considered part of it, they still keep many traits and institutions which characterize their subcultures as more similar in many respects to the primitive than to our civilization.

* * *

The present paper is an attempt to pre-
121 sent the relation between local and national cultures as seen in one aspect of culture, in this case religion. The problem is to see how changes in the economic and social structure of Mexico in general and the Tarascan area in particular affect the development of Tarasan folk religion. National processes such as the loss of communal ownership of land, the separation of Church and State, the capitalist development of Mexico, the Mexican agrarian revolution, the anticlerical movement and the rise of a militant Catholic movement among the peasantry will be discussed in their local manifestations and their effect on religion.

The economic structure of the peasant
128 communities will be outlined first in order to provide a socio-economic background to
121 our problem. The type of village community which is based on communal ownership of land — a type which was formed during colonial times by a blending of Spanish and Indian institutions — will be described first. The formation of large private estates *(haciendas)* from early colonial times on, and the abolition of communal ownership of land (1857-1910) impoverished the communities and increased the differences in wealth among the villagers. During the Mexican Revolution (1910 on) groups of peasants organized to obtain land from neighboring estates. In most Tarascan towns, which had no such estates in their neighborhood, these agraristas, lacking haciendas, seized properties from richer villagers or from formerly communal lands. Thus a new privileged minority was formed. The majority of the villages reacted against these reformers and in most cases won power in the local administrations. (Chapter 2.)

The main traits of the folk religion, the system of financing the cult, and the close relation between government and local organization of the cult will be examined in

121 order to show how the changes discussed in Chapter 2 brought about the decay of the traditional organization of religious festi-
128 vals. The heavy burden of financing the traditional cult had been a factor in hastening the impoverishment of some villagers. The agraristas were anticlerical and abolished the cult. In this they were fostered by the anti-religious policy of the government. The reaction against the agraristas, on the other hand, has been militantly Catholic, but the decline of religious folk festivals and of the body of officials organizing them still continues, although this reaction occurs under the guise of more orthodox Catholicism and is supported by the Church. (Chapter 3.)

The social content of the religious ideology as expressed in concepts of good and evil will be discussed in Chapter 4. The values sanctioned in religion are to some extent those peculiar to the folk culture, for instance, proper family relations. To the extent that they sanction national institutions, religious ideas and folklore sanction adherance to the Church and to private property. The religious tinge of political factions is apparent in the use of traditional lore by the Catholics in trying to prove the wickedness of the opposite party. Thus they use religion as an ideology in order to further their cause in the same way as they lean on the Church as an institution in order to support their social policies.

The question of belief will also be discussed. A more conservative attitude characterized by total belief in religious ideas and myths corresponds to the folk level of culture. The general trend, however, is toward disbelief in the content of folk ideas and acceptance of outside (national) authority (i. e., of the Church or schools). Political allegiance influences this tendency. While some anticlerical individuals doubt basic beliefs of the Catholic religion, the militant Catholics show a trend away from the folk beliefs under the acceptance of a more orthodox Catholicism.

A summary of conclusions will be given in Chapter 5.

* * *

128 Chapters 2 and 3 are based mainly on published material providing some historical perspectives, and only partly on field work. Chapter 4 is based almost exclusively on field work. As practically nothing on the subject discussed in this chapter appears in historical sources, historical interpreta-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not 121 attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information 127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul- 114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

Practically all field work in the present 122 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in- 114

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1888, 330-34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1787); Ocampo, 1900, 386-90 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425-427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1902; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 11a] NU34 Tarasco.NU34
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122 stitutions for the study of the Tarascans.[13] Work began in 1940 and since then the
114 main investigation has included two community studies, one of Cherán, a large Tarascan speaking town of farmers[14] and Tzintzuntzan, a Spanish speaking town of potters and farmers.[15] West gives a general cultural-geographical survey of the area.[16] Other reports are unpublished as yet or are not related to our problem.

114 The field work on which this paper is based, also part of the Tarascan project, took place in 1945. Although drawn for the most part from one single village (Jarácuaro), material on the ideology and lore of the Tarascans was gathered from several other towns. The purpose of the investiga-
121 tion was to obtain a picture of what we might call their world view: ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, the natural and the supernatural elements, the main religious concepts, their folk science or lore. This kind of material is most frequently expressed in narrative folklore.

Cherán and Tzintzuntzan, the two com-
121 munities for which full monographs are available, are rather conservative towns
101 where the agrarian movement has been weak. Jarácuaro, on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro, where most of the author's material was gathered, is a town of hat makers and farmers. From a total population of about 900 only eight men were still agraristas in 1945. Most of the rest of the town considered themselves sinarquistas, were organized, and controlled the local government. Had the problem of this paper been stated before the field work, more material would have been obtained from predominantly agrarista towns, but this monograph deals mostly with the conservative and sinarquista positions. A detailed study of the Tarascan agrarian movement and what it has meant for the Tarascan

13. Rubín de la Borbolla and Beals, 1940; Beals, 1946, ix; Foster, 1948, 1.
14. Beals, 1946.
15. Foster, 1948.
16. West, 1948.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.11b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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121 [101] culture is greatly needed for an understanding of the problems of the area.

* * *

A comparative study is not attempted in this paper. Studies of Indian communities in Central and South America show that similar problems exist in these areas. The change of a folk culture in the direction of greater assimilation by the national culture is best exemplified in Redfield's Yucatan study[17] and it can be assumed to be a general process. The economic organization of the traditional cult is based on the primitive economic mechanisms of reciprocity of services and gifts. Under the impact of a modern economy this organization becomes inadequate and its obligations are felt to be onerous.[18] The attempts at radical change which took place in some Michoacan communities do not seem to be general. In some other cases the change away from expensive obligations to the cult is involved with conversion to Protestantism[19] or can be accomplished gradually without the violent conflict which characterizes this development in Michoacan.[20]

A comparative study of cases similar to that discussed in this paper would have to look into every local circumstance for the relation between the changing village economy and the economics and organization of the local cult. On the other hand the national pattern in which those communities live undoubtedly influences the form of the change, whether gradual, schismatic or anticlerical. The Mexican Revolution, which can be understood only in national terms, was the main determinant of the direction of change taken in most Tarascan villages. The influence of Protestant missions also depends on the national policies of the countries concerned. Any comparative study consequently will have to include the relations existing between the national and peasant cultures involved.

17. Redfield, 1941.
18. Mishkin, 1946, 446; Carrasco, 1951, 105-7.
19. For Guatemala, see Tax, personal communication; perhaps also in Peru, see Tschopik, 1947, 48, 53.
20. Carrasco, 1951; Tschopik, 1947, 24, 42-6.

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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FOREWORD

000 The Smithsonian Institution published recently Doctor Charles Upson Clark's translation of the "Espinosa Manuscript," which he discovered in the Library of the Vatican.* This work contains the detailed report by a keen observer of conditions in Latin America as they were soon after the Spanish Conquest.

121 The Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology now begins to give an even more detailed account of life and conditions prevailing at the present time among the Sierra Tarascans in Mexico. It can readily be foreseen that not only may this study lead to improvement in these social conditions, but that it will be read by anthropologists of the future with the same type of interest which attracts them in the Espinosa Manuscript.

C. G. Abbot,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution,
June 22, 1944.

*Compendium and description of the West Indies, by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa. Translated by Charles Upson Clark. Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. 102, 658 pp. 1942.

[p. iii]
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3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 result of work which was undertaken independently. These include: "Tzintzuntzan-Ihuatzio, Temporadas I y II," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 3, pp. 99–121, 1939), and "Exploraciones Arqueológicas Realizadas en el Estado de Michoacán Durante los Años de 1937 y 1938," by Jorge R. Acosta (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 4, pp. 85–98, 1940).

121 The purpose of the Program is to provide a coordinated and integrated plan of investigation of the Tarascan Indians for the dual purpose of: (1) Making a comprehensive scientific study of a little-known major Mexican Indian group, and (2) providing a body of fundamental data for the administration of the Tarascan area. For both purposes of the study, it is felt that certain non-anthropological studies are essential. As the Tarascans have been a farming and fishing people into a remote past, and since Spanish times began have also been a woodworking and cattle-raising people, a thorough understanding of the environment and its potentialities is essential, not only in order to understand the past and present culture of the Tarascans, but also to provide an adequate basis for intelligent administration. To this end, geographical, botanical, and zoological studies are planned as well as a thorough soil reconnaissance followed by more detailed studies of agricultural methods, problems, and potentialities, together with similar studies of forest, grazing, and animal husbandry techniques. In a similar fashion, understanding of the present population requires the collaboration of medical and public-health workers with the physical an-

121 thropologist. At the same time, understanding of the contemporary culture and the processes which led to its formation requires a knowledge of the Tarascan past. The Program consequently includes plans for archeological research to illuminate the prehistoric period and for historical research to determine the events of the Contact, Colonial, and Republican periods.

Put in another way, the Program may be said

[continued on p. 26]

THEORETICAL Background

The present paper is a frankly experimental effort to reconcile scientific and applied objectives in anthropology. The Tarascan Indians of Michoacán, Mexico, are one of the large Indian groups of that country and so are the object of great concern on the part of governmental agencies devoted to Indian problems. Housing is one of the usual subjects considered in programs of social welfare and, hence, is a suitable topic for discussion from this point of view. On the other hand, the Tarascans are very little known scientifically. Housing, as one of the important aspects of cultural activity, is, therefore, a legitimate subject of scientific study. The problem is whether these two purposes may be combined, either in the process of field study, or in the manner of presentation of data, in such a way as will be useful and satisfactory to individuals interested in either subject.

Interest in applied, or "practical," anthropology has been increasing in recent years among large numbers of anthropologists. In Mexico, results capable of application have long been regarded as one important end of all anthropological research in the country, although it must be confessed that there has been more tendency to consider purely scientific research to be a necessary prerequisite to the adequate solution of practical problems than has been the case with administrators in the United States. In the United States, the growth of interest in applied anthropology is evidenced in the recent birth of a journal devoted to this subject. Moreover, many anthropologists who have been reluctant to concern themselves with practical problems in studying the Indians of the United States, have confessed that it is undesirable and perhaps impossible to ignore the practical problems in such countries as Mexico where the Indian

[p. 2a]

121 briefly to envision a pooling of the techniques of all the various branches of anthropology with those of the other social sciences and the more pertinent natural sciences to the end of understanding the Tarascans and their past and present problems as fully as possible. The Program is anthropological only insofar as anthropology provides the central core of essential studies and is the integrating discipline.

Theoretical
BACKGROUND

question vitally affects the entire national welfare. It would, consequently, seem important to attempt a reconciliation of the objectives of "pure," or "scientific," anthropology and "applied," or "practical," anthropology.

As this paper will attempt to reconcile the two different approaches, a consideration of the abstract problems involved seems desirable. It is obvious that scientific ends in anthropology are often varied in character, but all depend to some extent upon the primary problem of description. It is obviously impossible to discuss anything related to Tarascan housing without first knowing its characteristics. Description, then, necessarily provides the raw data for any scientific objective. The amount of description necessary to any particular objective may, of course, vary, but unless a precisely limited problem is set in advance, the fullest possible description is apt to be of the widest use to the most people. To the applied field, description is likewise necessary. We cannot decide whether a people are adequately or poorly housed until we know how they are housed, what natural resources are available, or are used, and what skills exist for the utilization of these resources. So far, then, we may say in general that description of housing and house use is necessary both to applied and to scientific objectives, even though the amount and kind of description needed conceivably may vary.

As indicated, scientific study may be directed toward several objectives. One scientist may set himself the problem of discovering the history of the Tarascan house type, another may wish to learn the history of the Tarascan *use* of the house rather than the history of its construction. Yet another may wish to know what the functions of the house are within the total culture partly or

121 wholly aside from its use for shelter or storage, or he may wish to study the interrelations of the house and its use with other aspects of culture. It is possible, for example, that houses may represent prestige values or be symbols of status quite apart from any utility they may have. Yet others may wish to study the house from the standpoint of culture change: how changes in houses occur or how they are occurring, the effect of a dominant culture in close contact with Tarascan culture upon housing, and so on.

The foregoing suggests that an aspect of the scientific approach, aside from description, involves in part the setting of problems. However, this is not the exclusive property of the pure scientist; in the applied field, problems also exist or are set up. The nature and phrasing of the problems in the applied field, though, are apt to be different from those of the "pure" anthropologist, although in many cases they may be closely similar. In the applied field, the problem may be: "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" A pure scientist could well ask a similar question, but his purpose in so doing would be different. The pure scientist asking a similar question probably would be doing so in order to ascertain how good a "fit" the Tarascan had achieved in his adaptation to his physical environment. The student in the applied field would probably go somewhat further. He would perhaps ask: "What other type of house would be better suited to the needs of the Tarascans?" In addition, his final question might be either: "How may the use the Tarascan makes of his present house be improved?" or "How may the Tarascans be induced to change to a better type of house?"

Some of the questions of the applied anthropologist superficially seem to be of quite different character from those asked by the "pure" scientist, but it perhaps must be conceded that, theoretically, at least, they are capable of scientific approach. Even a problem involving change in use or type involves, for its successful solution, an understanding of culture processes and culture dynamics. At the same time, it is obvious that the applied anthropologist has introduced the whole field of values in his use of such terms as "suitable," "needs," "better," and "improved."

[p.3a]

|2| It must at once be asked whether these value terms are capable of scientific definition or not.

Before proceeding to the discussion of this point, it should be remarked that the pure scientist also frequently utilizes value terms in his work. Unfortunately, the "pure" scientist all too frequently either ignores this fact or is completely unaware of it. I have already pointed out that, in somewhat different context, the question, "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" could be a thoroughly respectable question in pure science if the objective were to determine the relations of the Tarascans to their environment. Anthropological literature of excellent scientific repute is full of appraisals of the adaptations primitive peoples have made to their environments. Actually, every such appraisal requires the existence of some sort of value standard on the part of the anthropologist. If he is a "pure scientist," however, he apparently considers himself above the necessity of explaining these values or else he takes them for granted. Actually, of course, he is often using "common sense." Other things being equal, a house that keeps its inhabitants warmer in cold weather, most people will agree, is a better adaptation than one affording less warmth. For the "applied" scientist, however, such "common sense" approaches are not permitted. He must make his value statements explicit and justify them.

Once an attempt is made to bring values into the open, the difficulties pyramid. How, for example, is one to determine what is "suitable?" An expression of an ideal on the part of the investigator usually will not be meaningful in terms of the realities of a given social situation. What is suitable housing is not alone a question of adjustment to climate. Realistically, what is "suitable" involves a complex balancing of what may be deemed most desirable taking into consideration such things as available raw materials, available technological skills, economic resources, and so on. It might be perfectly possible to arrive at the conclusion that, under given temperature and humidity ranges, a brick and frame construction with a slate roof, steam heat, modern plumbing, and a bedroom for every member of the family represents what is suitable, but among most Indian groups such as the Tarascans this

121 would be mere fantasy at the present time. Not only would materials be lacking, but there would be an almost complete lack of skills available for the construction; economically, it would represent an unattainable ideal even for the wealthy, and the Tarascans would have no idea what to do with such a house if they had it.

There are not wanting opinions that the establishment of values is entirely too complicated a business to be feasible. This seems, perhaps, too drastic a view to take. Admittedly, it is not possible with our present techniques to arrive at a complete statement, and, for the purpose of the approach to be used in this paper, it is not particularly necessary that we do so. What should be possible is to establish certain minimal standards of value which will be generally accepted and some of which are susceptible of empirical determination. In the last analysis, the decision as to how far beyond the minima it is desirable or feasible to go with respect to the Tarascans is a matter to be decided by administrative agencies in terms of the data which may be presented by research. This is, of course, begging the question of the ultimate establishment of desirable values, but, for the present, we wish only to establish the main categories within which value problems exist. Using these categories, it should be possible for the scientist to present the problems and data in such a fashion as to serve the interests of both the "pure" and "applied" fields.

The following categories of value problems are offered as representing the basic assumptions on which we may proceed:

1. A reasonable number of square feet of floor space and cubic feet of room space per person are necessary to good health. This assumes that good health in the population is a desirable goal, but we must make some assumptions if this discussion is not to be unduly protracted. The amount of space needed should be possible of empirical determination by medical experimentation, taking into account variations in climate, living habits, clothing, and similar factors.

2. The degree of ventilation necessary for health may be determined.

3. The housing should be sufficiently dry to preserve not only the health of the inmates but any furnishings, food, or other belongings kept in the house.

4. If the climate demands, some method of providing heat is needed, conditioned again by clothing and living habits.

5. The housing should be rodent and insect proof, again to protect health and property.

Other factors of a more complex nature could be brought into this list. Any mention of esthetic

121 satisfactions is also purposely avoided. It is hoped that, in the ensuing sections of the paper, it will be demonstrated that data on Tarascan housing can be presented sensibly in terms of these problems relative to costs, materials, skills, habits, and economic resources. Such a presentation should make it possible for administrators to set goals, and at the same time permit the scientist to establish the relative adequacy of the Tarascan adaptation to environment more explicitly than is usually done.

It perhaps must be emphasized that in the last analysis any system of values or goals chosen must rest with the administrative agency or agents, not with the investigator. It is obvious also that these values may be unduly influenced by the cultural background of the agents. Thus, a southern Californian might show a predilection for frame and stucco construction (or, if he is sensitive, a pronounced antipathy to such construction), while a New Yorker might prefer brick, and a Mexican might lean toward adobe or lime and stone. Such problems lie outside the immediate scope of our purpose. Rather we are concerned with ascertaining whether the data may be presented with reference to problem categories in such a way that the administrator can make a reasonable choice of values and a decision as to the means to be employed in achieving them.

An additional question is whether these data may be presented in such form as to be scientific in character and to meet the needs of the scientist in the pure sense. This is really a dual problem. The first is whether the collection of data for the two ends may reasonably be combined. The second is whether the presentation of data can be combined in a single report. It is our impression that the latter is more difficult than is the first. In any case, we believe we are in a good position to make the attempt. Although some of the funds used in the field work were supplied by a government agency, the Departmento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, absolutely no restrictions were attached to their use, and no efforts were made to influence the place or the direction of the study. We also have little direct personal interest in the solution of the problems posed and can have little hope of influencing any administrative decisions on value standards. Consequently, our attitudes toward values or goals should be relatively neutral. With this lengthy discussion of theoretical problems, we turn now to the concrete attempt to put these ideas into practice.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. V-a]

[p. iv contains no text]

PREFACE

121 The present study was done under the auspices
[122] of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F. The study proposes to serve as a background for the various detailed pueblo monographs executed in the Tarascan area by other members of the Institute.

Being a report on the cultural geography of a region, the present paper is chiefly descriptive, although a developmental treatment has been employed wherever the scanty historical materials would permit. Physical background is only briefly considered; emphasis is on material culture, particularly modern Tarascan economy: agriculture, handicrafts, and trade. In addition, an attempt is made to describe the areal recession of Tarascan speech since Spanish contact.

114 Field work was done in April, May, and June of 1946. With the exception of Cheranátzicurin, all Tarascan towns were visited. Many neigh-

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

121 171 ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

171 526 One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS[1]

A STUDY in a Mexican community provided opportunities for the collection of material for a statistical study of the bases of ethnic identification. In Paracho, a community in the Sierra Tarascan region of Michoacán, it appeared possible that a racial classification of the population might prove useful in the final analysis of certain anthropometric materials. The investigation was to study the effects of migration upon the physical dimensions of returned migrants in comparison with those of non-migrants and a question on the "race" of the subjects' parents was included on the data sheet. After a few records had been taken it became evident that the responses to the "race" question were such that they would be of little aid in the analysis of the anthropometric data, but that they might be of some sociological interest. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the responses to this question with a view to the insights gained into the ethnic categorization of a people by itself.

Although much has been written concerning the definition of Indian and Mestizo in Latin America, to the author's knowledge there has been no quantitative study designed to show the degree to which several possible classificatory devices are employed by the natives of a region in categorizing themselves. Furthermore, there has not been any study designed to show which segments of a population manifest changes in attitudes regarding ethnic identification.

It has frequently been said that membership in either the Indian or the Mestizo (Ladino) group in Latin America is a matter of socio-cultural rather than biological affiliation.[2] In communities where both Indio and Mestizo are locally distinguished, interaction between these groups is said to be similar to either class-like or caste-like relations.[3]

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[1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

[2] Julio de la Fuente, "Ethnic and Communal Relations" in *Heritage of Conquest*, ed. by Sol Tax (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 77.
Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian" in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 282-305.
Harry Tschopik, Jr., *Highland Communities of Central Peru*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 5 (Washington, 1947), pp. 11-15.

[3] Julio de la Fuente, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 *ff.*

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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The Diet of a Tarascan Village

By Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher
(Estados Unidos)

Sumario

El presente artículo es una compilación de datos acerca del régimen alimenticio de los habitantes de Cherán, pueblo tarasco situado en las montañas michoacanas, a 4,500 pies de altura. Cherán es un pequeño pueblo de agricultores relativamente próspero ya que solamente un 10 a 20 por ciento de los habitantes pueden ser clasificados de pobres, no existiendo por otra parte, familias marcadamente ricas.

Para colectar el material de este estudio se emplearon tres métodos. 1. Una lista completa de los productos alimenticios que se consumen. 2. Una colección de los "menús" que forman una comida normal. 3. Algunas familias cultas de la localidad cooperaron consiguiendo una lista completa de los alimentos consumidos en los últimos quince días. La deficiencia de este método estriba en la imposibilidad de incluir en la lista los vegetales que se recogen en los bosques y se consumen como antojo, entre comidas.

Sin embargo, a pesar de la deficiencia del método los datos adquiridos alcanzan una misma conclusión general. Varias tablas van insertas, que muestran el régimen alimenticio. Estas tablas se encuentran distribuídas en la siguiente forma: Tabla 1: Derivada de las diversas fuentes de información. Tabla 2: Muestra el régimen alimenticio de un adulto de familia acomodada. Tabla 3: Un adulto de familia pobre.

Los autores señalan las dificultades que presenta el análisis de estos datos. Por ejemplo existe una gran variedad en el contenido vitamínico de los diversos alimentos y luego la incógnita de si los requisitos de condimentación son los mismos en todas las familias.

Es preciso hacer un estudio minucioso acerca de los alimentos que se consumen en la región, determinando mediante análisis clínicos el valor alimenticio de cada uno para averiguar qué deficiencias de vitaminas ocasionan las enfermedades.

Los autores finalmente propugnan por el mayor consumo en la región de trigo, camote, naranjas, plátanos, leche, y tomates, y recomiendan asimismo se disminuya el consumo del maíz.

121 The collection and analysis of data on the diet of the mountain Tarascan village of Cherán has raised a number of problems which it is believed may be of value to students interested in similar studies. The data and the interpretations given them are necessarily provisional and should not be regarded as more than general suggestions about the dietary situation in the village. Nevertheless, several different approaches gave similar results, and the interpretations should be of some use, pending a more thorough investigation of the subject.[1]

114 [1] The field data upon which this paper is based were collected by the senior author, Ralph L. Beals, assisted by Silvia Rendón and Thomas McCorckle, in the course of general study of the village of Cherán

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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121 [114] made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans [146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 146 One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

146 As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 435 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph. "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in **The Maya and their Neighbors**, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

[text continues on p. 304]

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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the poorest families in town shows that the total food cost for a family of three adults and two children could average as little as 81½ centavos a week or $42.38 (pesos) a year. This would be 16.3 centavos a day per person. In contrast to this, the diet of a relatively wealthy family, in which the household numbered ten persons, cost $12.50 per week or $650.00 per year. This would be $1.25 per person per week, or $65.00 per person per year, again disregarding age differentials.[6]

The suggested improved diet given in table 4 actually might cost even less than the poor family diet presented. The diet in figure 4, is, however, deficient in calories, as has been stated. Even with the addition of sufficient calories, it is possible that the improved diet would not add noticeably to the cost; certainly it would not cost more than a peso a week for the five persons. These data suggest that education in the use of proper foods and the changing of food habits may sometimes be more important than economic betterment as a means of bringing about adequate nutrition.

It must be reiterated, however, that any conclusions suggested in this paper are tentative. Imperfect as the data and interpretations are, it is nevertheless clearly indicated that extensive and accurate nutritional studies are needed. This is true, whether the major aim is to discover the possible relation of nutrition to other cultural factors, or whether it is to map out a program of nutritional improvement for the group.

[6] In these cost estimates, it is assumed all food was purchased; actually some would be grown.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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122 Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several 121 reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of 177 the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. [491] In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The 177 non-Tarascan families were more or less tran- 563 sient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from 121 the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p. 1c]

2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 3]
[P. 2 contains no text]

PREFACE

122 The author wishes to express his thanks to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (formerly The Viking Fund) for a predoctoral fellowship under which the library research and a substantial part of the writing of this paper were done, as well as to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant which allowed the completion of the manuscript.

104 194 In writing Tarascan words we use the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas in 1939. It follows Spanish usage in so far as possible.

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in Spanish. ʌ is a high central vowel.

The consonants b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, p, s, t have Spanish values.

- ȼ is pronounced like Spanish *ts*
- č is pronounced like Spanish *ch*
- z is pronounced like English *dz*
- j is pronounced like English *j*
- ŋ is pronounced like English *ng* in sing. In the Lake dialects it becomes *n*.
- r appical flap, like Spanish *r* in *cara*
- ɹ coronal flap
- š is pronounced like English *sh*
- p',t', etc. are aspirated

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March, 1952

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p. 10b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not 121 attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information 127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul- 114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

Practically all field work in the present 122 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in- 114

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1868, 230-34 (for the village of Cocuseo in 1767); Ocampo, 1900, 398-40 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425-427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1902; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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122 stitutions for the study of the Tarascans.[13] Work began in 1940 and since then the
114 main investigation has included two community studies, one of Cherán, a large Tarascan speaking town of farmers[14] and Tzintzuntzan, a Spanish speaking town of potters and farmers.[15] West gives a general cultural-geographical survey of the area.[16] Other reports are unpublished as yet or are not related to our problem.

114 The field work on which this paper is based, also part of the Tarascan project, took place in 1945. Although drawn for the most part from one single village (Jarácuaro), material on the ideology and lore of the Tarascans was gathered from several other towns. The purpose of the investiga-
121 tion was to obtain a picture of what we might call their world view: ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, the natural and the supernatural elements, the main religious concepts, their folk science or lore. This kind of material is most frequently expressed in narrative folklore.

Cherán and Tzintzuntzan, the two com-
121 munities for which full monographs are available, are rather conservative towns
101 where the agrarian movement has been weak. Jarácuaro, on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro, where most of the author's material was gathered, is a town of hat makers and farmers. From a total population of about 900 only eight men were still agraristas in 1945. Most of the rest of the town considered themselves sinarquistas, were organized, and controlled the local government. Had the problem of this paper been stated before the field work, more material would have been obtained from predominantly agrarista towns, but this monograph deals mostly with the conservative and sinarquista positions. A detailed study of the Tarascan agrarian movement and what it has meant for the Tarascan

13. Rubín de la Borbolla and Beals, 1940; Beals, 1946, ix; Foster, 1948, 1.
14. Beals, 1946.
15. Foster, 1948.
16. West, 1948.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. V-a]

[P. iV contains no Text]

PREFACE

121 The present study was done under the auspices of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smith-
[122] sonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F. The study proposes to serve as a background for the various detailed pueblo monographs executed in the Tarascan area by other members of the Institute.

Being a report on the cultural geography of a region, the present paper is chiefly descriptive, although a developmental treatment has been employed wherever the scanty historical materials would permit. Physical background is only briefly considered; emphasis is on material culture, particularly modern Tarascan economy: agriculture, handicrafts, and trade. In addition, an attempt is made to describe the areal recession of Tarascan speech since Spanish contact.

114 Field work was done in April, May, and June of 1946. With the exception of Cheranátzicurin, all Tarascan towns were visited. Many neigh-

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 186 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from 554 an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally 533 performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[122] Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS[1]

121 A STUDY in a Mexican community provided opportunities for the collection of material for a statistical study of the bases of ethnic identification. In Paracho, a community in the Sierra Tarascan region of Michoacán, it appeared possible that a racial classification of the population might prove useful in the final analysis of certain anthropometric materials. The investigation was to study the effects of migration upon the physical dimensions of returned migrants in comparison with those of non-migrants and a question on the "race" of the subjects' parents was included on the data sheet. After a few records had been taken it became evident that the responses to the "race" question were such that they would be of little aid in the analysis of the anthropometric data, but that they might be of some sociological interest. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the responses to this question with a view to the insights gained into the ethnic categorization of a people by itself.

114 Although much has been written concerning the definition of Indian and Mestizo in Latin America, to the author's knowledge there has been
121 no quantitative study designed to show the degree to which several possible classificatory devices are employed by the natives of a region in categorizing themselves. Furthermore, there has not been any study designed to show which segments of a population manifest changes in attitudes regarding ethnic identification.

121 It has frequently been said that membership in either the Indian or the Mestizo (Ladino) group in Latin America is a matter of socio-cultural
186 rather than biological affiliation.[2] In communities where both Indio and Mestizo are locally distinguished, interaction between these groups is said to be similar to either class-like or caste-like relations.[3]

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[122] [1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

[2] Julio de la Fuente, "Ethnic and Communal Relations" in *Heritage of Conquest*, ed. by Sol Tax (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 77.
Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian" in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 282-305.
Harry Tschopik, Jr., *Highland Communities of Central Peru*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 5 (Washington, 1947), pp. 11-15.

[3] Julio de la Fuente, op. cit., pp. 76 ff.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 3]

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854
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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.

Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 3a]

126 Usually, field notes were classified, typed in triplicate, and filed according to a modification of the system of the Outline of Cultural Materials prepared by George P. Murdock and others for use in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University (Murdock and others, 1938). In this way it was possible for all workers to find immediately what had already been collected on a subject and to discover discrepancies in accounts when these existed. The system also served to show deficiencies in the data.

123 Certain other problems in field methods arose. Cherán habita place some obstacles in the way of field work. The main occupations of the town are farming and forest exploitation. In [512] the former case, men are usually in the fields all day, often at points several miles distant from town. In the latter instance, men may be away from town for 4 or 5 days at a time. In certain seasons the town is almost deserted during the day. As women will not talk with strange men [609] in the absence of their husbands, it often took many visits to find at home a man we wished to query on some specific point. In addition, yards are surrounded by high walls and it is customary to greet visitors at the yard gate and converse with them on the street. Consequently, it is difficult to gain much insight into home life. Only women can get free access into the houses, and it is unfortunate that Sra. Rendón could not have spent full time in the field. Certain aspects of this study would then have been much better than they are.

In general, the method followed was first to discuss a topic with Sr. Chávez in detail, obtaining from him as complete an account as possible. In some cases Sr. Chávez also wrote supplementary accounts. Efforts were always made to get the names of specific people who were involved. Once we had obtained what might be considered Sr. Chávez's view of a particular aspect of the culture, this was sometimes checked with Sr. Rangel. On other occasions we started with Sr. Rangel and checked with Sr. Chávez. An effort was then made to visit and talk with a large number of the people concerned. For example, after securing Sr. Chávez' account of childbirth, a list of all the professional midwives in town was secured. These were all then visited by Dr. Palacios and interviewed intensively. Some were inter-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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viewed independently by other staff members. Data were likewise taken from as many women as possible. In another instance, accounts were secured of as many fiestas and *mayordomías* as possible. Each *mayordomo* and other ceremonial official was then visited and interviewed, often several times. Finally, in this instance, as many ceremonies as possible were observed. In the case of economic life, virtually every specialist in town was interviewed and the data were checked and cross-checked. In addition, a representative sample of forest workers and farmers were interviewed. This process was facilitated by the existence of a complete roster of males of voting age for two *barrios*, together with their major occupations, given to us by the town authorities. In the case of farmers, the tax rolls of the tax collector's office were opened to us, giving some check on land ownership. Some fields were paced to estimate size (measurement was out of the question for various local reasons), and observations were made on the length of time taken to complete various farm tasks. At harvest time, the actual production of fields was determined by observing the harvest closely. In this case, data given by informants proved markedly variable from the facts. Prices of all products were established by questioning numerous producers and also by questioning buyers. Obviously procedures varied with different topics, but the examples given perhaps sufficiently indicate the general method employed.

In conclusion, acknowledgment should be made of assistance and encouragement given by persons not directly concerned with the field study. Dr. Morris Swadesh, director of the *Proyecto Tarasco*, an experiment in bilingual education with headquarters in the nearby town of Paracho, together with all the members of his staff, was extremely helpful in many ways. Scores of residents of Michoacán at one time or another rendered personal assistance. In Mexico City, Dr. Paul Kirchhoff and Miguel O. de Mendizabal were helpful, both in personal matters and in giving numerous suggestions and leads for problems to investigate. Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, then chief of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas,

632 fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. In-
651 come from this source averages $5 or $6 weekly.

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

It should be noted that real estate taxes in
[642] Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed $300 a month. At other times it may be as low as $125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about $1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher,
● [123] but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

632 Expenditures against income are as follows:
652

	Per month
Two policemen at $0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20
[651] pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.116b]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p, 137a]

MAYORDOMÍAS

7% *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

For the most part the *mayordomías* are 782 undertaken to secure some future good or to 7% give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. 788 Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
● [123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
754 but there are few special treatments for them. Only the evil eye must be guarded against
854 especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

585 lings and cousins and grandparents of the groom together have hired another band and at this time they separate themselves from the rest of the groom's relatives. [They go through the streets with the musicians, ultimately going to the house of one of the groom's uncles where they eat dinner. The remainder of the groom's relatives and the guests eat at the house of the groom. Tortillas, kurúndas (tamales), and čuripo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and chunks of beef) are served.]

After the dinner is served, the party is prepared to go for the bride. This is called the p'ipejperakua. The party consists of the parents of the groom and their brothers and all the friends of the parents. [Actually not all go; those who are invited to go on the party are given iris leaves which they carry with them. Staff members at weddings were frequently given invitations to accompany the party in this same form.] The same relatives of the bride are all assembled at her house, ready, as are the friends of the parents. [The party of the groom's relatives is accompanied by musicians. The party goes first to the house of the godparents of the bride. They serenade the house outside and then the closer relatives enter the house. They form a circle before the godfather and the godmother of the bride. The marriage manager makes a long but informal speech, asking permission to take the bride. The godfather replies, giving his permission. All present then shake hands with the godfather and godmother, making a movement simulating kissing the hand. The group leaves the house, accompanied by the godparents.] Arriving at the house of the bride's parents, the groom's relatives immediately ask for the bride. [Actually, only the closer relatives again go inside, accompanied by the musicians. The marriage manager again asks for the bride.] When consent is granted, they start for the groom's house, carrying with them the clothing they have ready. [For a big wedding a procession of a hundred or more people may have formed by the time the group returns to the groom's house.] In the meantime the other relatives of the boy [the siblings, cousins, and grandparents] arrive with their musicians and do the same [that is, they take off the siblings, cousins, and grandparents of the bride] who carry quantities of clothing. This consists of shirts for men and women, trousers for men, jackets for men and women, sashes for women, and bags, and tortilla cloths, the latter two objects to be given the groom at the time all the others are changing clothing and bread. In the house of the groom's father the guests are all seated as before. [The godmothers are again seated on mats in the center and the bride sits for a time beside the godmother of baptism. Guests continue to arrive and additional ribbons are tied in the hair of the godmothers and long and elaborate paper ornaments fastened to sticks are placed in the hair. All the relatives of the groom give cigarettes to the groom's father when they arrive in the courtyard for the first time and also give cigarettes to the godfathers

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.9b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

1

INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

● 123 The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

182 The problem, then, of integrating the phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

121 The concept of folk culture as something different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

[p. 2b]

115 his aunt, Doña Feliciana Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

A particular debt of gratitude is also due [875] Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one or the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as [624] town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

124 The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

126 A word should be said about field methods at this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [775] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

Some further insight into production prob- 433 lems may be gained by detailed studies of 434 specific activities. These data throw light 128 upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi- 433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so 124

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.64b]

124 much secrecy or misleading information given.
243 Three sources of information were used: (1)
433 Data from farmers about their own activities. All this information is suspect, even after eliminating obviously false answers. (2) Data from Agustín Rangel, who was interested in establishing himself as a farmer and probably was a good and relatively unbiased observer. (3) Observation of farm practices and participation in harvests on roughly measured fields. Actual measurement of fields was undesirable and would have caused trouble.

243 In table 1 are given the various data collected on farm yields. The average of figures given
433 by farmers is about the top figure given by Rangel for average land in a poor year. It is slightly above the figure for the yield of average land in a poor year as secured by participation in the harvest. The cross checks suggest the figures given by farmers are on the whole plausible although probably low. The figures given by any individual farmer, however, may be quite incorrect. This should be borne in mind throughout the discussion.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*

ESTIMATE BY OWNERS

Number of hectares cultivated	Yield (per hectare) in—		Value of crop
	Carpas	*Fanegas*	
2½	40	30	.....
10½	180	135	.....
½	[1]7	5¼	.....
½	20	15	$90–110
½	10	7½	60– 70
½	5	3¾	25
½	10	7½	65
¼[2] (early-frost area)	3	2¼	15
4	90	70	350–400
1	10	7½	40
1½	10	7½	40
½	12	9	55
½	12	9	55
Average	...	14%	.....

ESTIMATE BY AGUSTIN RANGEL

Type of land and year	Average yield per hectare	
	Carpas	*Fanegas*
Best land:		
Average year	40	30
Bad year	15–25	11¼–18¾
Average land:		
Average year	30	22½
Bad year	5–20	3¾–15
Poor land	.....	1½

[1] An exceptionally rich "joya," a fertile depression in the mountains fertilized by drainage from surrounding slopes.

[2] This is a stupendous yield, if true, but the land is said to be exceptionally located, with fertilization from adjoining slopes.

[3] Data in this line are typical of information from owners. One area given as ½ hectare yields a crop to be expected of a full hectare; on inspection, it proved to be nearly 3 hectares.

[124]

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
231 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433

WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho. 186 563

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration. 125

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized. 124 [114] 128

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking. 186 [563]

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio*, *Indígena*, *Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesciado*, *Cruzado*, *As razon*, Mestizo, half and half, revueltos, and white.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield
113 and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

362 513 kitchen. With few exceptions, the entire family sleeps on mats about the fire. Cold weather and lack of bedding are given as the reasons for this. Even where a masonry-adobe structure with a bed exists, the family normally sleeps in the kitchen.

On ceremonial occasions modifications occur. 362 The house to some extent becomes a center of activities, while cooking will move into the open or under supplementary sheds. These occasions are not many. In the main, family life takes place outdoors when the weather permits; in the kitchen when it does not. The term "house" in practice is a euphemism, and some members of the family may not enter the structure for days at a time.

592 HOUSE SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

362 A survey of Cherán houses was made to deter-
125 mine the relationship between size of buildings

[p. 28d]

592 and the number of persons in the household. A
362 sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent
125 of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

592 It is evident that in an appreciable number of
362 cases more than one family occupies a lot. This
[735] situation may be due to several causes. In some instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty.
[591] In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

362 In those cases where no house existed, 15 out
[735] of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however, that cases may exist where the person may be relatively comfortable financially and has not built a house because he has no agricultural land and hence no great need for storage space. In most cases where more than 1 family occupied a lot, there is a separate kitchen for each family. In the 22 cases in which more than 1 family occu-

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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A word should be said about field methods at 126 this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

[p. 3a]

126 Usually, field notes were classified, typed in triplicate, and filed according to a modification of the system of the Outline of Cultural Materials prepared by George P. Murdock and others for use in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University (Murdock and others, 1938). In this way it was possible for all workers to find immediately what had already been collected on a subject and to discover discrepancies in accounts when these existed. The system also served to show deficiencies in the data.

Certain other problems in field methods arose. 123 Cherán habits place some obstacles in the way of field work. The main occupations of the town are farming and forest exploitation. In [512] the former case, men are usually in the fields all day, often at points several miles distant from town. In the latter instance, men may be away from town for 4 or 5 days at a time. In certain seasons the town is almost deserted during the day. As women will not talk with strange men [609] in the absence of their husbands, it often took many visits to find at home a man we wished to query on some specific point. In addition, yards are surrounded by high walls and it is customary to greet visitors at the yard gate and converse with them on the street. Consequently, it is difficult to gain much insight into home life. Only women can get free access into the houses, and it is unfortunate that Sra. Rendón could not have spent full time in the field. Certain aspects of this study would then have been much better than they are.

In general, the method followed was first to discuss a topic with Sr. Chávez in detail, obtaining from him as complete an account as possible. In some cases Sr. Chávez also wrote supplementary accounts. Efforts were always made to get the names of specific people who were involved. Once we had obtained what might be considered Sr. Chávez's view of a particular aspect of the culture, this was sometimes checked with Sr. Rangel. On other occasions we started with Sr. Rangel and checked with Sr. Chávez. An effort was then made to visit and talk with a large number of the people concerned. For example, after securing Sr. Chávez' account of childbirth, a list of all the professional midwives in town was secured. These were all then visited by Dr. Palacios and interviewed intensively. Some were inter-

1:Beals E -5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796
535

gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choregraphic description (and being unable to witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

[126]

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, turí'a, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or boys are sought, "alert people, good learners, who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the koroníče.

[883]

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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Sierra Tarascans

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126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield
113 and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

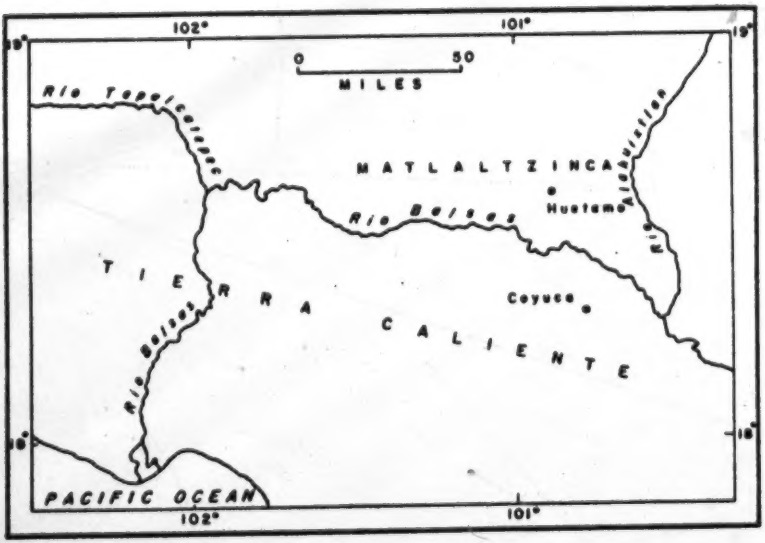
115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style. 115 539

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author. 539 126

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual 175 114



102 103 131 133 361

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison. 539 114

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p. 10b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not 121 attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information 127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios,* lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul- 114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

Practically all field work in the present 122 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in- 114

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1888, 330-34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1767); Ocampo, 1900, 288-90 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425-427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1903; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro
Cañada

362 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada,
184 where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

HISTORY OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE[7]

342 houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would
[173] be untrustworthy.

Some of the data available from the 16th
342 century refer to a wider area than that covered
127 by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"[9] of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.[10] The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.[11]

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."[12]

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (iauárukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*" (today k'uta', in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza*, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxcata."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j*, *k*; *m* is described in the text as a provisional

[9] Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

[10] F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

[11] Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y governación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

[12] Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 135. Mexico, 1938.

342
127

FIGURE 19.—Representations of houses in the plates of the "Relación de Michoacán."

shelter). The roofs appear to be of straw or palm, in some cases with a very large comb or crest undoubtedly resulting from the manner of interweaving the palm at the ridge of the roof. In other cases, the roof is pyramidal or conical and is surmounted by something which may be an inverted pottery vessel. This is what may be referred to by Gilberti: "hucahtsiqua, *un remate que se pone encima de la casa,*" and "*chapitel de casa pajisa,* hucahtsiqua."[13] Verandas are depicted in the plates and references to them are made in the text.

342
177

It is evident that modern houses do not correspond to those of the 16th century. Adobe walls may be pre-Hispanic, but the present methods of construction reveal Spanish influence.

[13] Hucahtsiqua (in the alphabet of the "Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas" pikiⱬakua) can be analyzed as "a thing placed on a summit."

[4.34a]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

342 Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and
177 the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

342 Wooden houses are not mentioned in the
127 "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the *cabeceras* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identificable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the úmutakata, for in Gilberti occurs "tairimba *troje asentado en cuarto palos.*" The houses of canes and poles (tairindacata of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

The principal historical problem is to deter-
342 mine whether the shake roof and the log wall
177 with interlocking corners is of European or pre-Hispanic American origin. Both elements are
171 well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil*, tasámani) are both derived from the Nautl tlaxamanilli, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,[14] and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.[15] A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

[14] In shepherds' huts of the Basque country. Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español, vol. 1, p. 61, pl. 7. 1935.
[15] Papeles de Nueva España, vol 6, p. 281. Madrid, 1905.

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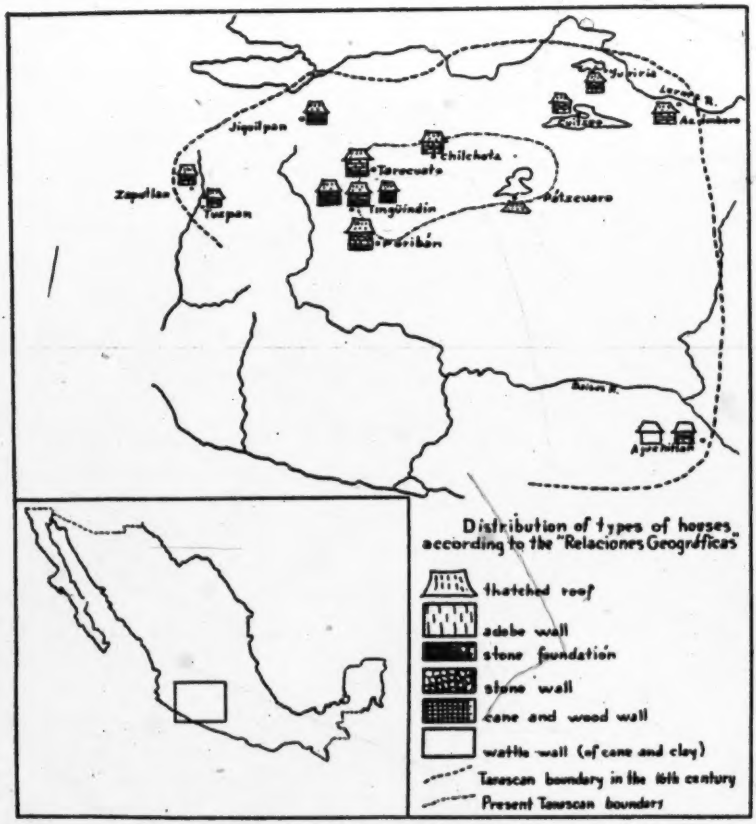

FIGURE 20.—Distribution of types of houses according to the "Relaciones geográficas."

[p.35]

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
177 It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes
[171] were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

The history of shakes and of interlocked log
342 structures cannot, however, be resolved defini-
171 tively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
343 the Tarascan ¢arímba (in Angahuan) suggests
● 127 that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

343 de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing
127 food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-
342 Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe,
174 with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards
177 introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. V-B]

PREFACE

114 boring mestizo pueblos (formerly Tarascan) were inspected to obtain comparative data. Approximately two-thirds of the field season was spent in the Sierra. Archival research was done in the 127 Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán, Morelia, the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F., and the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F.

115 I am especially indebted to Sr. Pablo Valásquez G., a native Tarascan and anthropology student, who accompanied me in the field. His intimate knowledge of the Tarascan Sierra, its language, and many of its customs was an invaluable aid, not only in the field, but also while the report was in preparation. Velásquez read a large part of the manuscript and corrected the use and spelling of all Tarascan words employed in the text.

ROBERT C. WEST.

MEXICO, D. F.
March 1947.

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
[166] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were estab-
[166] lished *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech[23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
[127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1759, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746–48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1808, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 14a]

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas,
177 however, particularly the pastures of the ever-
green marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu
district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish
in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of
Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of
Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of
native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala
and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech
had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff.
192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east
Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching
farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of
Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still
held, but that of Huetamo had probably disap-
peared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The
Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro
el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a
large proportion of native speech. Fifty years
later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people
had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly
a result of frequent military and political upheav-
als following the struggle for independence. In
1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of inter-
mittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had
disappeared from the northern grasslands, except
for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge
of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the
colonial period, the native language in the North
gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

The western area.—Immediately west of the
563 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
191 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was
177 early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the
beginning of the 17th century the large graben
valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias,
and the settlement of Cotija was composed en-
tirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this
valley, except its eastern end, was an island of
Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

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[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1800. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1848; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1862.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

105 To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the [263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanilla*, [278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is collected from November to May. [252] The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly 412 of some importance, is collecting *raíz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in Italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

232 common. If wounds are bound, carefully washed lard mixed with sugar may be applied or wet dressings may be used, dampened at frequent intervals with salt water.

Rabies is believed to be caused by the bite of some other animal, by inadequate food, or by heat. There is no cure.

Dysentery, *"posición,"* in horses and burros is believed to be caused by cold or *"salitre,"* a very salty mineral-bearing earth. The animal is fed pills of coffee, lemon, and bicarbonate of soda.

"Onia" is caused by overwork, but the symptoms were not recorded. Treatment is bleeding the side of the neck and rest. (In general, [753] overwork is regarded as an important cause of sickness.)

Sore feet result from the feet becoming full of blood. The bottom of the foot is bled and the animal must rest until well.

"Roncha" is a disease caused by mosquito bites; if it is not cured within 24 hours, the animal usually dies. Symptoms and treatment were not recorded.

"Pirojon" is very dangerous and kills in 24 hours. It is believed to be caused by mosquitoes or flies that have bitten a dead animal already putrefying. One curer burns the bites with a magnifying glass.

Evil eye, *malojo,* may affect animals that refuse to eat. There is no cure. The best thing is to sell the animal to the man who cast the evil eye (at his price usually); the animal then recovers.

[925] Bats are reported to bite animals at night and make them bleed. Nothing is done to prevent this. As it is said bats never bite humans, and as Cherán probably is above the range of vampire bats, the report may be folklore.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

128 In the previous sections were described the technological processes which involve the exploitation of the environment and the extraction therefrom of raw materials. The present section will describe techniques by which the raw materials are processed and made ready for consumption. Obviously, such classifications must be somewhat elastic. No doubt, good reasons could be advanced against including domesticated animals under exploitative activi-

128 ties. Neither are descriptions of dress or house use entirely appropriate under the heading of manufacturing processes. Nevertheless, there is a certain cultural or associative logic involved which would be violated by too rigid adherence to the literal meaning of categories.

CERAMICS

339 No native ceramic industry exists in Cherán. [323] Pottery is not made, but in 1940 two men, both non-Tarascans, made roofing tile and brick.

[413]

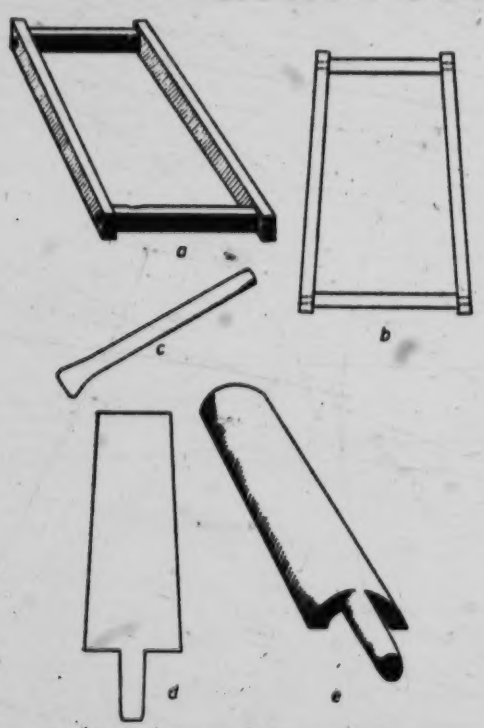

FIGURE 5.—Tilemaker's implements. *a*, Perspective view of the mold. *b*, Direct view of the mold to show proportions and the shape, which is narrower at one end than the other. *c*, Wooden chisel or knife used to loosen clay from mold if necessary (length about 18 inches with other artifacts in proportion). *d*, Outline of the form for tiles. *e*, Perspective view of the form for tiles. The mold is filled with clay and the top smoothed. The mold is then lifted up, leaving the clay on a bench top. The clay is then slid onto the form to receive the curved shape of the tile. After a few minutes drying, the unfired tile is slipped off the form onto the floor to complete the drying process.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.476]

333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

Barbers.—Most men in Cherán now have
305 their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

Water carriers.—In most households the
312 women bring the water from the fountain or
482 aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders.
462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

Consideration of food processing in this
128 section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

The storage of food is confined primarily to
251 maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [775] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

Some further insight into production prob- 433 lems may be gained by detailed studies of 434 specific activities. These data throw light 128 upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi- 433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so 124

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 91a]

181 with the larger national economy. Some of the
55% deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

[text continues on top of p. 91b]

THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in
128 several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an admin-
632 istrative unit, smaller than the usual county in
634 the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

[text continues on middle of p. 91b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

A very clever man once went up on San
823 Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
821 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
263 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the
789 fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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121 historically those segments of our Western
181 civilization among which industrialism did not arise (peasantry and colonial peoples), and among which its influences were latest to act. Thus, although in many basic economic, social and religious aspects the Tarascans are incorporated into Western society and must be considered part of it, they still keep many traits and institutions which characterize their subcultures as more similar in many respects to the primitive than to our civilization.

* * *

The present paper is an attempt to pre-
121 sent the relation between local and national cultures as seen in one aspect of culture, in this case religion. The problem is to see how changes in the economic and social structure of Mexico in general and the Tarascan area in particular affect the development of Tarasan folk religion. National processes such as the loss of communal ownership of land, the separation of Church and State, the capitalist development of Mexico, the Mexican agrarian revolution, the anticlerical movement and the rise of a militant Catholic movement among the peasantry will be discussed in their local manifestations and their effect on religion.

The economic structure of the peasant
128 communities will be outlined first in order to provide a socio-economic background to
121 our problem. The type of village community which is based on communal ownership of land — a type which was formed during colonial times by a blending of Spanish and Indian institutions — will be described first. The formation of large private estates *(haciendas)* from early colonial times on, and the abolition of communal ownership of land (1857-1910) impoverished the communities and increased the differences in wealth among the villagers. During the Mexican Revolution (1910 on) groups of peasants organized to obtain land from neighboring estates. In most Tarascan towns, which had no such estates in their neighborhood, these agraristas, lacking haciendas, seized properties from richer villagers or from formerly communal lands. Thus a new privileged minority was formed. The majority of the villages reacted against these reformers and in most cases won power in the local administrations. (Chapter 2.)

The main traits of the folk religion, the system of financing the cult, and the close relation between government and local organization of the cult will be examined in

121 order to show how the changes discussed in Chapter 2 brought about the decay of the traditional organization of religious festi-
129 vals. The heavy burden of financing the traditional cult had been a factor in hastening the impoverishment of some villagers. The agraristas were anticlerical and abolished the cult. In this they were fostered by the anti-religious policy of the government. The reaction against the agraristas, on the other hand, has been militantly Catholic, but the decline of religious folk festivals and of the body of officials organizing them still continues, although this reaction occurs under the guise of more orthodox Catholicism and is supported by the Church. (Chapter 3.)

The social content of the religious ideology as expressed in concepts of good and evil will be discussed in Chapter 4. The values sanctioned in religion are to some extent those peculiar to the folk culture, for instance, proper family relations. To the extent that they sanction national institutions, religious ideas and folklore sanction adherance to the Church and to private property. The religious tinge of political factions is apparent in the use of traditional lore by the Catholics in trying to prove the wickedness of the opposite party. Thus they use religion as an ideology in order to further their cause in the same way as they lean on the Church as an institution in order to support their social policies.

The question of belief will also be discussed. A more conservative attitude characterized by total belief in religious ideas and myths corresponds to the folk level of culture. The general trend, however, is toward disbelief in the content of folk ideas and acceptance of outside (national) authority (i. e., of the Church or schools). Political allegiance influences this tendency. While some anticlerical individuals doubt basic beliefs of the Catholic religion, the militant Catholics show a trend away from the folk beliefs under the acceptance of a more orthodox Catholicism.

A summary of conclusions will be given in Chapter 5.

* * *

128 Chapters 2 and 3 are based mainly on published material providing some historical perspectives, and only partly on field work. Chapter 4 is based almost exclusively on field work. As practically nothing on the subject discussed in this chapter appears in historical sources, historical interpreta-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p. 10b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not 121 attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics 127 and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan culture in the late-nineteenth century, on the 114 eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

Practically all field work in the present 122 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in- 114

6. Estado . . . . 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1868, 330–34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1767); Ocampo, 1900, 388–90 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425–427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1902; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 53.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 166.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1861, 24.

775 tend to identify them with devils or to say that the Devil is behind all that.
778 Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
● 128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

105 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a 177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national 621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

Catholicism, the state religion, was also 771 the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. 794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the cacicazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of [101] some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, [105] bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-[423] clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following 128 historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete po-594 litical functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in 66 over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and 612 these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.

423 A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or 66

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho. 186 563

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration. 125

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized. 124 [114] 128

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking. 186 [563]

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio*, *Indígena*, *Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesclado*, *Cruzado*, *de razon*, *Mestizo*, half and half, revueltas, and white.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield
113 and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than
262 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than mi-
556 nimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vita-
511 min B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories.

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it
[184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 ment of Agriculture Circular Nº 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard,
113 **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular Nº 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin Nº 707, 1939: and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

146 262 511 556

still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

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The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

114 121

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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121 [114] made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans [146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 146 One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

146 As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 435 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph. "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in **The Maya and their Neighbors**, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

[text continues on p. 304]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their pre-
[128] sumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and
805 Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación*
[175] *de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief
786 priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the
793 nation and its princes.
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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539
The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [199]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 113
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónsecuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 809
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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

13| ritory is close to the railroad which runs
10| through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes. The southern boundary might be defined roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan and thence close to the railway from Uruapan to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs just inside the northern limits and in others, just outside. Within or near the borders of the present-day Tarascan area occur a number of old Mexican towns closely associated with the historic Tarascans and their contemporary culture, which provide the administrative centers and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other towns of local importance have arisen more
[563] recently, towns which were once Tarascan but are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated Tarascans. A good example of such a town is Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may be characterized generally as an elevated temperate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood forests. In detail there are differences, and a number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages are either on the shore or upon islands in the lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but is concentrated in the summer months. The climate is temperate and cool even in midsummer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about by hills and mountains covered with forest. Although there is but little difference in elevation from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warmer and some tropical or subtropical plants such as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada. Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[912] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas, and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 7a]

13 West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about
133 equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcu-
[361] aro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages, and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

Except for occasional marginal farm clear-
137 ings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where
[311] relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

Wherever the land is sufficiently level to per-
311 mit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smal-
311 ler extent, wheat, are almost the only field
241 crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 4a]

000 gave much time and effort to forward the program. Dr. Alfonso Caso discussed many problems and gave valuable advice. Numerous members of the staff of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional also gave of their time. President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, arranged a special leave of absence to make the study possible. Above all, thanks are due to Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, then head of the Department of Anthropology of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional and now director of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, collaborator in the general program, who gave many days of his time in completing necessary arrangements to make the study possible.

In addition to the persons mentioned, I wish also to express my gratitude to those who have helped further the general Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans: General Lázaro Cárdenas, former President of the United States of Mexico; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, Berkeley,

[continued on top of p. 4b]

THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

131 The modern Tarascans occupy the west central section of northern Michoacán, Mexico. In prehistoric times the Tarascan area was larger, including most of the State of Michoacán, except possibly the rather abrupt and not very hospitable seacoast, as well as parts of the State of Jalisco to the northwest, Guanajuato to the northeast, and the lower end of the Balsas River basin in Guerrero to the south. This expanded area apparently represented the results of a series of conquests. Two or three centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tarascan area probably was not greatly different from that of today.

The State of Michoacán is one of the most 161 densely populated rural States of Mexico. It lies to the west of Mexico City, and its capital, Morelia, is about 250 miles from the National Capital by road or railroad. Despite its dense population, much of the State is rugged and mountainous. Its eastern and northern parts 133 are on the plateau of México. Level areas are often above 7,000 feet elevation, but, although it is technically a part of the Central Mexican plateau, only the northern margins of the State

[continued in middle of p. 4b]

133 Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this
[132] range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzucuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact
[136] that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some
[132] areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from
[312] almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

131 The present-day range of the Tarascans can-
101 not be defined with great accuracy, partly because of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

13| ritory is close to the railroad which runs
through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
10| The southern boundary might be defined
roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan
and thence close to the railway from Uruapan
to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from
Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs
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the present-day Tarascan area occur a number
of old Mexican towns closely associated with the
historic Tarascans and their contemporary cul-
ture, which provide the administrative centers
and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los
Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
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[563] recently, towns which were once Tarascan but
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[312] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas,
and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

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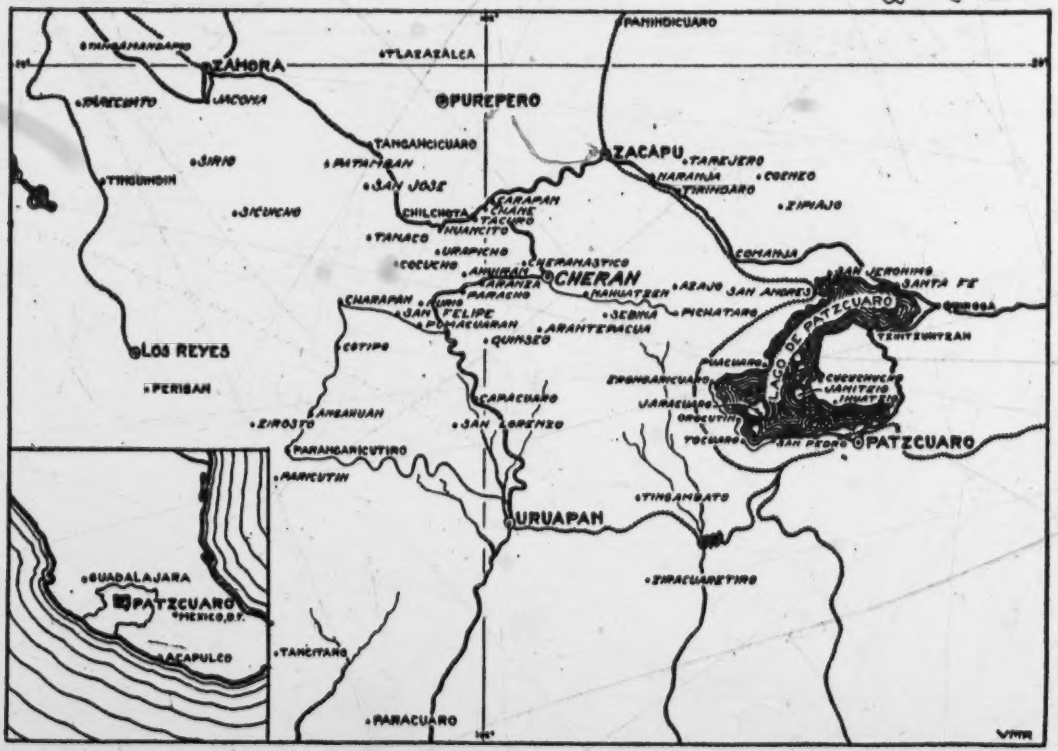

MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in italic are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestizo origin or are primarily Mestizo in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cherán; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

[p. 6]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no Text]

1

INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. [161] They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

131 In the 16th century, the Tarascans occupied the State of Michoacán and some adjacent parts of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Guerrero. Today they are reduced to part of central Michoacán, including the regions of Lake Pátzcuaro, Zacápu, La Cañada, and the Sierra. The present area extends from Lake Pátzcuaro on the east to near Los Reyes on the West, and from La Cañada south to Uruapan (fig. 1).

114 This study refers solely to the region where Tarascan is still spoken, and, more particularly,

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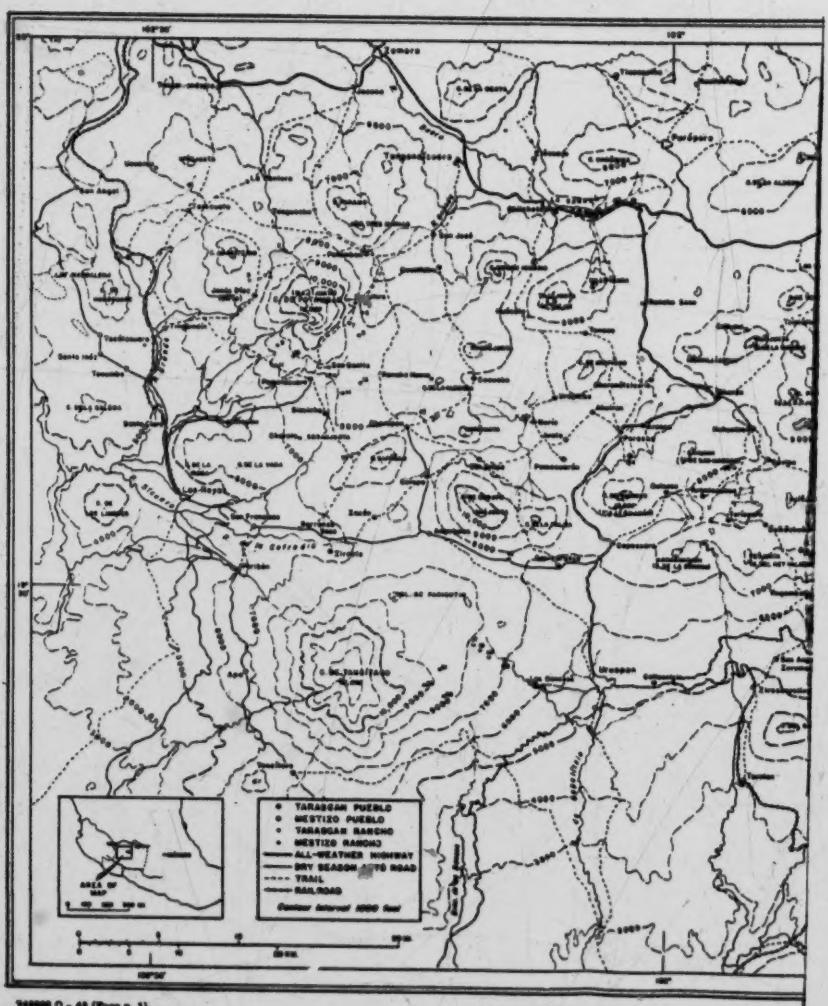

948000 O - 48 (Face p. 1)

MAP 1.—Topographic map of the modern Tara

[Facing page 1; section A]

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Topographic map of the modern Tarascan area.

[Facing page 1; section B]

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) in northwestern Michoacán. Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siériš) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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[1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 643A (Uruapan) of the
102 AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S.
131 Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photo-
133 graphy taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arachúcuta.	27. Patambicho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojas.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupio.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolas.	30. Tarerio.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Ucasanástacua.
6. Tapan.	19. La Atascada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepemal.	34. Yunuén.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tepetata.	35. Tecoena.
10. Queréndaro.	23. Tejamanil.	36. Urandén Morales.
11. Zarzamora.	24. Pacápatiro.	37. Urandén Morelos.
12. San Luis Sorena.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandén Carian.
13. La Jolla.	26. Opongulo.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1940 census) are not located: Tzintzicha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Encinillas and Los Laureles (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Parácho); Revolución (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itzipatimucu (municipio of Tzintzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 1 C]

131 101 boundary approximates the México-Guadalajara highway, while the steep escarpment that plunges into the Balsas-Tepalcatepec Basin marks its southern limit. An eastward extension lies south and southeast of the lake and joins with the Sierra de Ozumatlán in eastern Michoacán. Containing [162] 60 percent of the present indigenous group, the Sierra west of the lake is the modern center of the Tarascans. (2) The Lake Pátzcuaro (Japúndaɹu, Inčámecuaɹu) area contains 19 percent of the [162] Tarascan population distributed in 13 pueblos and 13 ranchos along the lake shore and on the islands. Formerly one of the political centers of the Tarascan Empire, the lake region, in terms of indigenous speech, has declined rapidly since late colonial times. The speech of the entire south [191] shore and the towns of Quiroga, Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro is predominantly Spanish. North and northeast of the Sierra lie two small areas of indigenous speech, which appear to be remnants of the once large northern Tarascan zone. One of these is (3) La Cañada (Erášeman), a small narrow valley located at the northern edge of the Sierra. This valley was the region of the "onze pueblos" of [162] colonial days. Today nine towns with 9 percent of the total Tarascan population are clustered along a strip of alluvium within the valley. (4) The other remnant of the northern zone lies north and northwest of Lake Pátzcuaro and contains seven pueblos and 9.5 percent of the total number [162] of Tarascan-speaking folk.[3] Other regions of Tarascan speech consist of "islands" south of the main area. Cuanajo, located southwest of Morelia in the western[1] extension of the Sierra, is the last fragment of the former indigenous area southeast of Lake Pátzcuaro. San Angel Zurumucapio and the newly formed towns (Caltzontzin and Villa Silva) harboring refugees from the stricken

[3] These pueblos include Tirindaro, Tarejaro, and Naranja on the shore of former Zacapu marsh; Azajo and Comanja on the northeastern edge of the Sierra; Taremendo and Zipiajo at the northern foot of Cerro el Zirate.

1 [Probably should read "eastern" if referring to Tarascan Sierra.—Analyst.]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 2-d]

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
[191] Formerly an important part of the Tarascan Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Juío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
[166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1946), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1945).

[P. 12 a]

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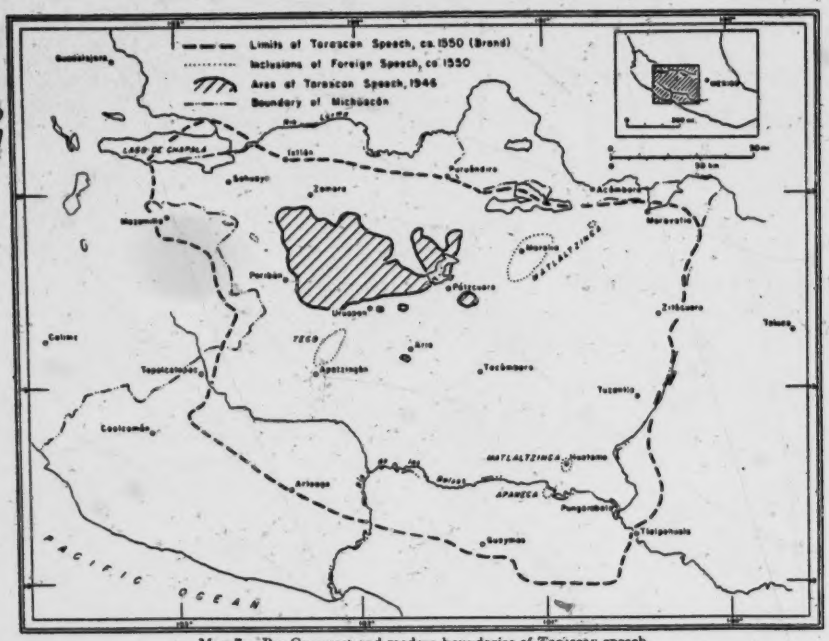

MAP 7.—Pre-Conquest and modern boundaries of Tarascan speech.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

121 171 ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

171 526 One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
[114] pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanancha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but apparently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
443 brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoacán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people because they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the present parish priest was in residence.

178 But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
533 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same specialized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

11: Boyá H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation. 80 [131]

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved. 173 173 173 82

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions. 173 829 [177]

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block. 131

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of pre-Conquest days. 131 361 [173]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and [361] Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of 133 the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an aston- 361 ishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with 463 its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, 438 wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

178 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, 179 whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright 000 red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German [114] scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable [172] sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early [131] date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4,5 (1953) 1958
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[P.3]

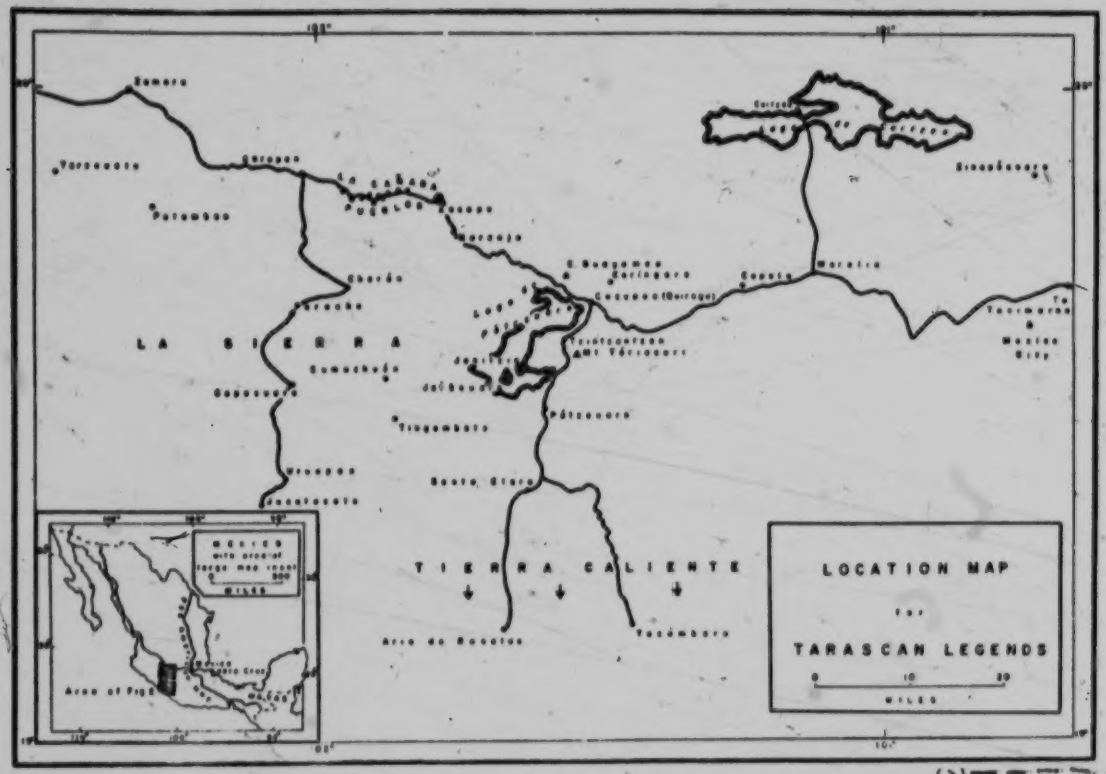

Fig. 1. Map of the Tarascan Area.

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style.

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author.

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual

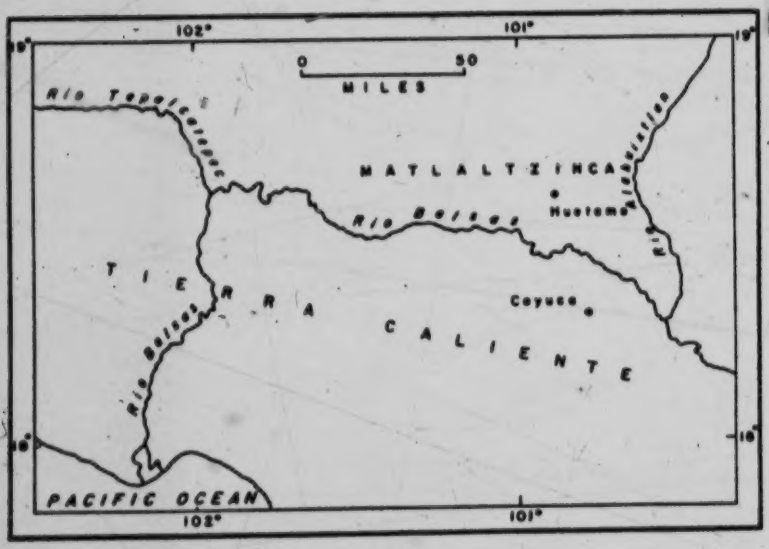

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
726 and other data essential to a successful compaign.

Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 173 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [175] [648] [997]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself. 539 113 [871] [194] [996] [128]

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story. 539

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged. [131] [182] 539 177 178 [43] [463]

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 539 829 577

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.4b]

000 Calif.; Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, former Chief, Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico; Dr. Gerardo Varela, Director of the Escuela Nacional de Ciencis Biológicas, Mexico; Lic. Gilberto Loyo, Director General of the Census, Mexico; Dr. J. B. Lockey, former Chairman, Board of Research, University of California, Los Angeles; Dr. Vern O. Knudsen, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; and the late Dr. Charles B. Lipman, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

The excellence of the drawings is due to the intelligent cooperation and skill of Virginia More Roediger, who worked not only as an artist but as an illustrator.

Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for editing this manuscript and for publishing it in this series, which is devoted to inter-American cooperation.

THE SETTING AND
THE PEOPLE

133 have large level tracts, for most of the elevated part of the State is in the so-called "volcanic axis" of Mexico. In many regions, and this is particularly true of the area occupied by the Tarascans, the characteristic sky line is a series of old volcanic cones, often surrounding basins or long depressions, in which more recent low cinder cones frequently occur (pl. 1, upper and lower left). Dozens of peaks have elevations of over 10,000 feet, but only one may exceed 11,000 feet.

To the south and southwest the terrain drops sharply toward a great basin formed by tributaries of the Balsas River. The slope is steep and so thoroughly dissected by streams that, despite the opening of many roads and truck trails in recent years, it still is not possible to reach the Balsas River by road from highland Michoacán. This great basin forms an impor- [484] tant portion of Michoacán and is much visited by the Tarascans. Tropical vegetation and [137] climate characterize the basin except for a [132] semiarid section in the west.

The Pacific coast of the State is paralleled by a large range of mountains, the Sierra de

133 Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this [132] range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzucuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact [136] that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some [132] areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from [312] almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

The present-day range of the Tarascans can- 131 not be defined with great accuracy, partly be- 101 cause of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.24a]

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fungus. [262] The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

Trespass by domestic animals and theft must 243 be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields 672 are completely stripped if not watched. Stray 685 animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 Unseasonal frost often damages corn, particularly late plantings and in fields at high [132] altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated ("*escorda*" also "*trozando*") by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded "*chaponeado.*" This is done by hand with a [412] short machete, called "*os,*" with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

As soon as grain is well formed on the ears, 243 some maize is used for food, usually roasted. 221 At this time, also, guards must be set in the 674 fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
512 on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

512 The general weekly routine of the family of
517 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels
[515] and go to the bathing place in one of the *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or
[132] rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people. After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for stealing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the
[584] fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] The main reason for the preservation of Indian communities seems to be that this area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
[132] character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] The changes within the surviving Indian towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1926, 118-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 58-60.

133 stream.[5] Both lakes present similar shore features—moderately steep banks alternating with wide, flattish delta fans.

In other respects the two lakes are distinct. Pátzcuaro is shallow (deepest point in the southern arm, 20 feet; in the northern part, 50 feet, in 1941); Zirahuén is relatively deep (148 feet, maximum sounding). Moreover, while the level of Zirahuén (6,953 feet in 1942) is relatively stable, that of Pátzcuaro (6,671 feet in 1942) has fluctuated frequently in historical times. Since 1939 the lake level has descended nearly 4 feet, exposing large areas of mud flats along the shore and revealing one new island (Pastora) near the southwest corner of the lake (pl. 1). In some places the descending waters have uncovered old tree stumps, indicating that formerly the lake level was even lower than at present. On the other hand, the western portion of the large lacustrine plain of Chapultepec in historical times formed an eastward extension of the lake's southeast arm, denoting a former level higher than the present one.[6] The cause of flucuation in level is not clear.

[132] De Buen (1944), judging from meteorological data (1939–43), has suggested a correlation between rainfall and evaporation variation on the one hand and lake surface fluctuation on the other. The excessive evaporation and low rainfall during those years likely affected lake volume, but normal precipitation and evaporation in following years have not halted the gradual decrease in lake level. Moreover, if fluctuation is caused by meteorological elements, one would expect neighboring lakes to be similarly affected. Periodic clearing and clogging of sublacustrine crevices, often associated with lakes of volcanic origin, is another popular hypothesis applied to Lake Pátzcuaro.

133 The lake contains 10 islets on which live some
361 of the most conservative of the Tarascan people—the fishermen. The four islands off the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (Pacanda, Yunuén, Tecuena, and Janitzio) are old volcanic hilltops with steep banks and, with the exception of flat-topped Pacanda, with little land suitable for cultivation. In the

[5] De Buen (1944) assigns the origin of all present and former lakes in the western portion of the Mesa Central to disruption of normal drainage by vulcanism. He also suggests that Lakes Patzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Yuriria were formed from portions of Rio Lerma drainage, since the fish *Chirostoma*, abundant in Lake Chapala and the Lerma, is found also in these lakes, the number of species decreasing from Chapala (10) to Zirahuén (2).

[6] The 16th-century map of Lake Pátzcuaro which accompanies the Relación de Michoacán (1903) clearly shows the former extent of the southeastern arm. At the time of the Conquest this section included the island of Apatzio, now a hill some 300 FT. from the water's edge.

133 have attracted human settlement to the valley
[312] since prehistoric times. Sierra Tarascans, who
[361] call La Cañada "Erášemen" (view from above),
[102] probably visited the valley for chile and early maize before the Spanish Conquest. Spaniards immediately seized the well-watered plains near Chilchota for wheat fields. Today La Cañada is a garden spot of orchards and wheat fields amid rocky volcanic hills.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

132 **Meteorological data.**—In dealing with meteorology, northwestern Michoacán will be treated as a whole; attempts will be made to point out regional differences in temperature and rainfall. Meteorological stations in the area are few; data are entirely lacking for the Sierra. Consequently, only general statements can be made concerning the weather and climate of modern Tarasca.

132 Annual temperature ranges throughout the area are small.[8] Lowest winter temperatures occur in the Sierra, the Tarascan *tierra fría*, where nocturnal freezing and frosts are common from November to March [9] (map 3). Winter temperatures in the northern plateau and Lake Pátzcuaro areas are somewhat milder than those of the Sierra (January averages: Zamora, 16.2° C.; Zinapecuaro, 15.9°; Pátzcuaro, 13.9°), and the number of days with frost is smaller. The winters of the upper escarpment (*tierra templada*) are frost-free (January average for Uruapan, 16.0° C.). Summer

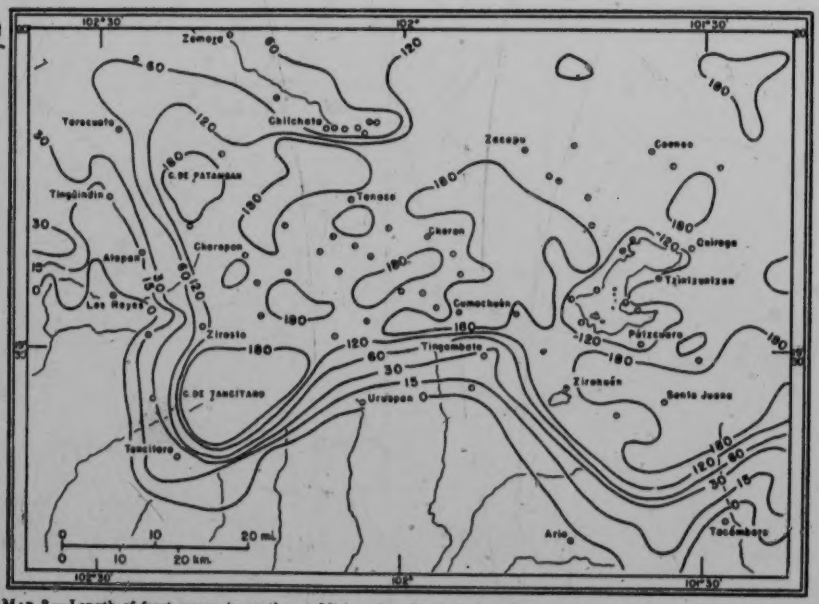
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 6-a --- Analys]

[8] Data from seven stations in the area give annual temperature ranges from 3.9° C. (Hacienda Tequecaran, 10 km. south of Uruapan) to 7.7° C. (Zacapu). The meteorological data given in text are taken from Atlas climatológico de México (Mexico. Servicio meteorlogico mexicano, 1930).

[9] The mining town of Tlalpujahua (elev. 8,500 feet), on the eastern border of Michoacán, 140 km. east of Pátzcuaro, may afford temperature data similar to that of the Sierra. December and January are the coldest months, with average monthly temperatures of 11.8° and 11.5°, respectively. Maximum temperatures occur in April and May (15.6° and 15.9° C.), which are probably somewhat lower than those occurring in the Sierra.

[p. 5c]

132



MAP 3.—Length of frost season in northwest Michoacán. Isopleths indicate the average length of annual period in days, in which frosts occur. Data are mainly from reckonings by local inhabitants.

132 temperatures are high over the entire Tarascan area, but less so in the higher Sierra. The warmest months are April and May, the period immediately before the rainy summer (May average temperatures: Zacapu, 19.1° C.; Uruapan, 22.4°; Zamora, 23.2°; Cuitzeo, 23.2°; Pátzcuaro, 19.9°).

Precipitation in the area, as in most parts of Mexico, is seasonal, 80 percent of the annual total falling mainly as convectional thundershowers in June, July, August, and September. In the Sierra the summer rains often continue as drizzles for a period of 3 to 4 days, suggesting local cyclonic origin. Occasionally during the months of December and January light winter rains, called *cabañuelas*, or janínperkua, occur. These rains prevail over most of western Mexico when cyclonic disturbances over the Pacific reach inland, a condition which occurs every 3 or 4 years.[10] Such precipitation often falls as snow on the higher volcanoes in the Sierra, such as Tancítaro, Patamban, and Quinseo. Freak snow storms have been recorded in historical times; in September 1887 several inches of snow fell in the vicinity of Charapan and San Felipe, caving roofs and destroying the maize crop.[11] Another curious meteorological phenomenon of the Sierra is the prevalence of radiation fog in the low basins from late summer to early winter. Forming in the early morning hours (after 1 a. m.), the fog evaporates by noon. Its presence lowers average daily temperatures and prevents rapid evaporation of surface moisture.[12]

Annual precipitation in the area north and east of the Sierra averages from 750 to 850 mm. A greater amount is recorded around Lake Pátzcuaro (town of Pátzcuaro, 1,109 mm.), and even more probably falls in the Sierra, where no records exist. The greatest precipitation in Tarasca is recorded along the southern (windward) side of the Sierra in the upper escarpment zone. (Average annual totals for Uruapan, 1,683 mm.; Ario de Rosales, 1,225 mm.; Tacámbaro, 1,240 mm.)

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[10] In northwestern Mexico, particularly in Sonora and the Sierra Madre Occidental, the winter cyclonic storms are called *equipatas*. Although they are part of the same frontal system, the *equipatas* occur more frequently than the *cabañuelas* since northwestern Mexico is nearer the North Pacific center of frontogenesis.

[11] Lumholtz (1902, vol. 2, p. 365) states that water has been known to freeze in Charán and Zacapu on June 10.

[12] The Sierra fogs are often mentioned by colonial chroniclers. One, describing the Charapan area in 1780: " . . . *continuamente se ve el terreno cuadriado de nublas, que evaporan y crean la humedad de la tierra*" (AGN Historia, vol. 72, f. 212).

132 **Climatic areas and associated vegetation.**—Sufficient statistical data are not available to
137 construct accurately a map showing climatic types in the Tarascan area. Using (1) the available statistics from the few existing stations, (2) vegetation boundaries taken from field observations and aerial photographs, and (3) elevations from topographic maps compiled from aerial photography, an attempt has been made to locate climatic areas based on the Köppen system (map 4).

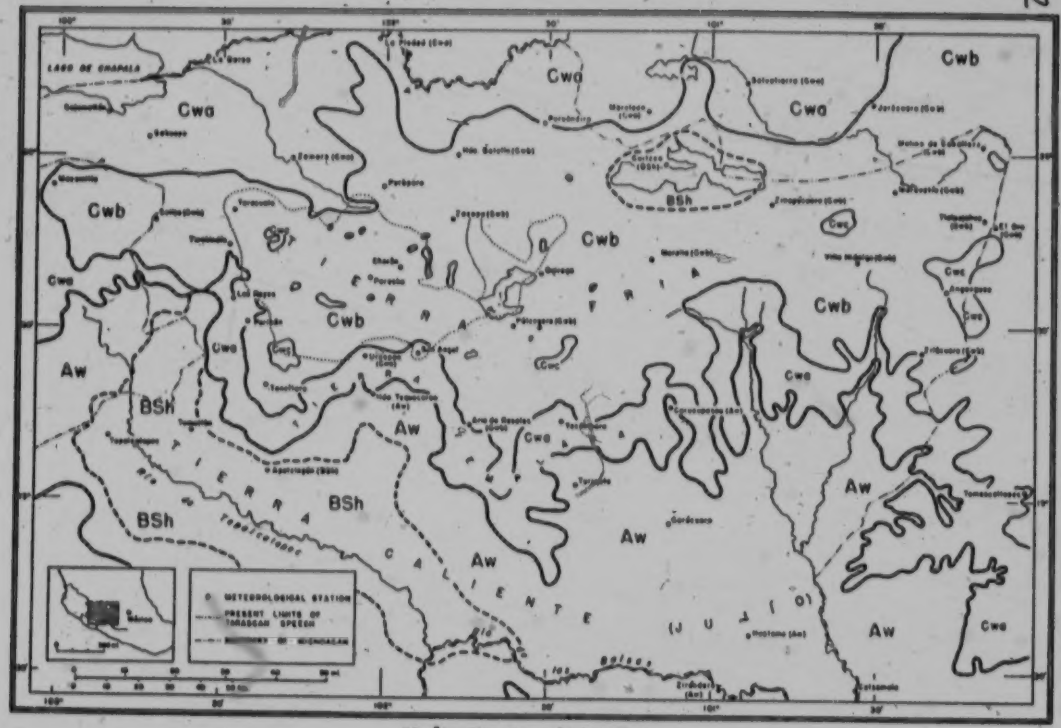
The Sierra.—The Cwb and Cwc climatic types of Köppen[13] correspond to the *tierra fría* of the Tarascans—the Sierra, its eastern extension (including the Sierra de Ozumatlán), and the southeastern part of the northern plateau area. A mixed oak-pine forest forms the dominant vegetation of the Sierra and its eastern extension, and corresponds to the higher and colder phase of the Cwb climatic zone. (Cf. maps 4 and 5.) *Pinus*
137 *leiophylla* (pino chino) and *P. michoacana* var. *cornuta* (pino lacio) are the principal pines (p'ukúri) of the Sierra (Martínez, 1945). (Pl. 1.) The former species is the main turpentine producer, while the latter, a straight, tall tree, affords the best lumber. Minor species of pines found in the Sierra include *P. teocote*, *P. pseudostrobus*, and in the upper escarpment zone, the subtropical pine *P. oocarpa*. Even at high altitudes the pines rarely form solid stands, but are mixed with numerous species of oak, the latter dominent at lower altitudes, the former at higher elevations. Some 30 species of oak (uríkua, tukús, šaıári), both deciduous and persistent, occur in the Sierra and adjacent areas. Among the more common are *Quercus fulva*, *Q. acuminata*, *Q. circinata*, *Q. laxa*, *Q. crassipes*, and *Q. pandurata* (Trelease, 1924). Often mixed with pine and oak are madroño (panáŋksa; *Arbutus* sp.); various laurels (Lauraceae); many hydrophytes in barranca bottoms, such as jaboncillo (sápu), palo blanco (uárpit-uku; *Alnus* sp.), palo colorado (čarápit-uku).

On lower slopes one often sees the Mexican "crab apple" (actually a hawthorne) or tejocote (kaıás; *Crataegus mexicana*) and the "cherry" or capulín (šéngua; *Prunus capuli*), both of which

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 8d--ANALYSIS]

[13] Mathematical values of Köppen symbols: *C*, temperature of coldest month between −3° and 18° C.; *w*, dry winter, rainy summer; *b*, temperature of warmest month less than 22° C.; *c*, temperature of coldest month above −38° C., and mean temperature of less than 4 months out of the year is more than 10° C.

[P. 7]



MAP 4.—Climatic map of Michoacán.

137 are frequently semicultivated in hedgerows and in house lots. Agave (akámba; *A. latissima*, *A. americana*) is also a frequent hedge plant found particularly on the outskirts of settlements, and the tree yucca or izote (ꞗámbasa; *Yucca australis*), although more common at lower altitudes, is often seen in Sierra villages. Understory vegetation in the oak-pine zone is sparse, possibly owing to the annual burning of herbaceous plants in the forest to improve summer forage. Some of the more prominent understory plants are *zarzamora* (ꞗtún; *Rubus* sp.), a wild blackberry especially abundant along hedgerows, and wild grape vines (*Vitis* sp.). Various epiphytes, such as orchids of many species, are found on the trunks and branches of pine and oak throughout the Sierra.

[132] Although meteorological data are lacking, the climate of elevations above 10,000 feet is possibly Cwc, i. e., cold winters and cool summers (map 4). Such elevations occur on the upper slopes of the higher volcanoes, where snow occasionally falls and where fir (*Abies religiosa*) forms the dominant vegetation. On slopes above 8,700 feet this tree (*pinabete*, t'kúmbu) starts to appear among pine and oak. At 10,000 feet solid stands of fir begin and continue to the mountain peaks, where high altitude pine (*P. hartwegii*) has gained a foothold in cracks and crevices in rocky cliffs. Understory vegetation in the fir forest consists of various herbaceous plants, including a bunchgrass called *zacate* or jóčin (*Muhlenbergia macroura*). The green shoots of jóčin afford the principal forage for sheep and goat herds which are grazed on the high slopes of Cerro de Patamban and (before the eruption of Parícutin) on Cerro de Tancítaro.

The type of original vegetation in the basin plains within the Sierra is problematical. Probably cleared and cultivated for more than 300 years, these plains now show little evidence of the original vegetation cover. The dark-colored soil of the plains suggests the former presence of a grass cover, possibly with scattered oaks and pines.

[132] **The Lake district.**—According to temperature figures, the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro fall within the *tierra fría* climate (Cwb). Owing to higher winter temperatures than those experienced in the Sierra, and to absence of fog, the Lake district enjoys a warm phase of Cwb (possibly transitional between Cwb and Cwa). Oak and associated broadleaf trees, such as madroño, jaboncillo, etc.,

[137] form the dominant plant complex of a belt 3 km. wide around the lake. Moreover, colorín (p'oiénɛa; *Erythrina americana*), casahuate (*Ipomoea murucoides*), and zapote blanco (urfata; *Casimiroa edulis*), all characteristic of the warmer sections of the northern plateau, are common hedge plants in the Lake area. Along the lake shore, water-loving plants, including a willow (tarímu; *Salix bonplandiana*), shrubs of "tepozán" (*Buddleia* sp.), and clumps of bamboolike carrizo (p'atámu; *Arundo donax*) are not uncommon; while in marshy sections canebrakes (*tule* or p'aɛímu; *Cyperus thrysiflorus*) abound. Other aquatic plants include various waterlilies and hyacinths (*Nymphaea* sp.; *Eichhornia speciosa*). Possibly a mixed pine-oak forest once covered the lower slopes bordering the lake, but, if so, the pines have long since been destroyed for firewood and lumber. Occasionally lone specimens of *Pinus leiophylla* are found on the outskirts of lake villages.

[132] **The northern plateau.**—The Cwb climate extends northward from the Sierra into the southeastern part of the northern plateau area. In the middle and lower Río Lerma Basin (Bajío) and in La Cañada, however, the Cwa climate of the *tierra templada* occurs. In both Cwa and Cwb areas of the northern plateau, oak and pine forests occupy only the summits of the higher hills, below which exist stands of oak and madroño. The lower slopes and plains carry an association of grass and shrub, the latter consisting of casahuate, zapote blanco, tejocote, palo blanco (*Lysiloma candida*), granjeno (*Celtis pallida*), jara amarillo (tóksten; *Senecio salignus*), all typical of the more humid portions of the central plateau. Xerophytes, such as huisache (*Acacia* sp.), mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*), and various cacti (mainly *Opuntieae*), are common. In the plains, fresnos (padámu; *Fraxinus* sp.) form gallery forests along streams, and in draws within the hills hydrophytes, such as wild ahuacate and other laurels, predominate. Formerly extensive meadows existed at the edge of swamps and lakes, particularly in the lowlands east of Lake Chapala and the well-watered plains near the northern edge of the Sierra. In the northern plateau pine and oak forests were formerly more extensive than at present. Many of the hilltops north of the present México-Guadalajara highway, which are now barren of arboreal vegetation, were once

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 9a---ANALYST]

137 covered with pine and oak within the memory of living inhabitants. Increased cultivation of slopes and constant cutting for firewood and charcoal will soon destroy the greater part of the pine-oak remnants in the northern plateau.

The escarpment zone.—South of the Sierra lies
132 a series of climatic types arranged in altitudinal sequence. The upper part of the escarpment (5,600 to 3,600 ft.) is characterized by a narrow belt of Cwa (*tierra templada*) climate, which is followed abruptly by the subhumid *tierra caliente* (below 3,600 feet), or Aw. Below 2,000 feet within the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins, a semiarid tropical climate (BSh) prevails.

The pine-oak association of the Sierra spills
137 over onto the upper escarpment, but the subtropical *Pinus oocarpus* becomes the dominant pine. Between 4,600 and 3,600 feet, pines disappear, leaving an open oak forest mixed with subtropical and tropical plants of southern Mexico. At lower elevations the latter plants become dominant.[16]

SOILS

Three soil types, which tend to coincide with
134 climate and vegetation, predominate in the Tarasca
132 area: (1) a yellowish-brown leached soil of
137 the upper mountain slopes (Cwb to Cwc, pine-fir cover); (2) a dark, fine sandy loam (t'upúri) of the lower slopes and basins in the Sierra (Cwb, oak-pine, probably grass vegetation); and (3) the reddish-brown clay soil (čaránda) of the lower altitudes (warm phase of Cwb, Cwa, broadleaf vegetation) around Lake Pátzcuaro, in the lower elevations of the northern plateau, and in the escarpment zone (map 6). Transitional and special soil types also occur; for instance, many of the Sierra soils are termed "charandosas," having a higher clay content than the t'upúri loams.

Yellowish-brown soil.—This soil develops in
134 high altitudes under seasonally humid conditions

[16] The tropical vegetation of the escarpment is characterized by a great variety of genera and species. The most common plants include the milky-sapped trees and shrubs of the family Moraceae—comuchin (*Ficus padifolia*), siranda (*F. petiolaris*), sarumu (*Cecropia mexicana*); the pod-bearing Mimosaceae—timbin (*Mimosa stipitata*), guaje (*Leucaena* sp.), huisache (*Acacia* sp.), tepehuaje (*Lysiloma* sp.), parota (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum*), timuche (*Pithecellobium lanceolatum*), guamuchil (*Pithecellobium dulce*), *Calliandra* sp.; the pod-bearing Caesalpiniaceae—habillo (*Cassia occidentalis*), casamiote (*Caesalpinia coriaria*), etc.; the edible fruit-bearing plants of the Annonaceae—chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*); of the Lauraceae—ahuacate (*Persea americana*); of the Sapotaceae—chicozapote (*Achras sapota*), mamey (*Calocarpum mammosum*); of the Anacardiaceae—circuela, cupu (*Spondias mombin*); of the Mirtaceae—guayaba (*Psidium guayaba*); and the copal-bearing Burseraceae—copal (*Elaphrium jorullense*).

243 tion.[87] Owing to dry conditions and usually poor
[132] soils, yields are low. The infrequent light winter rains (*cabañuelas*) often determine the success or failure of the temporal crop. Another wheat type, a white soft variety, is called "*trigo de aguas*"; sown in June or July and reaped in November or December, it is seen in all parts
[312] of Tarasca. Most of the wheat crop of La Cañada is irrigated, being sown on the valley flats in December and harvested in May.[88] In the Sierra wheat is relegated to the less fertile slope land and *desmontes*, where it is rotated with maize. In the lake area and the northern plateau towns, where the grain is likewise a rotation crop, it is cultivated on both plains and slopes. It is occasionally sown in the house-lot gardens in all parts of Tarasca.

Primitive European methods are used in wheat cultivation (pl. 6). Land is prepared by plowing with oxen, and seed is sown broadcast and covered with a brush harrow. Grain is cut with the sickle (*hoz*), bundled and tied by hand, and threshed in the *era* (an open arena floored with stone or packed earth) located in the town or in the field. Threshing is accomplished by driving mules or burros over the bundles of wheat, but where sufficient animals are lacking, it is done by flailing. The grain is separated from straw and chaff with the tarákua, or wooden spade. All straw is carefully saved for animal feed. (Engine-powered separators are just beginning to appear in the area.)

One of the most interesting aspects of wheat
252 culture among the Tarascans is the varieties of
262 food prepared from both metate-ground and milled flour. Those made from grain wet-ground on the metate include *tortillas de trigo*, a common food in La Cañada, but eaten on fiesta days (e. g. Corpus) in the Sierra towns.[89] In Charapan the tortillas are thin, round cakes often 1 to 1½ feet in diameter, which are cooked on the comal. Thicker tortillas, or *gordas*, are similarly made, but browned on the coals.[90] For the Corpus fiestas *gordas* (pirícis) ¾ to 1 inch thick and shaped like

[87] For example, most temporal wheat in the Lake region is harvested in early April, while in the Sierra ripening is retarded until May. In Cumachuén, the highest pueblo in the Sierra, harvest occurs in the first weeks of June.

[88] The *trigales*, or wheatfields, are watered three times annually, at the end of January, first of March, and at the end of March. Pan irrigation technique is used.

[89] In the Lake towns of Ihuatzio and Janitzio metate-ground wheat dough is mixed with nixtamal (maize dough) to make a tortilla called ítakata.

[90] Beals (1946, p. 43) mentions that in Cherán *gordas de trigo* are fried in deep pork fat. This procedure was not encountered in other Tarascan towns.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 4a]

000 gave much time and effort to forward the program. Dr. Alfonso Caso discussed many problems and gave valuable advice. Numerous members of the staff of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional also gave of their time. President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, arranged a special leave of absence to make the study possible. Above all, thanks are due to Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, then head of the Department of Anthropology of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional and now director of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, collaborator in the general program, who gave many days of his time in completing necessary arrangements to make the study possible.

In addition to the persons mentioned, I wish also to express my gratitude to those who have helped further the general Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans: General Lázaro Cárdenas, former President of the United States of Mexico; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, Berkeley,
[continued on top of p. 4b]

THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

The modern Tarascans occupy the west cen-
131 tral section of northern Michoacán, Mexico. In prehistoric times the Tarascan area was larger, including most of the State of Michoacán, except possibly the rather abrupt and not very hospitable seacoast, as well as parts of the State of Jalisco to the northwest, Guanajuato to the northeast, and the lower end of the Balsas River basin in Guerrero to the south. This expanded area apparently represented the results of a series of conquests. Two or three centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tarascan area probably was not greatly different from that of today.

The State of Michoacán is one of the most
161 densely populated rural States of Mexico. It lies to the west of Mexico City, and its capital, Morelia, is about 250 miles from the National Capital by road or railroad. Despite its dense population, much of the State is rugged and mountainous. Its eastern and northern parts
133 are on the plateau of México. Level areas are often above 7,000 feet elevation, but, although it is technically a part of the Central Mexican plateau, only the northern margins of the State
[continued in middle of p. 4b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.4b]

000 Calif.; Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, former Chief, Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico; Dr. Gerardo Varela, Director of the Escuela Nacional de Ciencis Biológicas, Mexico; Lic. Gilberto Loyo, Director General of the Census, Mexico; Dr. J. B. Lockey, former Chairman, Board of Research, University of California, Los Angeles; Dr. Vern O. Knudsen, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; and the late Dr. Charles B. Lipman, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

The excellence of the drawings is due to the intelligent cooperation and skill of Virginia More Roediger, who worked not only as an artist but as an illustrator.

Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for editing this manuscript and for publishing it in this series, which is devoted to inter-American cooperation.

THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

133 have large level tracts, for most of the elevated part of the State is in the so-called "volcanic axis" of Mexico. In many regions, and this is particularly true of the area occupied by the Tarascans, the characteristic sky line is a series of old volcanic cones, often surrounding basins or long depressions, in which more recent low cinder cones frequently occur (pl. 1, upper and lower left). Dozens of peaks have elevations of over 10,000 feet, but only one may exceed 11,000 feet.

To the south and southwest the terrain drops sharply toward a great basin formed by tributaries of the Balsas River. The slope is steep and so thoroughly dissected by streams that, despite the opening of many roads and truck trails in recent years, it still is not possible to reach the Balsas River by road from highland Michoacán. This great basin forms an important portion of Michoacán and is much visited by the Tarascans. Tropical vegetation and climate characterize the basin except for a semiarid section in the west.

[184] [137] [132]

The Pacific coast of the State is paralleled by a large range of mountains, the Sierra de

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

133 Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this [132] range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzucuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact [136] that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some [132] areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from [312] almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

The present-day range of the Tarascans can- 131 not be defined with great accuracy, partly be- 101 cause of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

13 West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about
133 equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcu-
[361] aro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

137 Except for occasional marginal farm clear-
[311] ings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

311 Wherever the land is sufficiently level to permit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smal-
311 ler extent, wheat, are almost the only field
241 crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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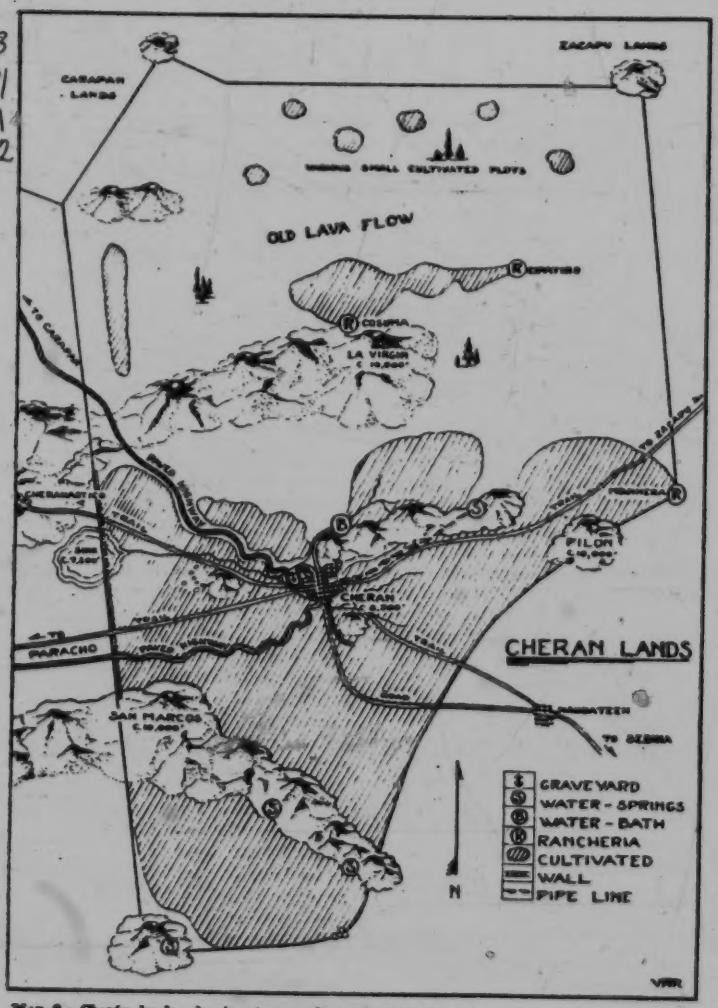

Map 2.—Cherán lands, showing topography, principal cultivated areas, and various cultural features.

[p. 8]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

MAIZE

241 Except in the garden plots and a few other highly favored places, corn is never planted on the same ground on two successive years. Garden plots are more carefully cultivated and are fertilized to some extent by depositing organic refuse of all kinds and, if available, manure. Good farmers will even carry surplus manure
241 to the fields, but some are lazy and simply
133 throw it in one of the arroyos. It is then carried down to the "plain" west of town. As a

[p. 22a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

133 result, a part of the "plain" where the water
241 sinks into the ground can be farmed every year.

The basin, of which the "plain" forms a part, has no outlet. So porous is the volcanic soil that streams run only briefly after heavy rainfall. The drainage of the entire basin collects on the Cherán–Aranza boundary, where it sinks into the soil within a few hours after a storm. The entire sink area is cultivated and is highly
241 fertile. No rotation of crops is ordinarily practiced on the plain; but in the mountains,

[Text continues on page 23 a]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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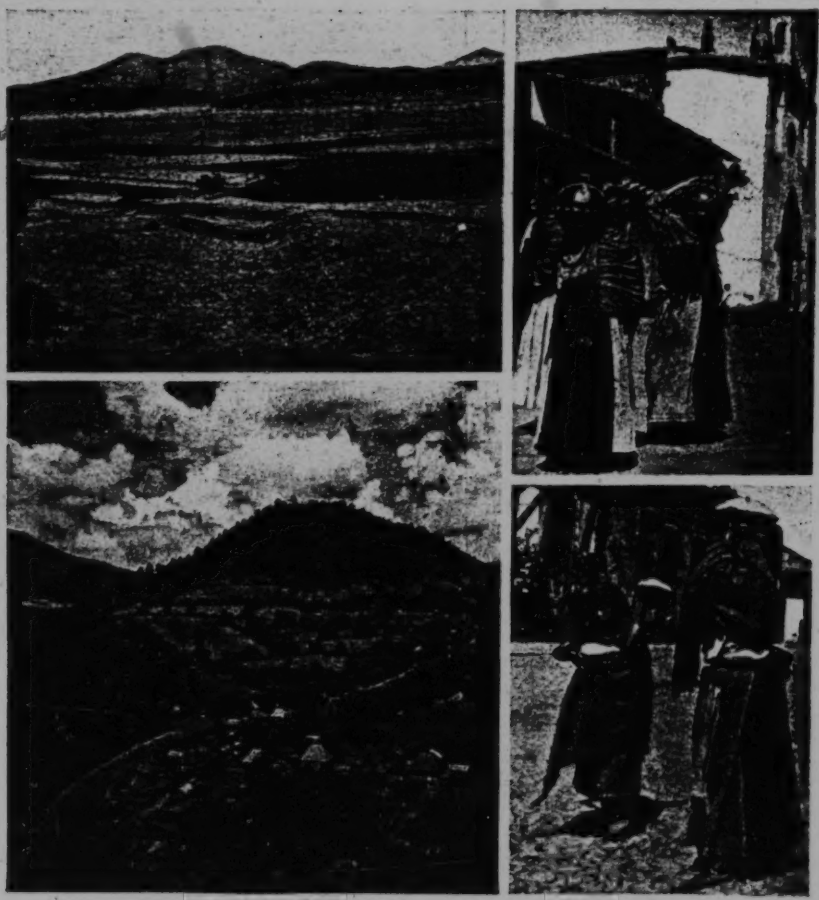

CHERÁN LANDSCAPES AND METHODS OF CARRYING OBJECTS.

Upper (left): The plains below Cherán, the major agricultural area, about 7,000 feet elevation, viewed from the highway, near southeast corner of the town. Darker portions are plowed fields; the remainder not yet plowed. *Upper (right):* Women carrying water in typical manner, with the usual Cherán water jar. A method of wearing the *rebozo* is shown. The church and priest's residence are in background. *Lower (left):* The northwest *barrio* of Cherán. The new highway curves along the edge of the barranca. Typical cultivated fields slope gently up to the cinder cone, which rises 1,000 feet above the town. *Lower (right):* Carrying bowls of masa (corn ground for tortillas) from the mill. Carrying on the head is unusual, but the method used by the girl is common for small objects. The woman's skirt has the thick pleat or rollo.

[End Plate 1]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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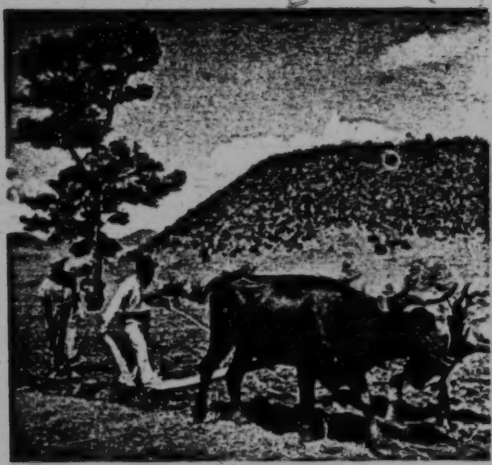

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PLOWING. DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS. LOG HEWING. AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which includes several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] The main reason for the preservation of Indian communities seems to be that this area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
[132] character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] The changes within the surviving Indian towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, i. e., the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 56-60.

342 where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

[continued on p. 7b]

The Town of Cherán

THE TOWN

361 The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley
133 floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine
[312] afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring 9½ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center.
[135] At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

343 Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north-south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

[p. 7a] [continued bottom of page 7-b]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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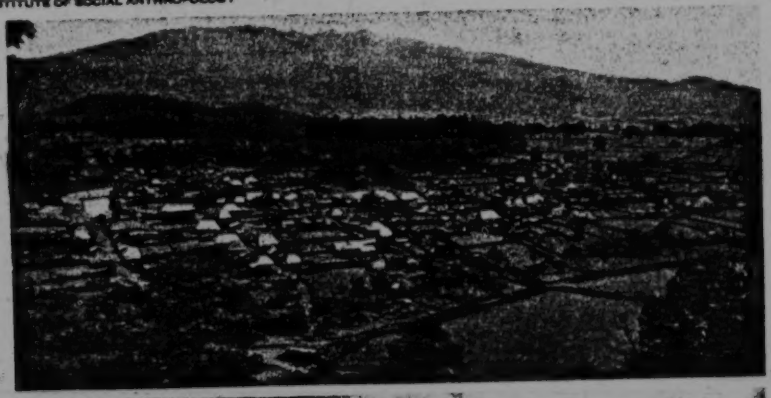

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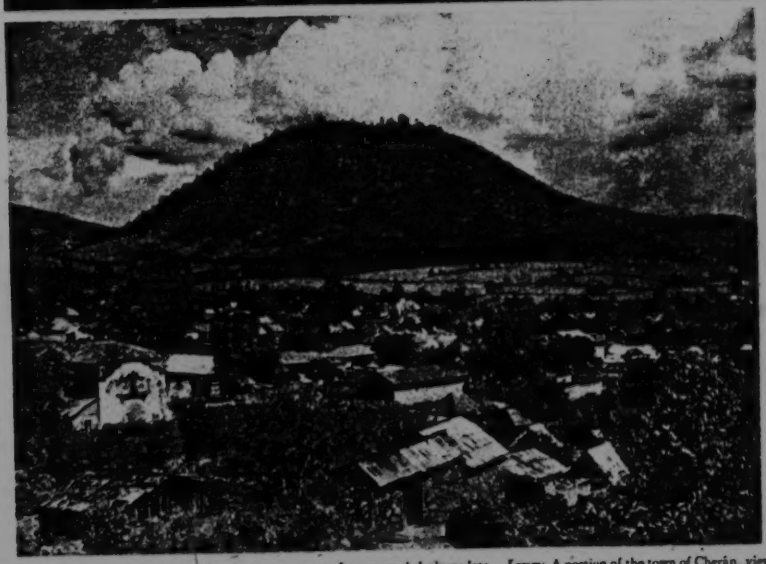

Upper: Angahuan, showing the rectangular arrangement of streets and the large lots. *Lower:* A portion of the town of Cherán, viewed from the hill in the northwest section, which furnishes most of the stone used in building.

[End plate 1]

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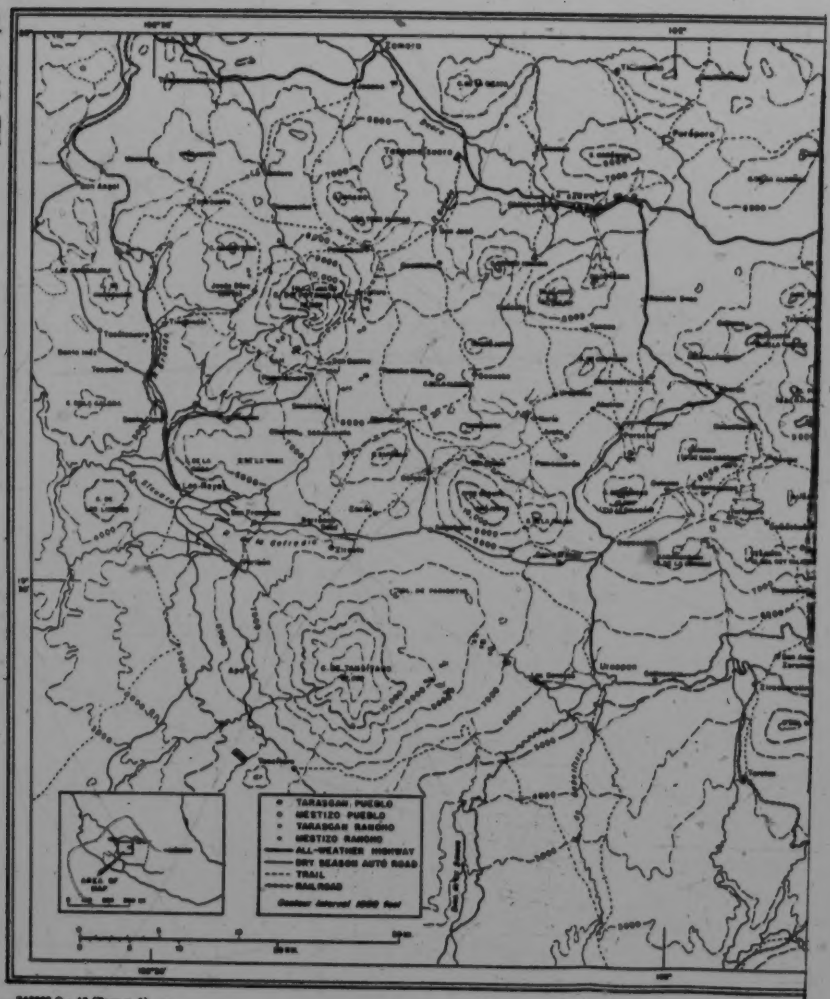

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MAP 1.—Topographic map of the modern Tara

[Facing page 1; section A]

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Topographic map of the modern Tarascan area.

[Facing page 1; section B]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 1-B]

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) in northwestern Michoacán. Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siéris) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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102 [1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 642A (Uruapan) of the
131 AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S.
●133 Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photography taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guerachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arachúcuta.	27. Patambicho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojas.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupio.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolas.	30. Tarerio.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Uessanástacua.
6. Tapan.	19. La Atascada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepemal.	34. Yunnén.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tepetate.	35. Tecuana.
10. Querándaro.	23. Tajamanil.	36. Urandén Morales.
11. Zarzamora.	24. Pacápatiro.	37. Urandén Morelos.
12. San Luis Sereno.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandén Carian.
13. La Jolla.	26. Openguio.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1940 census) are not located: Trintiricha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Encinillas and Los Laureles (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolución (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itzipariamen (municipio of Tzintzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
[191] Formerly an important part of the Tarascan Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Juío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
[166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1943), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1946), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1946).

133 prominent landmarks in the area: Cerro de Tancítaro (12,660 feet), Cerro de Patamban (12,300 feet), Cerro de Quinseo (10,800 feet), Cerro el Zirate (10,955 feet). The flanks of these [135] mountains are composed mainly of andesite with some pinkish rhyolite near the summits; small veins of mineral-bearing quartz sometimes occur within the andesite. Conical shape and radial drainage characterize these volcanoes, but most craters have been destroyed by erosion. Frequently erosion of soft consolidated ash situated between andesite flows has formed caves, which have acquired importance in Tarascan folklore.

Cinder cones and lava flows, Pleistocene to Recent in age, represent the younger forms in the Sierra. The entire area is dotted with cones, 250 to 700 feet high, with no apparent alinement. Most are composed of semiconsolidated ash, cinder, and large blocks of explosion remnants. Two types of cones occur: (1) the symmetrical cone with a well-developed, flat-floored crater, and (2) the breached cone, with one side partially destroyed, initially by explosion or lava flow and subsequently by erosion. Some cones are ribbed by radial drainage; others carry scars of surface slips; owing to porous surface materials, a few show little effects of erosion, in spite of high (35°–45°) angle slopes.

Basaltic lava flows, originating usually from Pleistocene or Recent fissures in the sides of old volcanoes or occasionally from large cinder cones, have descended slopes in narrow corridors and have fanned out in wide expanses on gentle gradients. Fantastically rough surfaces characterize the flows, which form the Sierra's badlands—agriculturally unproductive and barriers to horse and wheeled traffic. Comparative age of the flows can be roughly determined by the degree of rock decomposition and character of vegetation cover. In some flows, such as that south of Pomacuarán, depressions and crevasses are partially filled with alluvium; large areas are covered with a thin soil mantle; sizable pines and oaks cover most of the flow. These features evidence a long period of exposure. In contrast, the rough, blackened, almost treeless *malpaís* northwest of Zacapu at the Sierra's northern edge, appears to be a much younger flow.

Volcanic activity in the Sierra has possibly been continuous from Eocene to the present day. Jorullo (1759) and Paricutin (1943) represent

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 39 ---- Analist]

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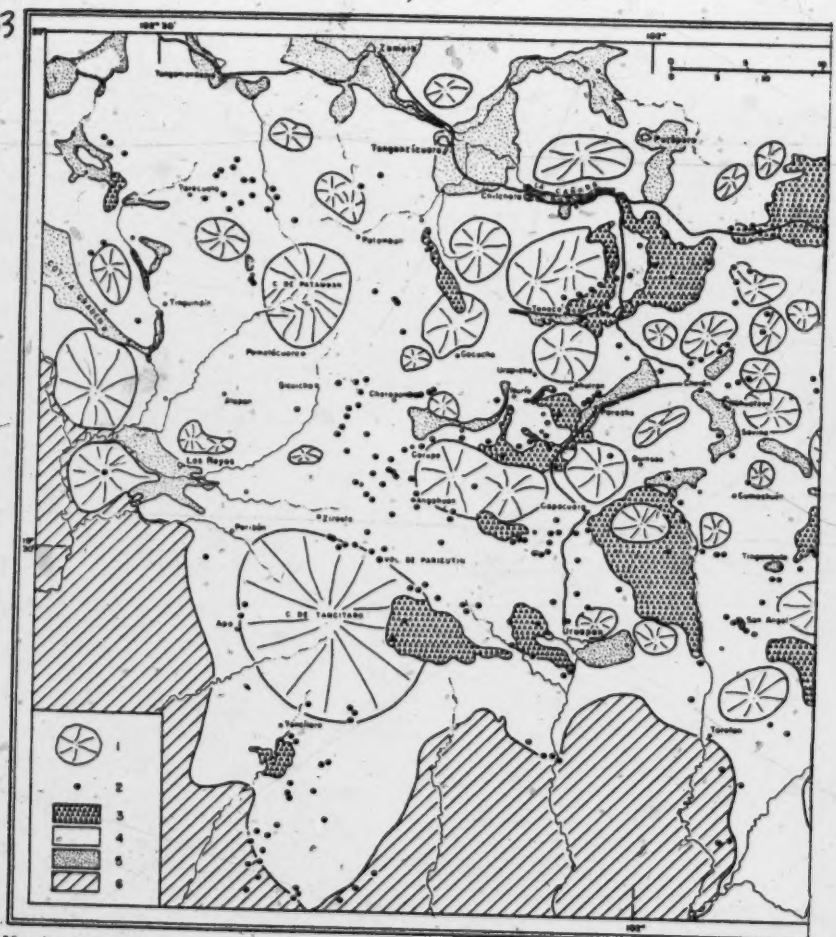

MAP 2.—Geognostic map of the modern Tarascan area. Explanation of symbols: (1) Steep slopes of Tertiary con (*malpais*). (4) Lower slopes of volcanoes, cols, mesas, small flattish basins of consolidated and unconsolidated a of stream alluvium and lacustrine deposits. (6) Highly dissected volcanic slopes of the southern escarpment.

[Facing page 2; section A]

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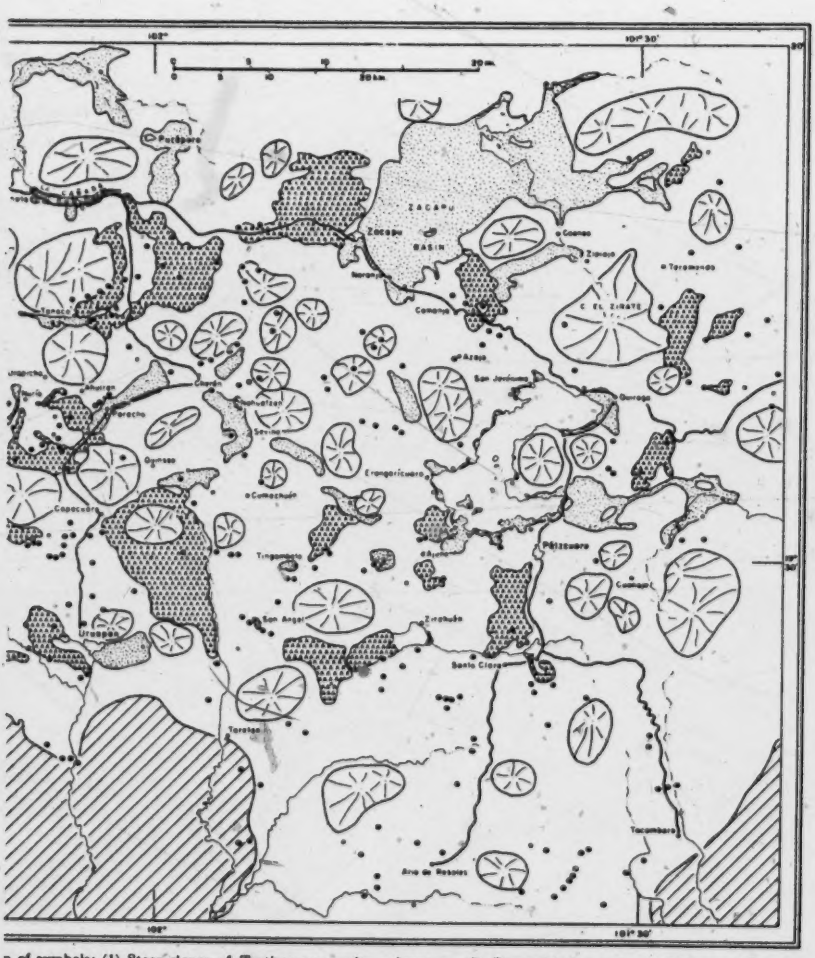

n of symbols: (1) Steep slopes of Tertiary composite volcanoes. (2) Recent cinder cones. (3) Recent lava flows ish basins of consolidated and unconsolidated ash, cinder, and other volcanic debris. (5) Large flattish-floored basins volcanic slopes of the southern escarpment. Data from aerial photographs and field notes. 74[illegible] O - 48 (Face p. 2)

[Facing page 2; section B]

133 historical examples of vulcanism within or adjacent to the area. However, vulcanism associated with human ancient settlement in the area, [172] is unquestionably evidenced by the occurrence of charred maize ears embedded in a basaltic lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia.[4]

Aside from land forms resulting directly from vulcanism, others caused by depositional processes occur within the Sierra. Between the old composite volcanoes and young cinder cones flattish surfaces have been formed first by ash and cinder fall and later by aeolian and alluvial deposition from surrounding slopes. Such surfaces, which compose only a small percentage of total land area, are the agriculturally important sections of the Sierra. Some form saddles or cols between adjacent hills; the larger plains form basins of interior drainage. The largest basins are Llano Grande, southeast of Charapan; the Plan de Nurío; that of Paracho, Aranza, and Cherán; the plain of Nahuatzen; of Sevina; of Paracho; etc. (map 2; pl. 1). Minor forms include dissected aprons of alluvium and semiconsolidated ash at the base of volcanoes and steep-sided arroyos eroded into alluvium in the upper parts of the basin plains.

One of the most characteristic physical features of the Sierra is the paucity of perennial streams and lakes. Although this is an area of moderate summer precipitation, the porous volcanic surface quickly absorbs most of the available moisture. A few permanent, spring-fed streams occur on the northern and western flanks of Cerro de Patamban and on the western and southern sides of Cerro de Tancítaro. Small springs occur on [312] the flanks of the old composite volcanoes, whose porous rocks form a reservoir of rain water. Such springs afford the sole water supply for many Sierra villages. Only on the edges of the Sierra plateau, at the contact of porous and impervious rock layers, do large springs occur.

The Lake area.—At the eastern edge of the Sierra exists a depression filled by Lake Pátzcuaro. Sierran geomorphology (young and old volcanic forms) almost surrounds the lake, but predominates on its northern, western, and southern shores. Twelve kilometers south of Pátzcuaro small Lake Zirahuén, within the eastern prong of the Sierra, appears to have been formed by a lava-blocked

[4] An excellent specimen of charred maize so embedded is in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia.

133 stream.[5] Both lakes present similar shore features—moderately steep banks alternating with wide, flattish delta fans.

In other respects the two lakes are distinct. Pátzcuaro is shallow (deepest point in the southern arm, 20 feet; in the northern part, 50 feet, in 1941); Zirahuén is relatively deep (148 feet, maximum sounding). Moreover, while the level of Zirahuén (6,953 feet in 1942) is relatively stable, that of Pátzcuaro (6,671 feet in 1942) has fluctuated frequently in historical times. Since 1939 the lake level has descended nearly 4 feet, exposing large areas of mud flats along the shore and revealing one new island (Pastora) near the southwest corner of the lake (pl. 1). In some places the descending waters have uncovered old tree stumps, indicating that formerly the lake level was even lower than at present. On the other hand, the western portion of the large lacustrine plain of Chapultepec in historical times formed an eastward extension of the lake's southeast arm, denoting a former level higher than the present one.[6] The cause of flucuation in level is not clear.
[132] De Buen (1944), judging from meteorological data (1939–43), has suggested a correlation between rainfall and evaporation variation on the one hand and lake surface fluctuation on the other. The excessive evaporation and low rainfall during those years likely affected lake volume, but normal precipitation and evaporation in following years have not halted the gradual decrease in lake level. Moreover, if fluctuation is caused by meteorological elements, one would expect neighboring lakes to be similarly affected. Periodic clearing and clogging of sublacustrine crevices, often associated with lakes of volcanic origin, is another popular hypothesis applied to Lake Pátzcuaro.

133 The lake contains 10 islets on which live some of the most conservative of the Tarascan people—
361 the fishermen. The four islands off the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (Pacanda, Yunuén, Tecuena, and Janitzio) are old volcanic hilltops with steep banks and, with the exception of flat-topped Pacanda, with little land suitable for cultivation. In the

[5] De Buen (1944) assigns the origin of all present and former lakes in the western portion of the Mesa Central to disruption of normal drainage by vulcanism. He also suggests that Lakes Pátzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Yuriria were formed from portions of Río Lerma drainage, since the fish *Chirostoma*, abundant in Lake Chapala and the Lerma, is found also in these lakes, the number of species decreasing from Chapala (10) to Zirahuén (2).

[6] The 16th-century map of Lake Pátzcuaro which accompanies the Relación de Michoacán (1903) clearly shows the former extent of the southeastern arm. At the time of the Conquest this section included the island of Apatzio, now a hill some 300 m. from the water's edge.

133 shallow southern part of the lake lie Jarácuaro, [361] the largest of the group, and the newly formed Pastora. (The former island of Copujo is now attached to the mainland.) Both islands are low, composed of semiconsolidated alluvial materials. Along the southern shore only low marsh now separates the Urandén islets (low volcanic hills) from the mainland (pl. 1).

The southern escarpment.—Although geologically similar to the Sierra, the abrupt southern escarpment, which forms part of the Mesa Central's southern wall, constitutes a distinct physiographic area. Pleistocene and Recent vulcanism continues from the Sierra to the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Rivers, Jorullo having been the most recent volcanic activity on the escarpment. The canyons formed by deeply entrenched spring-fed streams are the escarpment's salient features. Some barrancas exceed 500 feet in depth. The upper tributaries of the escarpment streams are eroding headwardly into the Sierra, capturing enclosed basins and intermittent water courses.[7] Above the barranca area shallow basins occur in the upper portion of the escarpment. Probably of volcanic origin, these flattish-floored valleys are now tapped by escarpment streams. Typical examples are the plains surrounding Uruapan, those below Peribán and Los Reyes, the valleys of Tingambato and Tacambaro, all important sites of former Tarascan settlement in the *tierra templada*.

The northern plateau area.—The former Tarascan area north of the Sierra forms part of the interior plateau county of Central Mexico. For the most part physiography is characterized by old volcanic hills and mountains separated by flat to rolling plains country. The part of this region formerly inhabited by Tarascans extends from Lake Chapala east to the Sierra de Ozumatlán and from the Sierra north to the Lerma River. (The low areas near the river and its tributaries are often termed the "Bajío.") A narrow belt of the hill and plains landscape also extends south from Lake Chapala to include the Cotija-Tingüindín area along the western side of the Sierra. Average elevations in the interior plateau decrease from 7,200 feet along the flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán to 5,000 feet at Lake Chapala. The

[7] For example, this phenomenon has occurred at the southwestern edge of the Sierra, where a tributary of the Tepalcatepec has apparently captured the drainage of the structural basin which runs east-west from Paracaricutiro to Peribán.

133 higher hills and mountains rise 2,600 to 4,000 feet above the surrounding plains.

The young volcanic land forms found in the Sierra are lacking in much of the northern area, where the principal elevations consist of eroded composite Tertiary volcanoes. A few tongues of Recent lava flow from the Sierra into the northern edge of the plains, and cinder cones extend northward from El Zirate. Many lakes, some occupying structural basins, dot the northern area. The extensive sections of old alluvium, which form a good part of the plains, probably represent beds of Pleistocene lakes. At the northern and northwestern base of the Sierra many spring-fed lakes and marshes existed in historical times, e. g., Ciénaga de Zacapu, de Tangancícuaro, de Chapala, etc. The lacustrine basins and the borders of the former lakes and marshes were the major areas of Spanish settlement in the Tarascan North, for both afforded year-round pasture and sites for irrigated wheat farms. Some marshy sections still exist, but natural desiccation and artifical [311] drainage have converted much of the wet area to dry farmland. The once extensive chain of lakes in the Cotija graben, west of the Sierra, has almost completely disappeared, and the marshes of Zacapu, around which are grouped a few remnant Tarascan pueblos, have been converted into a large farming area.

A unique physiographic subarea of the northern zone, called "La Cañada," a narrow east-west depression at the northern base of the Sierra, is still one of the significant Tarascan regions. The valley floor, 10 km. long and [illegible] km. wide, decreases rapidly in altitude from 6,360 feet at its eastern end to 5,840 feet at Chilchota, near the western extremity (pl. 1). The western end of the valley is marked by an ancient lava flow, which once partially blocked normal drainage. Subsequent deposition of alluvium (possibly lacustrine) behind the lava dam has resulted in the present wide flattish floor of the valley's western half. Today the stream draining the valley flows subsequently through a deep gorge cut through the northern end of the lava flow. The numerous intermittent streams which descend from the adjacent hills have built up small alluvial fans along the valley sides. Like other areas at the edge of the Sierra, [312] La Cañada is favored by numerous large springs issuing from fissures at the southern and eastern [361] borders of the depression. Alluvium and water

133 have attracted human settlement to the valley
[312] since prehistoric times. Sierra Tarascans, who
[361] call La Cañada "Erášemen" (view from above),
[102] probably visited the valley for chile and early maize before the Spanish Conquest. Spaniards immediately seized the well-watered plains near Chilchota for wheat fields. Today La Cañada is a garden spot of orchards and wheat fields amid rocky volcanic hills.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

132 **Meteorological data.**—In dealing with meteorology, northwestern Michoacán will be treated as a whole; attempts will be made to point out regional differences in temperature and rainfall. Meteorological stations in the area are few; data are entirely lacking for the Sierra. Consequently, only general statements can be made concerning the weather and climate of modern Tarasca.

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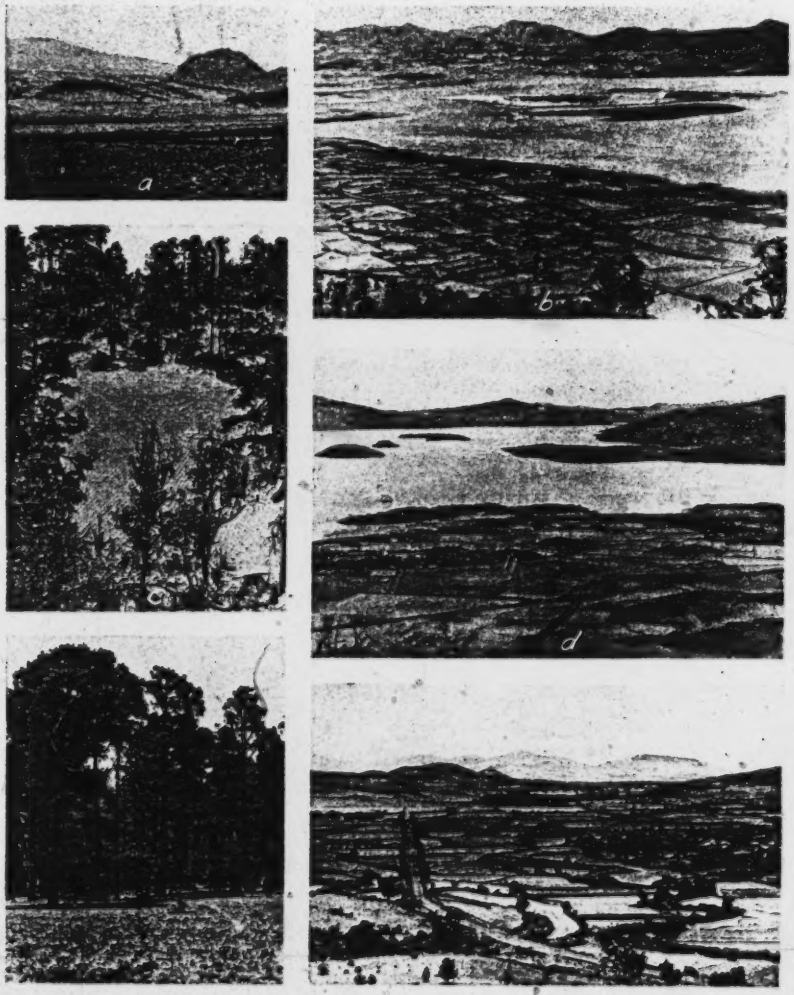

PLATE 1.—Pleistocene landscape. *a*, Portion of a Sierra basin near Arantepacua. *b*, Southwestern part of Lake Pátzcuaro; Jarácuaro Island and newly formed Pacaro Island, upper center. *c*, Cultivated floor of shallow once water near Charapan. *d*, Lake Pátzcuaro, looking northward; note volcanic islands in middle of lake and the Uruapán lakes immediately off shore. *e*, Mixed pine-oak forest at edge of maize field, Charapan. *f*, La Cañada, looking westward, or down valley.

[End-plate 1]

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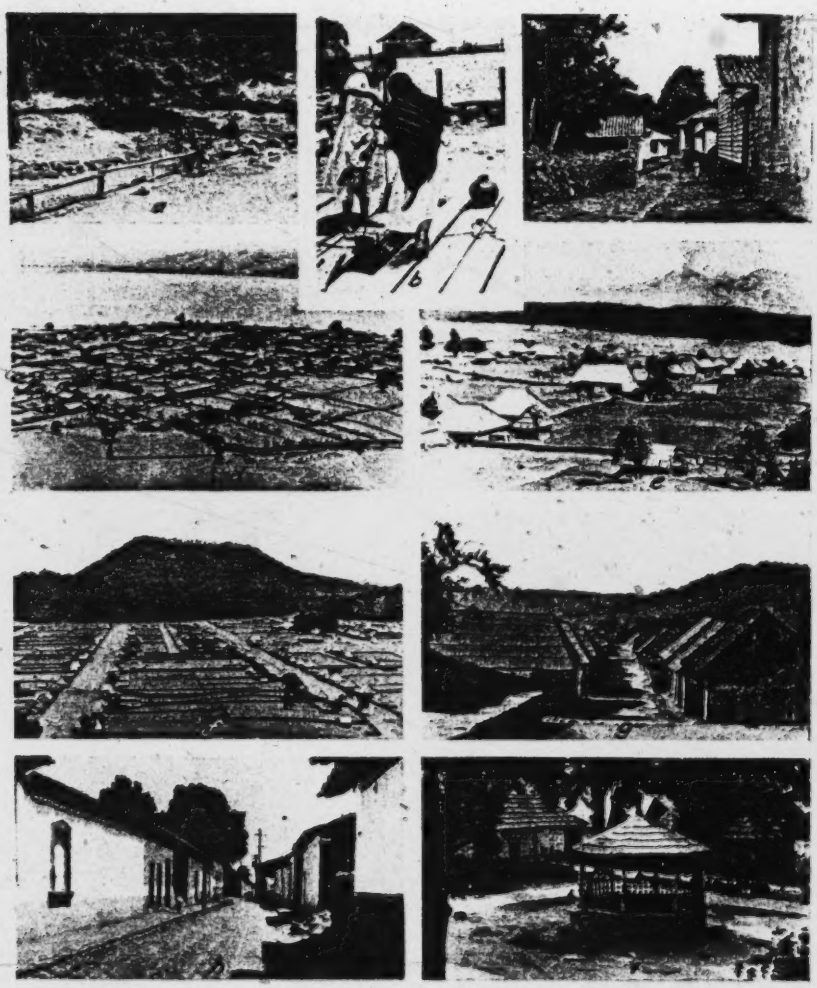

PLATE 2.—Water supply and settlement. *a*, Wooden aqueduct at Patzcuaro, which brings water from the local spring (center) to the outskirts of town. *b*, Hoisting water from one of the public wells in Charapan. *c*, Street in Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d*, Panorama of San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro, showing compact assemblage of adobe structures. *e*, Partial view of Zacán near Paricutín Volcano (background), showing grid street pattern, scattered dwellings, and large lots. *f*, Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo), founded in 1944 to house refugees from destroyed San Juan Parangaricutiro. Nearly all frojes were transported from old San Juan and reassembled on the new site. *g*, Street scene, Charapan (Sierra). *h*, Street scene, Tiríndaro, Zacapu Basin. *i*, Plaza at Charapan.

[End-plate 2]

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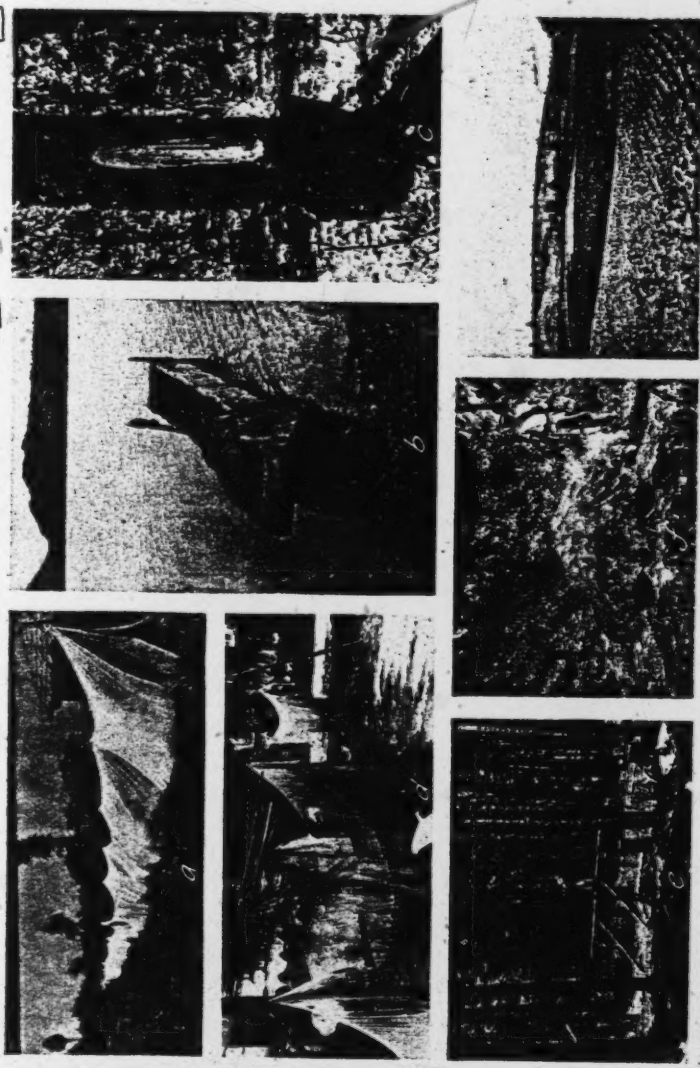

PLATE 8.—Drying land plant specimens. a, Chinkerro nets drying on La Pesanta Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. b, The small Barnia dugout, Lake Pátzcuaro. Note paddles attached to rear of canoe. c, Drying nets on platform near Tzintzuntzan, Lake Pátzcuaro. d, Drying nets on the roof of a house in Tarasco village, Lake Pátzcuaro. e, The nets here into the city wall attached to the tree. f, The small Barnia dugout still not drying. Note paddles attached to rear of canoe. g, Drying nets on platform near Tzintzuntzan, Lake Pátzcuaro. h, Drying nets on roof near Cuyacuaro. i, Old-river bed between Barnia and Tzintzuntzan, now in main lake and used in wind plantings.

[End-plate 8]

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PLATE 12.—Textiles. *a*, A milpa of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many potato makers own their own milpas, but sometimes portions of the brakes are leased to tule sellers, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into sacapes and stacked in shocks. *c*, Weaving petates, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making sacapes, Arantepacua. Work is done inside the kiskon. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the tubs of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tarécuato. *f*, Baskets woven at Ihuatzio. The large one (left), called tuke, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the uyata. The lid round basket is called *p'ákiba* and is used to carry fish and tamales. The twilled basket in a thumb (the Tarascans call it "tacuá") for tortillas. The bundled basket at the right (simply named "canasta") is for carrying eggs, pitaxilla, and other fish.

[End-plate 12]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

●133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and [361] Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of 133 361 463 438 the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

178 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, 179 whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright ~~000~~ red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German [114] scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable [172] sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early [131] date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

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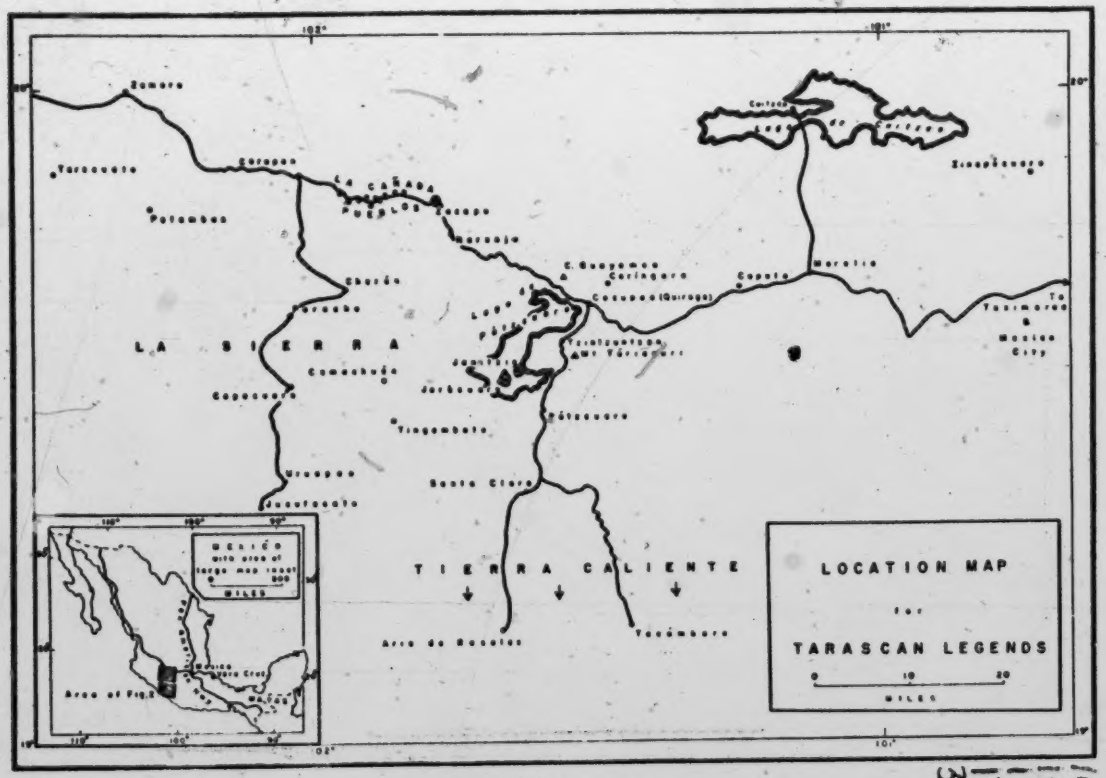
LA SIERRA
TIERRA CALIENTE
LOCATION MAP
FOR
TARASCAN LEGENDS
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Area of Fig. 2
Mexico City
Zamora
Tarecuato
Potandaro
Tacámbaro
Uruapan
Carácuaro
Apatzingán
Tiquicheo
Huetamo
Zitácuaro
Tlalpujahua
Tlalnepantla
Toluca
Tenancingo
Cuernavaca
Tepoztlán
Tepalcingo
Jojutla
Tlaquiltenango
Puente de Ixtla
Tlaltizapán
Cuautla
Tlayacapan
Tepalcingo
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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style. 115 539

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author. 539 [126]

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual [175] [114]

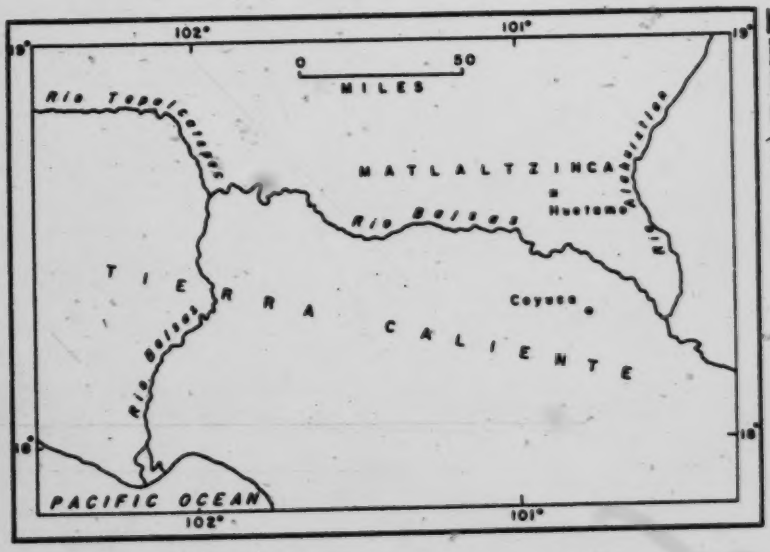

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Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison. 539 [114]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
726 and other data essential to a successful compaign.

Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 131 642 [361] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace. [648]

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 731 164 648 539 551 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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The Legend

Tacamba resided in one of the most colorful sites of the Tierra Caliente, that florid region which marks the descent of the sierra as it breaks away in a spectacular fashion toward the Pacific coast.

Tacamba, a descendant of the legendary Hirepan, was one of the four chieftains of the Michoacán alliance. His kingdom was the richest and most fertile of the four provinces comprising the Tzintzuntzan empire. His capital city of Coyucán, the city of the eagles, sat on the edge of the river that flowed through the luxuriant tropical growth to Zacatula.

The prince was a young man. His tall, willowy stature reminded one of the tropical plant whose name he bore. His countenance was calm and profound, like the brilliance of a star on a calm, clear night. He had spent his life in the tranquility of Coyucán and in the hostilities of the army. At times his life had been like the gentle winds which wove their course through the pines; on other occasions he had lived as violently as the hurricane which pushes aside the oak that falls in its invincible path.

Generous and magnanimous by nature, he did not enjoy war. Nevertheless, when the chief of the quadruple alliance sought his help, Tacamba was the most prudent in council and the most valiant in combat. In spite of the demands of the priests, he never caused a single captive to climb the stairs leading to the sacrificial altar.

During the epochs of peace, this prince taught his people how to improve upon their cultivation of the fertile land in the kingdom and how to advance the rudimentary hand industries which had begun throughout the land.

From time to time Tacamba moved his court to a small valley bearing his name. He had constructed a walled castle on the bluff overlooking the crystalline alberca of Chupio, famous for its nightly visit by the sirens who came by a secret canal from the ocean to sing.

This fortress, situated on the elevated heights, offered a splen-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[End Plate I]

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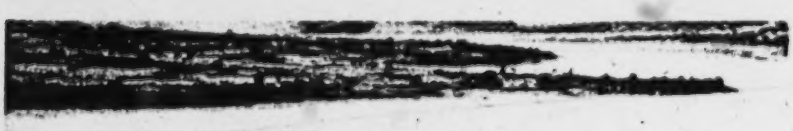

Plate I. Views of Tarascan Countryside

[115] *Upper*, looking towards village of Copula, home of Luis Espinosa, one of the narrators.

Lower, looking across Lake Pátzcuaro from top of island of Janitzio.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.206]

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Maguey (agave)	Crab apples
Chayote	*Zapote blanco*

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but [438] grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

311 The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans all have soils almost exclusively composed of 134 volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

311 Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called "*joyas*," consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

[423] The so-called "plains" consist of several large areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are 241 the principal crops grown. The "plains" are 311 cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

The largest "plain," usually referred to sim- 311 ply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

252 Peanuts are often on sale on the streets.
262 They and cooked squash are the only refreshments accessible to the very poor. Generally
[435] about a handful may be purchased for 1 centavo.

Chilacayote is a member of the squash family with watery white flesh. It probably is closest to what we call pie melons in the United States. It is much liked. The young, immature fruits are boiled with a little milk and, if it can be afforded, a little cheese.

As mentioned previously, mature chilacayotes are eaten all year but mainly in the spring.
[251] If placed in the sun daily for some time during dry weather, they will keep for some months in storage. They are sometimes coated with ashes mixed in water before storage. To serve, they are cut in pieces and boiled. Usually,
[435] cooked pieces may be bought on the street for a centavo.

Atapákua is made of squash blossoms and sliced immature squash, cooked with chile and a little flour or maize dough for thickening.

Nopal (prickly pear) is used as a vegetable. The tender leaves are skinned, cut in small squares, boiled, and then usually fried very lightly in lard.

Squash greens (the tender tips of the runners on the vines), which are commonly eaten in many parts of Mexico, are rarely eaten in Cherán. An informant had "heard" that those people who did eat them boiled the greens, then cooked them lightly with lard.

Green beans are not eaten. Informants did not even know a name for them. Dried beans are boiled, usually with a very little salt. They are often not very well done because of the altitude. They are watery and tasteless to an outsider, although relished by the residents.
[134] They are scarce, as there are few suitable soils near Cherán and most beans are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

Fruits are eaten rather sparingly in season
262 in accordance with the economic status of the family. Locally grown fruits are eaten rather more than imported fruits. Children and young people appear to eat rather more fruit than do adults. Nearly every Cherán lot will have at least a pear, peach, apple, or cherry tree. Tunas, the fruit of the prickly pear, are also eaten as fruit.

137 covered with pine and oak within the memory of living inhabitants. Increased cultivation of slopes and constant cutting for firewood and charcoal will soon destroy the greater part of the pine-oak remnants in the northern plateau.

The escarpment zone.—South of the Sierra lies
132 a series of climatic types arranged in altitudinal sequence. The upper part of the escarpment (5,600 to 3,600 ft.) is characterized by a narrow belt of Cwa (*tierra templada*) climate, which is followed abruptly by the subhumid *tierra caliente* (below 3,600 feet), or Aw. Below 2,000 feet within the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins, a semiarid tropical climate (BSh) prevails.

The pine-oak association of the Sierra spills
137 over onto the upper escarpment, but the subtropical *Pinus oocarpus* becomes the dominant pine. Between 4,600 and 3,600 feet, pines disappear, leaving an open oak forest mixed with subtropical and tropical plants of southern Mexico. At lower elevations the latter plants become dominant.[14]

SOILS

134 Three soil types, which tend to coincide with climate and vegetation, predominate in the Taras-
132 can area: (1) a yellowish-brown leached soil of
137 the upper mountain slopes (Cwb to Cwc, pine-fir cover); (2) a dark, fine sandy loam (t'upúri) of the lower slopes and basins in the Sierra (Cwb, oak-pine, probably grass vegetation); and (3) the reddish-brown clay soil (čaránda) of the lower altitudes (warm phase of Cwb, Cwa, broadleaf vegetation) around Lake Pátzcuaro, in the lower elevations of the northern plateau, and in the escarpment zone (map 6). Transitional and special soil types also occur; for instance, many of the Sierra soils are termed "charandosas," having a higher clay content than the t'upúri loams.

134 **Yellowish-brown soil.**—This soil develops in high altitudes under seasonally humid conditions

[14] The tropical vegetation of the escarpment is characterized by a great variety of genera and species. The most common plants include the milky-sapped trees and shrubs of the family Moraceae—comuchin (*Ficus padifolia*), siranda (*F. petiolaris*), saruma (*Cecropia mexicana*); the pod-bearing Mimosaceae—timbin (*Mimosa stipitata*), guaje (*Leucaena* sp.), huisache (*Acacia* sp.), tepehuaje (*Lysiloma* sp.), parota (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum*), timuche (*Pithecellobium lanceolatum*), guamuchil (*Pithecellobium dulce*), *Calliandra* sp.; the pod-bearing Caesalpiniaceae—habilla (*Cassia occidentalis*), cascalote (*Caesalpinia coriaria*), etc.; the edible fruit-bearing plants of the Annonaceae—chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*); of the Lauraceae—ahuacate (*Persea americana*); of the Sapotaceae—chicozapote (*Achras sapota*), mamey (*Calocarpum mammosum*); of the Anacardiaceae—cirueln, cupu (*Spondias mombin*); of the Mirtaceae—guayaba (*Psidium guayaba*); and the copal-bearing Burseraceae—copal (*Elaphrium jorullense*).

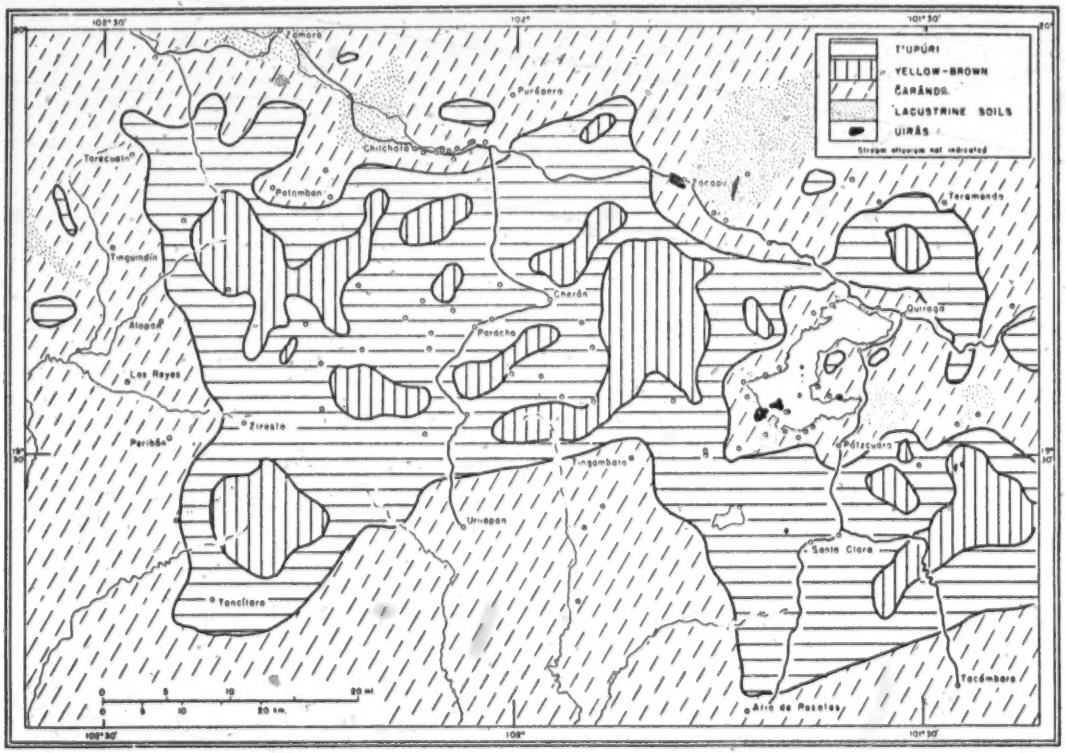
134 and fir-pine vegetation. It is the soil of the higher hillside maize plots in the Sierra; leached and infertile, it will produce crops for no longer than 4 or 5 years, after which the field is abandoned. The fine, sandy topsoil, however, is moisture retentive, and is therefore known as "tierra de humedad," in which crops can be planted 2 months before the rains.[13] Podzolic soils (uncultivated) probably occur above 10,000 feet in the fir forest.

T'upúri.—The most productive of the highland "humedad" soils is t'upúri. Like the yellowish-brown soil, the texture of the topsoil is extremely fine. (Analyzed as fine sandy loam: 56 percent fine sand, 23 percent silt, 21 percent clay, 1 percent coarse gravel.) The surface drys to a fine powder and acts as an insulator, preventing the evaporation of moisture from the soil beneath. Consequently, in April and May near the end of the dry season the t'upúri soil is well moist 3 inches below the surface. T'upúri usually occurs between 6,500 and 8,000 feet on both the lower slopes and in the basin plains. Being porous, the soil soaks up moisture rapidly, preventing serious sheet or gully erosion even on the steeper slopes. Generally, the basin t'upúri is more fertile than the yellowish-brown, the topsoil of the former having a high humus content (6 percent), a fair content of critical elements (e. g. 0.09 percent N), but a deficiency of lime (0.31 percent). Various subtypes of t'upúri occur, differences being based mainly on soil texture. At the base of slopes or on alluvial fans the topsoil is often partially composed of coarse volcanic cinder. Such soil is locally called "cascajo," or gravel. Other subtypes are characterized by an increase in clay content. These occur on the lower slopes, and are sometimes referred to as "tierra charandosa."

Čarándа.—This is a reddish-brown clay soil, which prevails below 6,500 feet and develops from the spheroidal weathering of volcanic rock under warm summer and mild winter temperatures and a cover of broadleaf plants. (Textural content: 39 percent sand, 26 percent silt, 35 percent clay.)

[Text continues top of P. 11a — Analysis]

[13] Surface soil samples (to a depth of 25 cm. below surface) were taken by the writer in the Sierra and Lake areas and were analyzed by the Comisión Nacional de Irrigación, Dirección General de Agroeconómica, México, D. F. Texturally the highland yellow-brown soils are sandy loams, (60 percent fine sand, 20 percent clay, 20 percent silt, are highly water-retentive (30 percent), and are low in humus (4 to 10 percent). All soils analyzed (including t'upúri and čarándа types) were low in lime content (0.24 to 0.34 percent), and slightly alkaline to alkaline (pH values: yellow-brown mountain soils, 7.32 to 7.34; t'upúri, 7.44 to 7.71; čarándа, 7.31 to 7.42; uirás, 8.05 to 8.13). Since profiles were not determined, classification according to world soil groups is not possible at this time.



MAP 6.—Soil types in the modern Tarascan area. Data from field notes.

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 241 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[Text continues top of P. 11b.—Analyst]

TARASCAN

POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 178 171 One of the outstanding developments in Tarascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the 191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign tongues existed; these represented colonies settled 563 with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[Text continues bottom of P. 11b—Analyst]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[161] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

The most serious shock which the indigenous
177 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the
164 frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12-b--AMLYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cuseo; Mus. Nac., leg. 99, Rel. de Charo Matlalzingo.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1572, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

342 where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

[continued on p. 7b]

The Town of Cherán THE TOWN

361 The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley
133 floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine
[312] afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring 9¼ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center.
[135] At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

363 Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north–south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

[p. 7a] [continued bottom of page 7-b]

133 prominent landmarks in the area: Cerro de Tancítaro (12,660 feet), Cerro de Patamban (12,300 feet), Cerro de Quinseo (10,800 feet), Cerro el Zirate (10,955 feet). The flanks of these [135] mountains are composed mainly of andesite with some pinkish rhyolite near the summits; small veins of mineral-bearing quartz sometimes occur within the andesite. Conical shape and radial drainage characterize these volcanoes, but most craters have been destroyed by erosion. Frequently erosion of soft consolidated ash situated between andesite flows has formed caves, which have acquired importance in Tarascan folklore.

Cinder cones and lava flows, Pleistocene to Recent in age, represent the younger forms in the Sierra. The entire area is dotted with cones, 250 to 700 feet high, with no apparent alinement. Most are composed of semiconsolidated ash, cinder, and large blocks of explosion remnants. Two types of cones occur: (1) the symmetrical cone with a well-developed, flat-floored crater, and (2) the breached cone, with one side partially destroyed, initially by explosion or lava flow and subsequently by erosion. Some cones are ribbed by radial drainage; others carry scars of surface slips; owing to porous surface materials, a few show little effects of erosion, in spite of high (35°–45°) angle slopes.

Basaltic lava flows, originating usually from Pleistocene or Recent fissures in the sides of old volcanoes or occasionally from large cinder cones, have descended slopes in narrow corridors and have fanned out in wide expanses on gentle gradients. Fantastically rough surfaces characterize the flows, which form the Sierra's badlands—agriculturally unproductive and barriers to horse and wheeled traffic. Comparative age of the flows can be roughly determined by the degree of rock decomposition and character of vegetation cover. In some flows, such as that south of Pomacuarán, depressions and crevasses are partially filled with alluvium; large areas are covered with a thin soil mantle; sizable pines and oaks cover most of the flow. These features evidence a long period of exposure. In contrast, the rough, blackened, almost treeless *malpaís* northwest of Zacapu at the Sierra's northern edge, appears to be a much younger flow.

Volcanic activity in the Sierra has possibly been continuous from Eocene to the present day. Jorullo (1759) and Paricutin (1943) represent

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 39 ---- ANALYST]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

133 Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this [132] range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzucuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact [136] that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some [132] areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from [312] almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

The present-day range of the Tarascans can- 131 not be defined with great accuracy, partly be- 101 cause of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settle-
174 ment. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

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[p.12b]

136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an incon-
224 siderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Corpulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or
164 incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

Chickens.—Many people have no chickens 235 and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the god- [262] father. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

574 609 with whom especially friendly relations exist, normally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

So far as is known, customs in other mountain 351 towns are similar in all respects except for the 574 attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences 184 are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 The major insect pests are fleas. In some vil- 136 lages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is 164 impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to [515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 52-C] Pátzcuaro

226 tiges remain in some of the mainland towns, where a few farmers fish part-time along the shore to supply local demand (map 19).

The fish resource.—The native fishes of Lake 136 Pátzcuaro are common to most lakes and streams of the western part of the Mesa Central. Most of the commercially important species belong to the genus *Chirostoma* (Atherinidae), which vary in length from 2 to 12 inches. *C. estor* is the famed *pescado blanco* (kurúča urápiti) of Pátzcuaro; *C. bartoni*, the *charal* or č'arári, is a tiny species that is sun-dried and sold over a wide area; *C. grandocule* is called k'uerépu, although this term is usually applied to the young of other species. Other genera include small fish, notably akúmaɪa, or *sardina* (*Algansea lacustris*), čéua (*Allophorus robustus*), and t'íru, which includes at least four genera of the Goodeidae family (*Goodea luitpoldii*, *Neoophorus diazi diazi*, *Allotoca vivipara*, *Skiffia lermae*). Around 1930 a black bass (*Micropterus* (*Huro*) *salmoides*), called *trucha* or *carpa*, native to eastern North American streams, was introduced into Lake Pátzcuaro presumably to increase a failing fish reserve. The *trucha*, however, upset an established biotic equilibrium by feeding on the small littoral fish, almost exterminating the t'íru and diminishing the stock of čéua and č'arári. In addition to fish, freshwater shrimp (šapitu) and frogs (kuanásɪa, *Rana pipens*) inhabit the lake and are often caught and eaten.[130]

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 549]

[130] A large literature exists on the fish resources of Lake Pátzcuaro. The more important works are Ancona et al. (1940), Osorio Tafall (1944), and De Buen (1943, 1944).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.4b]

000 Calif.; Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, former Chief, Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico; Dr. Gerardo Varela, Director of the Escuela Nacional de Ciencis Biológicas, Mexico; Lic. Gilberto Loyo, Director General of the Census, Mexico; Dr. J. B. Lockey, former Chairman, Board of Research, University of California, Los Angeles; Dr. Vern O. Knudsen, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; and the late Dr. Charles B. Lipman, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

The excellence of the drawings is due to the intelligent cooperation and skill of Virginia More Roediger, who worked not only as an artist but as an illustrator.

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THE SETTING AND

THE PEOPLE

133 have large level tracts, for most of the elevated part of the State is in the so-called "volcanic axis" of Mexico. In many regions, and this is particularly true of the area occupied by the Tarascans, the characteristic sky line is a series of old volcanic cones, often surrounding basins or long depressions, in which more recent low cinder cones frequently occur (pl. 1, upper and lower left). Dozens of peaks have elevations of over 10,000 feet, but only one may exceed 11,000 feet.

To the south and southwest the terrain drops sharply toward a great basin formed by tributaries of the Balsas River. The slope is steep and so thoroughly dissected by streams that, despite the opening of many roads and truck trails in recent years, it still is not possible to reach the Balsas River by road from highland Michoacán. This great basin forms an important portion of Michoacán and is much visited by the Tarascans. Tropical vegetation and climate characterize the basin except for a semiarid section in the west.

[184] [137] [132]

The Pacific coast of the State is paralleled by a large range of mountains, the Sierra de

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 7a]

13 West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about
133 equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcu-
[361] aro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

137 Except for occasional marginal farm clear-
[311] ings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

311 Wherever the land is sufficiently level to permit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smal-
311 ler extent, wheat, are almost the only field
241 crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settle-
174 ment. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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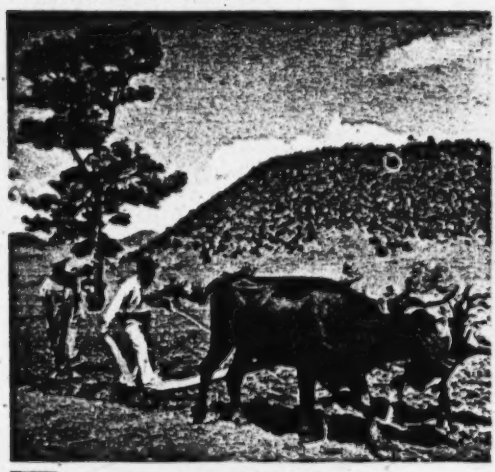

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PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

313 All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
656 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
[423] most entirely on public lands considered to belong to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort was open to all residents who had paid a small fee to an administrative committee. The fee was used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently, the Department of Forestry of the Federal Government has restricted exploitation of the forests for any purpose other than the collection of firewood to persons having permits. In Cherán this
[474] apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry has refused to give permits to any other group or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks and beams. Shake making is even more specialized, and men who make shakes may do nothing else except look after whatever farm lands they may own. Only a very poor person would attempt to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
●137 tinguished, red (iaíni), the heartwood of large trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or wood from young trees. From these woods are made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over 2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or *tablas*.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-handled saw (k'eréri aiákutarakua). Logs destined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the *sara*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *sara* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

132 **Climatic areas and associated vegetation.**—Sufficient statistical data are not available to
137 construct accurately a map showing climatic types in the Tarascan area. Using (1) the available statistics from the few existing stations, (2) vegetation boundaries taken from field observations and aerial photographs, and (3) elevations from topographic maps compiled from aerial photography, an attempt has been made to locate climatic areas based on the Köppen system (map 4).

The Sierra.—The Cwb and Cwc climatic types of Köppen[12] correspond to the *tierra fría* of the Tarascans—the Sierra, its eastern extension (including the Sierra de Ozumatlán), and the southeastern part of the northern plateau area. A mixed oak-pine forest forms the dominant vegetation of the Sierra and its eastern extension, and corresponds to the higher and colder phase of the Cwb climatic zone. (Cf. maps 4 and 5.) *Pinus*
137 *leiophylla* (pino chino) and *P. michoacana* var. *cornuta* (pino lacio) are the principal pines (pʿukúri) of the Sierra (Martínez, 1945). (Pl. 1.) The former species is the main turpentine producer, while the latter, a straight, tall tree, affords the best lumber. Minor species of pines found in the Sierra include *P. teocote*, *P. pseudostrobus*, and in the upper escarpment zone, the subtropical pine *P. oocarpa*. Even at high altitudes the pines rarely form solid stands, but are mixed with numerous species of oak, the latter dominent at lower altitudes, the former at higher elevations. Some 30 species of oak (uríkua, tukús, šaiári), both deciduous and persistent, occur in the Sierra and adjacent areas. Among the more common are *Quercus fulva*, *Q. acuminata*, *Q. circinata*, *Q. laxa*, *Q. crassipes*, and *Q. pandurata* (Trelease, 1924). Often mixed with pine and oak are madroño (panáŋksa; *Arbutus* sp.); various laurels (Lauraceae); many hydrophytes in barranca bottoms, such as jaboncillo (sápu), palo blanco (uárpit-uku; *Alnus* sp.), palo colorado (čarápit-uku).

On lower slopes one often sees the Mexican "crab apple" (actually a hawthorne) or tejocote (kaiás; *Crataegus mexicana*) and the "cherry" or capulín (šéngua; *Prunus capuli*), both of which

[Text continues top of P. 8a--Analysis]

[12] Mathematical values of Köppen symbols: *C*, temperature of coldest month between −3° and 18° C.; *w*, dry winter, rainy summer; *b*, temperature of warmest month less than 22° C.; *c*, temperature of coldest month above −38° C., and mean temperature of less than 4 months out of the year is more than 10° C.

[137] are frequently semicultivated in hedgerows and in house lots. Agave (akámba; *A. latissima*, *A. americana*) is also a frequent hedge plant found particularly on the outskirts of settlements, and the tree yucca or izote (ꞗámbasa; *Yucca australis*), although more common at lower altitudes, is often seen in Sierra villages. Understory vegetation in the oak-pine zone is sparse, possibly owing to the annual burning of herbaceous plants in the forest to improve summer forage. Some of the more prominent understory plants are *zarzamora* (ꞗtún; *Rubus* sp.), a wild blackberry especially abundant along hedgerows, and wild grape vines (*Vitis* sp.). Various epiphytes, such as orchids of many species, are found on the trunks and branches of pine and oak throughout the Sierra.

[132] Although meteorological data are lacking, the climate of elevations above 10,000 feet is possibly Cwc, i. e., cold winters and cool summers (map 4). Such elevations occur on the upper slopes of the higher volcanoes, where snow occasionally falls and where fir (*Abies religiosa*) forms the dominant vegetation. On slopes above 8,700 feet this tree (*pinabete*, t'kúmbu) starts to appear among pine and oak. At 10,000 feet solid stands of fir begin and continue to the mountain peaks, where high altitude pine (*P. hartwegii*) has gained a foothold in cracks and crevices in rocky cliffs. Understory vegetation in the fir forest consists of various herbaceous plants, including a bunchgrass called *zacate* or jóčin (*Muhlenbergia macroura*). The green shoots of jóčin afford the principal forage for sheep and goat herds which are grazed on the high slopes of Cerro de Patamban and (before the eruption of Parícutin) on Cerro de Tancítaro.

The type of original vegetation in the basin plains within the Sierra is problematical. Probably cleared and cultivated for more than 300 years, these plains now show little evidence of the original vegetation cover. The dark-colored soil of the plains suggests the former presence of a grass cover, possibly with scattered oaks and pines.

The Lake district.—According to temperature [132] figures, the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro fall within the *tierra fría* climate (Cwb). Owing to higher winter temperatures than those experienced in the Sierra, and to absence of fog, the Lake district enjoys a warm phase of Cwb (possibly transitional between Cwb and Cwa). Oak and associated broadleaf trees, such as madroño, jaboncillo, etc.,

[137] form the dominant plant complex of a belt 3 km. wide around the lake. Moreover, colorín (p'ołénęa; *Erythrina americana*), casahuate (*Ipomoea murucoides*), and zapote blanco (uríata; *Casimiroa edulis*), all characteristic of the warmer sections of the northern plateau, are common hedge plants in the Lake area. Along the lake shore, water-loving plants, including a willow (tarímu; *Salix bonplandiana*), shrubs of "tepozán" (*Buddleia* sp.), and clumps of bamboolike carrizo (p'atámu; *Arundo donax*) are not uncommon; while in marshy sections canebrakes (*tule* or p'arímu; *Cyperus thrysiflorus*) abound. Other aquatic plants include various waterlilies and hyacinths (*Nymphaea* sp.; *Eichhornia speciosa*). Possibly a mixed pine-oak forest once covered the lower slopes bordering the lake, but, if so, the pines have long since been destroyed for firewood and lumber. Occasionally lone specimens of *Pinus leiophylla* are found on the outskirts of lake villages.

[132] **The northern plateau.**—The Cwb climate extends northward from the Sierra into the southeastern part of the northern plateau area. In the middle and lower Río Lerma Basin (Bajío) and in La Cañada, however, the Cwa climate of the *tierra templada* occurs. In both Cwa and Cwb areas of the northern plateau, oak and pine forests occupy only the summits of the higher hills, below which exist stands of oak and madroño. The lower slopes and plains carry an association of grass and shrub, the latter consisting of casahuate, zapote blanco, tejocote, palo blanco (*Lysiloma candida*), granjeno (*Celtis pallida*), jara amarillo (tóksten; *Senecio salignus*), all typical of the more humid portions of the central plateau. Xerophytes, such as huisache (*Acacia* sp.), mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*), and various cacti (mainly *Opuntieae*), are common. In the plains, fresnos (padámu; *Fraxinus* sp.) form gallery forests along streams, and in draws within the hills hydrophytes, such as wild ahuacate and other laurels, predominate. Formerly extensive meadows existed at the edge of swamps and lakes, particularly in the lowlands east of Lake Chapala and the well-watered plains near the northern edge of the Sierra. In the northern plateau pine and oak forests were formerly more extensive than at present. Many of the hilltops north of the present México-Guadalajara highway, which are now barren of arboreal vegetation, were once

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 9a---ANALYST]

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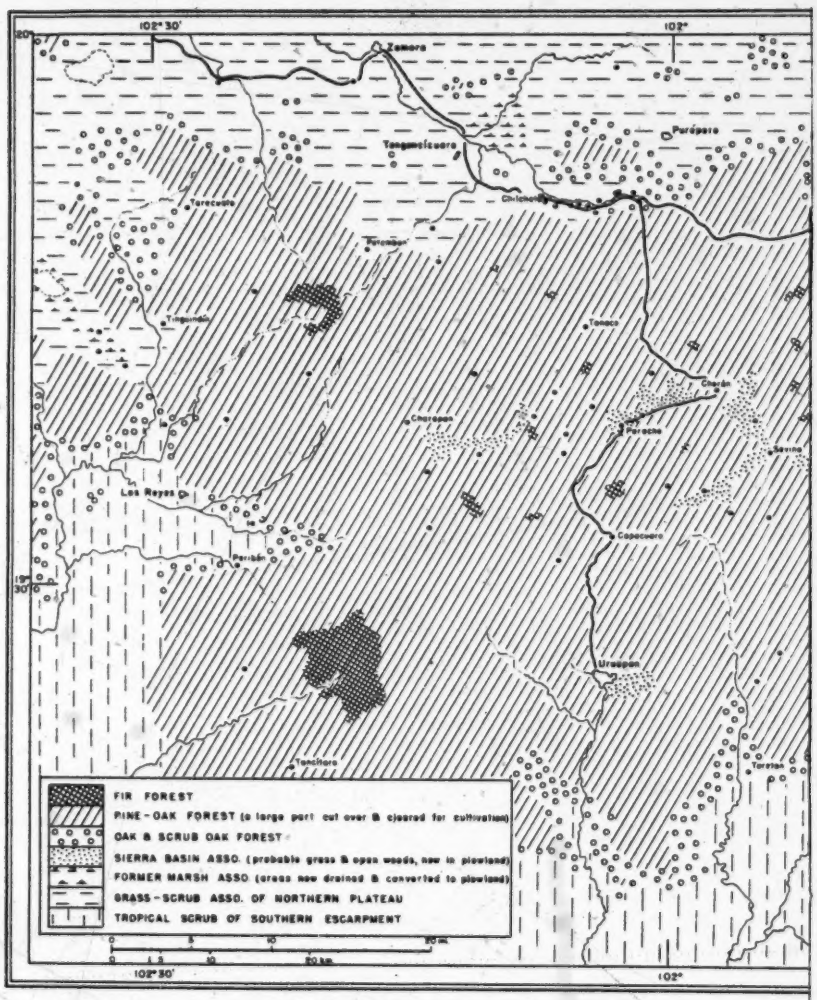

MAP 5.—Vegetation types in the modern Tarascan area. Data from a

[Facing page 8; section A.]

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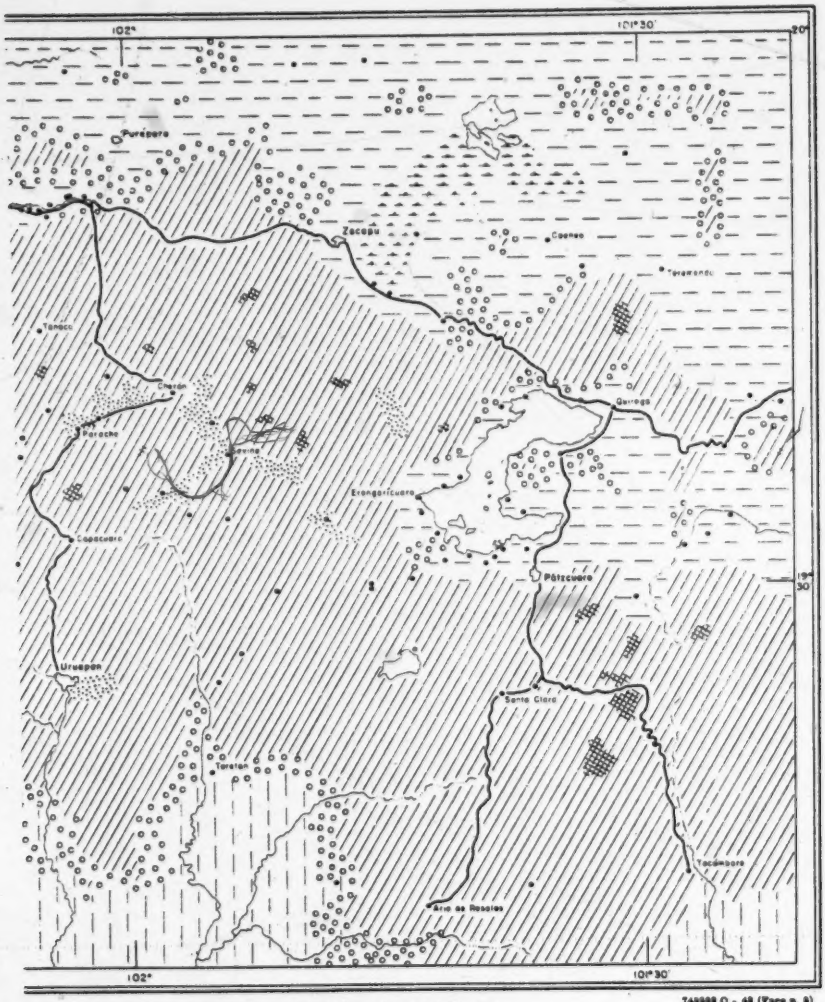

modern Tarascan area. Data from aerial photographs and field notes.

749999 O - 48 (Face p. 8)

[Facing page 8; section B]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 9-a]

137 covered with pine and oak within the memory of living inhabitants. Increased cultivation of slopes and constant cutting for firewood and charcoal will soon destroy the greater part of the pine-oak remnants in the northern plateau.

The escarpment zone.—South of the Sierra lies
132 a series of climatic types arranged in altitudinal sequence. The upper part of the escarpment (5,600 to 3,600 ft.) is characterized by a narrow belt of Cwa (*tierra templada*) climate, which is followed abruptly by the subhumid *tierra caliente* (below 3,600 feet), or Aw. Below 2,000 feet within the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins, a semiarid tropical climate (BSh) prevails.

The pine-oak association of the Sierra spills
137 over onto the upper escarpment, but the subtropical *Pinus oocarpus* becomes the dominant pine. Between 4,600 and 3,600 feet, pines disappear, leaving an open oak forest mixed with subtropical and tropical plants of southern Mexico. At lower elevations the latter plants become dominant.[14]

SOILS

Three soil types, which tend to coincide with
134 climate and vegetation, predominate in the Tarascan area: (1) a yellowish-brown leached soil of
132 the upper mountain slopes (Cwb to Cwc, pine-fir
137 cover); (2) a dark, fine sandy loam (t'upúri) of the lower slopes and basins in the Sierra (Cwb, oak-pine, probably grass vegetation); and (3) the reddish-brown clay soil (čaránda) of the lower altitudes (warm phase of Cwb, Cwa, broadleaf vegetation) around Lake Pátzcuaro, in the lower elevations of the northern plateau, and in the escarpment zone (map 6). Transitional and special soil types also occur; for instance, many of the Sierra soils are termed "charandosas," having a higher clay content than the t'upúri loams.

134 **Yellowish-brown soil.**—This soil develops in high altitudes under seasonally humid conditions

[14] The tropical vegetation of the escarpment is characterized by a great variety of genera and species. The most common plants include the milky-sapped trees and shrubs of the family Moraceae—comuchin (*Ficus padifolia*), siranda (*F. petiolaris*), saruma (*Cecropia mexicana*); the pod-bearing Mimosaceae—timbin (*Mimosa stipulata*), guaje (*Leucaena* sp.), huisache (*Acacia* sp.), tapehuaje (*Lysiloma* sp.), parota (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum*), timuche (*Pithecellobium lanceolatum*), guamuchil (*Pithecellobium dulce*), *Calliandra* sp.; the pod-bearing Caesalpiniaceae—habilla (*Cassia occidentalis*), casacalote (*Caesalpinia coriaria*), etc.; the edible fruit-bearing plants of the Annonaceae—chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*); of the Lauraceae—ahuacate (*Persea americana*); of the Sapotaceae—chicozapote (*Achras sapota*), mamey (*Calocarpum mammosum*); of the Anacardiaceae—circuela, cupu (*Spondias mombin*); of the Mirtaceae—guayaba (*Psidium guayaba*); and the copal-bearing Burseraceae—copal (*Elaphrium jorullense*).

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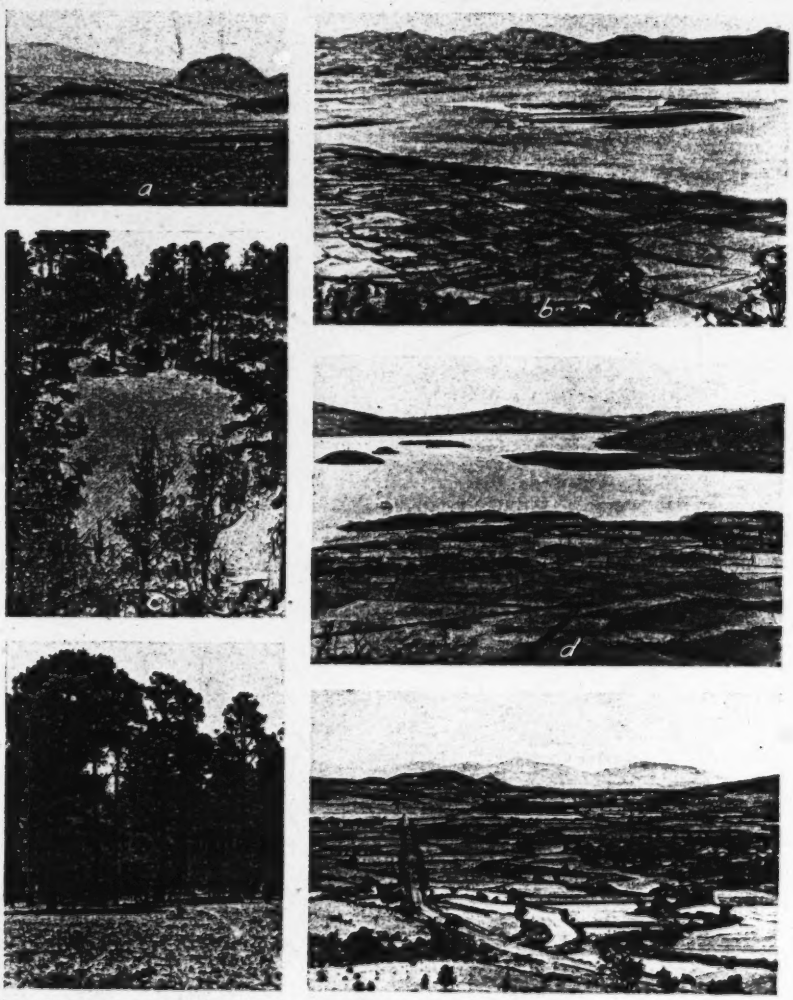

PLATE 1.—Physical landscape. *a*, Portion of a Sierra basin near Arantepacua. *b*, Southwestern part of Lake Pátzcuaro; Jarácuaro Island and newly formed Pacheco Island, upper center. *c*, Cultivated floor of shallow swamp crater near Charapan. *d*, Lake Pátzcuaro, looking northward; note volcanic islands in middle of lake and the Urandén Islets immediately off shore. *e*, Mixed pine-oak forest at edge of maize field, Charapan. *f*, La Cañada, looking westward, or down valley.

[End-plate 1]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

9: Lasker D-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

By GABRIEL W. LASKER

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community[1]

II. RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

114 KAPLAN has shown that whether individuals are considered to be Indians or Mestizos is primarily a cultural matter.[2] She reports the answers of a group studied in the Mexican town of Paracho, Michoacán to the question: "Are your parents Indians, Mestizos or what?" Such criteria as place of birth and language rather than physical appearance feature in the explanations.

141 For the same group for whom Kaplan has published data on the stated race of the parents,λ I have made a series of measurements and observations of racial characteristics. Both so-called Indians (148 males and 85 females) and Mestizos (135 males and 95 females) were examined. The Indians consist of persons both of whose parents are described as Tarascans, Indians or natives (*natural*). The Mestizos comprise individuals one or both of whose parents are described as white, Spanish (*gente de razon*), or mixed.

TABLE 1

RACIAL MEASUREMENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP

		Males			Females		
		No.	Mean	Standard Error	No.	Mean	Standard Error
Cephalic Index	Indian	146	77.8	0.3	83	78.6	0.3
	Mestizo	135	78.2	0.3	93	78.2	0.4
Bizygomatic Diameter	Indian	148	137.2 mm	0.4	85	129.8 mm	0.5
	Mestizo	96	136.3 mm	0.5	95	130.5 mm	0.5
Total Facial Index	Indian	148	90.1	0.5	85	90.2	0.6
	Mestizo	135	91.1	0.5	94	90.0	0.5
Upper Facial Index	Indian	130	53.9	0.3	74	54.6	0.5
	Mestizo	129	54.4	0.3	87	54.2	0.4
Stature	Indian	145	1618.4 mm	4.8	84	1513.9 mm	5.0
	Mestizo	132	1628.9 mm	4.7	93	1516.1 mm	5.0

Various physical traits are considered in respect to which Europeans differ from American Indian and other Mongoloid peoples. In the Mexican town under study, however, the children of persons identified as Indian and Mestizo differ little in these features. None of the differences between Indians and Mestizos in the measurements or indices considered shows a statistically significant critical ratio (see table 1). There is, for instance,

[1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
[2] Bernice A. Kaplan, "Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community. I. Socio-Cultural Factors," PAYLOK, XIV, No. 2, 179.

λ [see B. Kaplan, this file. Analyst]

9: Lasker D-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

141 no significant difference in head form as measured by the average cephalic index. Also, although facial breadth is characteristically wider in Mongoloids than in other peoples, the Indians of each sex in this series are not broader in the face than the Mestizos — either in respect to bizygomatic diameter or when this is taken as a ratio of the total facial height — or of the upper facial height. When it comes to stature, however, the Indians of both sexes tend to be shorter on the average than the respective Mestizos. A previous study indicates that differences in stature are found between individuals in the same series who had spent some of their formative years as temporary migrants to the United States and those who had remained in Mexico.[3] Such differences represent the effects of milieu. [144] [146] It is quite possible, therefore, that any variations in stature between so-called Indians and Mestizos are also due to factors in their conditions of life — especially diet — rather than to any inherited racial differences between the two groups.

144 Most of the traits which would be expected to distinguish American Indians from Europeans are descriptive attributes which have been 142 counted rather than measured. Among these are dark brown eyes, black hair, straight hair, prominent cheek bones (malars), and markedly concave front teeth (shovel-shaped incisors). These traits are in fact slightly more common in the Indians than in the Mestizos (See figures 1-5). Among males, all five of these characteristics are found in 33 per cent of 97 Indians, but they also occur in 19 per cent of 100 Mestizos. The only males to lack all five factors are four of the 100 Mestizos. For the females the five characters are all found in 29 per cent of 55 Indians and in 21 per cent of 72 Mestizos. None of the females examined lacked all of these Mongoloid traits. As far as these particular features are concerned most of the members of the community, whether regarded as Indians or not, show some Indian characteristics.

There are other conditions which are considered Mongoloid. A fold of the upper eyelid which covers the inner corner of the free lash-bearing margin (internal epicanthic fold) is one of them. General deficiency of facial and bodily hair is another such trait. Jutting of the teeth (prognathism) is a third. As will be seen in figures 6-8, however, neither eyefolds, mid-digital hair on the back of the fingers, nor prognathism differentiates Indians from Mestizos in this group of Mexicans.

145 A higher proportion of the persons categorized as Indians falls in the older age groups. As some traits are affected by age, it is necessary to make allowance for this factor. For instance, eyefolds tend to shift from internal to external types with age; yet age by age in this series similar proportions of the various types are found in Indians and Mestizos.

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[3] Gabriel W. Lasker, "Environmental Growth Factors and Selective Migration," Human Biology, 24: 303-309 (1953).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 12 b]

136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an incon-
224 siderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Corpulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or
164 incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

827 linear body build which was repeated in the
143 children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark
[142] skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

732 Occasional examples occur of children apparently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeblemindedness.

854 Few special attentions to infants are recorded. There is no use of ashes or leaving of corn ears or fire pokers with infants when they are left alone, but a broom of straw may be left at the head of the child's bed for protection against evil if the mother wishes to leave it for a few minutes. Children are nursed freely whenever
853 they desire the breast. Although some evi-
[834] dence of shyness was evident, for example, some mothers draped their *rebozo* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

854 Infants are ordinarily carried by their mothers, almost invariably wrapped in the *rebozo*. Even if the child is carried in the arm, the *rebozo* is slung around the child and over the shoulders to take part of the weight. Ordinarily a small child is slung more or less horizontally in the *rebozo* on the mother's back. One end of the *rebozo* goes under the left arm, the other over the right shoulder, the two ends

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[8] Gabriel W. Lasker, "Environmental Growth Factors and Selective Migration," Human Biology, 24: [illegible] ([illegible]).

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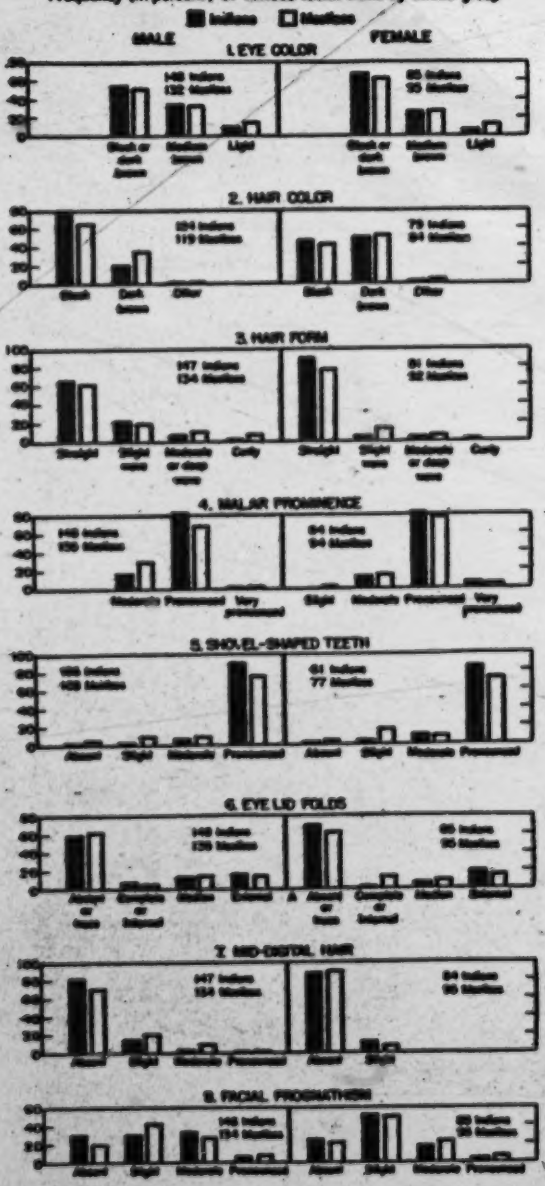
Sierra Tarascans

142

Frequency (in percent) of various racial traits by ethnic group



844 The child is then wiped off with a clean cloth and oiled but not bathed. Clothing prepared in advance is put on the child. It is said that the midwife tells parents in advance whether to prepare clothing for a boy or a girl and that they seldom make a mistake. But as no difference could be found in the clothing and, indeed, the child is usually wrapped just in some clean rags, the statement has little significance. Sometimes the child is given tea of Castile roses or a bit of edible oil, but most midwives thought nothing should be given the first day.

853 The child is nursed the second day. Rarely does the mother not have milk. Should this happen, the aid of some nursing mother is sought or the child is given cow or goat milk. The latter is not diluted, but it is boiled before using, often being flavored with a bit of yerba buena or cinnamon. Special drinks are given the mother to induce milk flow if it is inadequate. Brews of flaxseed (?) were mentioned.

844 The afterbirth is buried, sometimes beside the fireplace, sometimes under it. If this is not done, it is believed the mother would become "cold," but one midwife stated the cord is preserved and used for remedies. The cord of Agustín Rangel's father was taken to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac and left.

846 Midwives continue to visit the house to attend to the mother and child. The bandage over the umbilicus is removed every 2 or 3 days. The cord drops off between the second and eighth days (the longer period apparently being unusual). The umbilicus is then anointed with iodine or powder made from tules. Sometimes small hernias are cured with a small ball of sosa (an herb) or a green tomato. Hernias result from carelessness or "coldness." Infections of the umbilicus result from carelessness in bathing the child. One midwife reported curing them with face powder!

The child is normally bathed by the midwife on the third, sixth, and ninth days (according to one midwife, immediately after birth also "if that is the custom of the house"). Warm water is used for the bath.

827 Some idea that children resemble parents seems to be prevalent and to be attributed to
143 hereditary mechanisms (although in this informants may have been sophisticated). An instance cited was that of a man with a very

827 linear body build which was repeated in the
143 children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark
[142] skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

732 Occasional examples occur of children apparently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeblemindedness.

854 Few special attentions to infants are recorded. There is no use of ashes or leaving of corn ears or fire pokers with infants when they are left alone, but a broom of straw may be left at the head of the child's bed for protection against evil if the mother wishes to leave it for a few minutes. Children are nursed freely whenever
853 they desire the breast. Although some evi-
[834] dence of shyness was evident, for example, some mothers draped their *rebozo* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

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136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and
224 the amount of game taken forms an inconsiderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Corpulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or
164 incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

843 sidered frequent symptoms also. Sometimes in the early months women are sick at their stomachs and vomit in the mornings.

Usually a midwife is sought early in pregnancy and pays frequent visits to the enceinte woman. The midwife massages the woman with lard or cooking oil "to make sure the foetus is in the right position" and generally keeps an eye on the patient's health. Sometimes the midwife locates the head of the child during the massage. A fee of 10 centavos is charged for each visit.

A pregnant woman should not do much work, should not lift heavy things, and should take frequent baths in cold water in the house. She continues to grind corn and carry water; young mothers, indeed, are encouraged to keep active by older women, who believe some exercise helps the mother. She does not cook tortillas if she can avoid it, because the fire might "cook" the foetus. Toward the end of pregnancy some women are "delicate" and eat very little. At Capacuaro this is customary in the last days of pregnancy. Otherwise there are no prenatal food taboos.

843 An eclipse during pregnancy may cause
821 something bad to happen to the child. To
[789] prevent the effects, a red belt is worn underneath the several belts worn by women who dress in traditional costume. If Mestizo costume is worn, red underwear is used. Women should do nothing during an eclipse. The
[144] occurrence of Mongoloid spot is reported. It is believed that this is caused by the woman carrying her coins in the customary fashion in her belt during pregnancy.

843 Women should not tie any animals during pregnancy, as this may cause the child to be strangled by the umbilical cord during birth. If the mother urinates where some animal has urinated, the child may be born with some part of the animal. Reports were given by midwives of children having been born with a pig face or a goat face and tail because the mother urinated where these animals had urinated. In the latter part of pregnancy a woman should always remove the lid from a vessel before lifting it from the fire; if she fails to observe this rule, the child may be born dumb. Clubfoot is caused by the mother not taking proper care of herself.

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases
821 of the moon determines the length of labor.
844 Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching
[144] stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal
[753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

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[3] Gabriel W. Lasker, "Environmental Growth Factors and Selective Migration," Human Biology, 24: 323-329 (1952).

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145 Alveolar prognathism decreases with loss of teeth in old age and this trait has therefore been excluded from consideration, but extent of jut of the whole face (which is not noticeably affected by age) is not different between Mestizos and Indians. Some important characteristics of hair tend to change with age. Texture, baldness, greying, mustache and beard development and tendency to concurrency of the eyebrows are therefore excluded from detailed consideration; none show any close correlation with ascribed "race," however.

186 In summary, one may repeat that in the Mexican community under consideration, practically the whole range of physical types occurs both
144 in individuals whose parents are described as Indians and in those whose parents are considered to be Mestizos or Spanish. It is clear therefore that the physical appearance of the people cannot enter appreciably into their categorization of themselves. This supplements direct evidence that the ethnic identification is considered a cultural and linguistic matter and eliminates the possibility that considerations based on biological race significantly enter into the judgments.

Some children walk
868 as early as 8 months, but most later, and some
145 not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be papá, mamá, ueksínga ("I want"), and auáka ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 8 months.

Toilet training is not rigorous and little is
863 done until the child is able to walk. Up to this
854 time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In
[155] general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

As soon as children begin to walk, they are
854 dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments.
291 In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn, Little girls wore a tiny *rollo*, while boys wore cotton trousers and shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little
854 girls are pierced by their mothers, using a
304 needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

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[3] Gabriel W. Lasker, "Environmental Growth Factors and Selective Migration," Human Biology, 24: 303-320 (1952).

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

262 meat. At this time of year there may have
511 been a few meals with immature squash or wild
556 herbs from the woods, stewed with perhaps a little milk or cheese and lard.

Evelyn Payne Hatcher kindly consented to
146 attempt an analysis of the diet of Cherán.
262 The results are full of guesswork, but they
556 are at least suggestive. The results show
511 that if yellow maize was used almost exclusively, the diet of a wealthy family would contain no outright deficiencies and in many respects provide more than the usual recommended minimum amounts of various vitamins and proteins and calories. A very poor family, on the other hand, would show a striking deficiency in vitamin B_1 and an inadequate caloric intake. Both diets would give a marked deficiency of vitamin A if white corn were used instead of yellow corn. Despite the inadequacy of the data, there seems little reason to doubt that in some cases, particularly among poor families, deficiencies in the diet are sufficiently large to have a pronounced effect upon behavior and cultural participation (Beals and Hatcher, 1943).

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Some interesting comparisons are afforded by
262 data from other towns. The most complete
556 information was secured from Chilchota in La
511 Cañada.

Chilchota is a Mestizoized Indian town, i. e., the bulk of the population is of Indian descent but a number of Mestizos have moved in, the native language is scarcely spoken any longer, and the people regard themselves as non-Indian. Customs are closely similar to those in the nearby Indian towns, however. Following are some menus collected by Silvia Rendón (for Cherán menus, see Beals and Hatcher, 1943):

Chilchota menus

Luncheons (taken about 10 or 11 a. m.; no breakfast in this case):

Average household:

Broiled beef
Boiled beans
Black atole
Chile sauce
Tortillas

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[3] Gabriel W. Lasker, "Environmental Growth Factors and Selective Migration," Human Biology, 24: 283-300 (1952).

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield
113 and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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TABLE 1

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	148	18,200	2,150	—	1.5	14.8	6.36	15,629
meat (beef)	8	40	90	4	.13	2.5	1.6	500
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
beans	3.5	27	50	0	—	.77	.05	350
milk	8	350	38	5	.30	.14	.16	155
cabbage	2	30	14	8	—	.03	0	16
chile	1.5	1,320	—	81	—	—	—	—
oranges	4.5	70	35	40	.12	.94	0	65
bananas	5	230	28	23	.07	.06	0.01	140
pears	3.5	6	5	3	.02	.02	.01	68
sugar	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	113
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
Totals		22,593	2,469	204	2.56	19.21	8.83	17,529

Diet of one adult for one week, an average of the diets given.
I. U.: International Units.
mg.: milligrams.

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146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than minimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vitamin B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories.

262 556 511

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

[184]

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 113

ment of Agriculture Circular Nº 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular Nº 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin Nº 707, 1939: and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

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TABLE II

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
meat	10.4	52	117	5.7	.16	1.9	1.35	875
cheese	1.6	900	7	—	.25	.37	.52	179
bread	1	70	30	0	—	.1	.02	100
bananas	5.5	230	28	7	.07	.66	.11	154
milk	16	700	75	10	.60	.28	.32	310
lard	.5	—	—	—	—	—	H.5	127
beans	5	40	71	0	—	1.1	.08	495
oranges	12	117	100	107	.32	.11	.02	175
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
chiles	.7	616	—	38	—	—	—	
Totals (without maize)		3,835 [1]	433	207.7	1.50	5.01	2.42	2,685
maize (yellow)	192	23,600	2,840	—	2.07	19.2	8.26	20,280
Total		27,585	3,318	207.7	3.57	24.21	10.68	22,965
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, wealthy family.

[1] This would be the quantity of vitamin A with white maize.

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TABLE III

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	121	14,890	1,750	—	1.2	12.1	5.2	12,780
chiles	7.5	6,600	—	400	—	—	—	75
beans	1.5	10	33	—	—	.33	.02	250
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
Totals		23,120	1,807	420	1.52	12.91	5.86	13,363
(with white maize)		8,230	—					
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, very poor family.

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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

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The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

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Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

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121 [114] made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans [146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 146 One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

146 As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 435 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph. "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in The Maya and their Neighbors, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

[text continues on p. 304]

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TABLE IV

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize (yellow)	91	11,170	1,400	—	1.0	9.0	4.0	9,645
sweet potato	21	24,000	150	60	—	.38	.15	840
whole wheat bread . .	4	280	120	—	—	.4	.16	400
cheese	2	1,120	10	—	.32	.36	.64	223
beans	1.5	10	30	20	—	.33	.02	250
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
chile	5	4,400	—	265	—	—	—	50
milk	3.5 pints	2,450	260	35	2.1	.98	1.12	1,085
Totals		43,790	1,985	400	3.42	11.57	6.09	12,528
Minimum requirements.		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Sugested improved diet of one adult for one week. This is the Table 2, (very poor family) diet, substituting whole wheat bread, sweet potatoes and milk for some of the corn and chile.

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262 the poorest families in town shows that the total food cost for a family of three adults and two children could average as little as 81½ centavos
435 a week or $42.38 (pesos) a year. This would be 16.3 centavos a day per person. In contrast to this, the diet of a relatively wealthy family, in which the household numbered ten persons, cost $12.50 per week or $650.00 per year. This would be $1.25 per person per week, or $65.00 per person per year, again disregarding age differentials.[6]

146 The suggested improved diet given in table 4 actually might cost even less than the poor family diet presented. The diet in figure 4, is,
262 however, deficient in calories, as has been stated. Even with the addition of sufficient calories, it is possible that the improved diet would not add noticeably to the cost; certainly it would not cost more than a peso a week for the five persons. These data suggest that education in the use of proper foods and the changing of food habits may sometimes be more important than economic betterment as a means of bringing about adequate nutrition.

121 It must be reiterated, however, that any conclusions suggested in this paper are tentative. Imperfect as the data and interpretations are, it is nevertheless clearly indicated that extensive and accurate nutritional studies are needed. This is true, whether the major aim is to discover the possible relation of nutrition to other cultural factors, or whether it is to map out a program of nutritional improvement for the group.

[6] In these cost estimates, it is assumed all food was purchased; actually some would be grown.

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136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an incon-
224 siderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Cor-
164 pulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

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754 refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft, Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too [831] scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches [763] disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

776 Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural outside of the various aspects 151 of Christianity and witchcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the miríŋgua, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the miríŋgua. The most common place about town for the miríŋgua to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

776 without his being able to see who it was. Then
151 he became frightened and ran toward his house (as he thought), but instead he ran faster and faster in the opposite direction. Eventually he became terrorized and ran, falling and bumping into things, for it was getting increasingly darker, until he arrived at a place he did not recognize. He ran through many nettles which struck him like pack straps, drawing blood all over his body. Finally he found a cave and took refuge in it, where he struggled all night with something that tried to strangle him. He was found in the morning by a search party which had been hunting him all night. He was 17 when this occurred.

On another occasion a woman was found dead in a sand cave without any tracks except her own footprints. She showed all the signs of strangulation. Before her death this woman had told her relatives and friends that frequently she would think she was on her way home and would find herself in the *barranca*. She would sit down awhile and make the sign of the cross and pray. With this, things would become clear to her and she could retrace her road.

A youth returning from his field to his house, felt something pull him strongly toward the *barranca* as he crossed the bridge. He resisted, and then it seemed to him he was going toward home when suddenly he lost his footing and began to fall in space. As he fell he had the impression he was entering his house. He was found next day in the *barranca*, half dead, and was unable to speak for 8 days. He stammers still as the result of his fright.

Another story tells of a man who had attended a wedding in Parícutin. After the wedding the group went through the streets with the music, dancing and drinking. As they crossed the bridge to Parícutin the man said something was pulling at him. He began to gesticulate as if he was fighting something, but his friends, having drunk a greal deal, paid no attention. He began to run but fell from the bridge. His body was found down the *barranca* (as the water evidently was high) after considerable search.

776 This spirit is known at Capacuaro as mirinyin, mirinchin, or miringin. The spirit appears

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553 the child of the latter being known as Pablo Juan or Luisa Juan, etc.

CHILDHOOD

854 [291] Small children are usually clothed today. Occasionally a small boy is seen wearing nothing but a shirt, but this is uncommon, while girls able to walk always have a blouse and a skirt. In early childhood there is a good deal of affection between parents and children. Adults of both sexes play with the children and carry them about a great deal. Small children are kissed by both parents. Fear of strangers is absent. While opportunities for observation were limited, on several occasions when I had opportunity to be with children while talking with parents, they responded immediately to any caress on my part, often promptly climbing into my lap, or seizing hold of my clothing if I were standing. At this age there is evidently little correction. Some children cry and whimper a good deal and are reproved for it or told to hush, but nothing is done if the child continues.

As the child grows a little older, it evidently goes through a somewhat trying period of readjustment. This probably coincides with the coming of another child and also with the increasing care of the child by older brothers and sisters. At this period some rough treatment is given by the parents. Several times children were seen to stumble and fall on the street. When the child began to cry, the father either smacked it on the rump or kicked it along, gently it is true.

854 152 A boy about 4 was observed in a temper tantrum on the Cherán plaza. The tantrum began when the mother took a large piece of sugarcane held by the child, broke it, prepared the smaller piece, and gave it to the child. The child began to scream and weep, demanding the larger piece back. The mother laughed good-naturedly and told him to come along. He refused, and finally the mother gave the boy a gentle tap on the rump with her piece of sugarcane. The child screamed and beat at the mother with his cane. She continued to laugh, made some comments to others passing by and gradually got the child moved along, but he continued screaming as long as he was within earshot. In this case the mother showed more

854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress.
[864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave mis-
736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
[195] when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 About 25 percent of the boys go to school at ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are
871 ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

868 Actual participation in adult work begins at about 8 years for boys. At this age they
857 accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

765 these prayers, but it is not necessary for other
767 relatives to do so. However, if a relative attends the first day, he is obligated to continue the entire 9 days. On the ninth day, the *novena* is sometimes observed with prayers in the house. There is no purification or burning of incense or other materials in the house.

After the funeral, the parents or the surviv-
765 ing spouse may remain very sad. If it appears
[152] they may be made ill of "sadness," the relatives visit the survivors frequently, talking to them of things which they think may alleviate their condition and giving consolation. If this does not improve matters, they seek a curer who gives medicines.

A very few families pay for Masses for the deceased. More commonly, members of the family of the deceased will visit the church from time to time and burn candles and pray for the dead.

A few additional observations may be of interest. It is said that formerly the bells were
[178] tolled 10 or 12 times in the morning and afternoon when someone had died. This is not done now. The graveyard is on the lower edge of town and is surrounded by an adobe wall. In some cases the graves are paved with cobblestones or more elaborate masonry pavements. On rare occasions a tomb or head stone is erected, but in the majority of cases only a wooden cross is put up. The age of the present graveyard is unknown; the oldest date found on a grave was 1883. There is no evidence of offerings (except in connection with the Day of the Dead), although the graveyard is apparently visited at night by some people to judge by the presence of numerous partially burned pitch pine splinters about the entrance. All informants denied knowledge of such visits, however.

The major mourning ceremony is the Day
769 of the Dead, November 2. Several days before this date the graveyard is divided in four sections and the young men from each *barrio* are required by the municipal officials to clear the brush and weeds away from the entire cemetery. On November 1 everyone prepares quantities of nákatamales, a small tamale filled with beef in chile sauce and wrapped in husks rather than maize leaves. Fruit is also purchased and bread is made. A few make tamales for sale, but most people make their own.

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243 In the case of the farmer who slaves at pro-
433 ducing a scanty crop on submarginal land,
461 similar considerations are important. The farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

243 Even in the case of the average or somewhat
433 better than average case cited in detail, the
153 calculations made on the basis of our economic viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

184 In case maize is raised for sale on any scale,
433 however, the farmer encounters new market-
243 ing problems. The local market prefers yellow maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

243 From the statements given above it should
433 not be concluded that the idea of a return for
427 land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

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Some children walk
868 as early as 8 months, but most later, and some
145 not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be papá, mamá, ueksínga ("I want"), and auáka ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 8 months.

863 Toilet training is not rigorous and little is done until the child is able to walk. Up to this
854 time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In
[155] general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

As soon as children begin to walk, they are
854 dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments.
291 In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn, Little girls wore a tiny *rollo*, while boys wore cotton trousers and shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little
854 girls are pierced by their mothers, using a
304 needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

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423 435 The value of farm land is startlingly low, although accurate figures on either the amount of farm land in the *municipio* or the amount owned by any individual were impossible to secure. The tax rolls of the town are an inadequate guide. A very large number of lands are not listed and in many cases the area given is much smaller than actual size. A number of farmers admitted this fact. The tax rolls show only 303 farmers, although most men in town own some land. The total parcels listed number 759 with a total area of 1,943½ hectares (a hectare is 2.47 acres) with a value of $259,620. Community-owned lands are listed as 1,667 hectares valued at $100,000. This would total slightly less than 9,000 acres, or about 14 square miles. This is probably less than half the total area of Cherán.

The average holding according to the tax rolls is 2.5 pieces of land, totaling 6.41 hectares valued at $856.86. This average is misleading, however, possibly through an error on the part of the tax collector's office staff, or perhaps because a few large landowners hold high-priced lands. From $80 to $100 per hectare is the most common valuation. An average of one page of the tax roll listing 58 farmers gave 2.62 plots per person, averaging 5.1 hectares valued at $377.07 or $74 a hectare. The largest holding on this page was 32 hectares, valued at $2,560; the smallest was one-half a hectare, valued at $50. Bearing in mind that these figures represent taxable values, actual values probably average around $150 a hectare.

Data from individuals probably are even more unreliable, yet show surprising uniformity. The average value is $77.08 per hectare, Estimates from six landowners are as follows:

Area (hectares)	*Value*
2	$140
4	350
16	1,280
½	40
14	1,080
8	640
44½	$3,530

The surprising closeness of owner evaluations to the average assessed values suggests that farmers are well aware of the latter. Information from more individuals is desirable but [156] is difficult to obtain. Even good friends nor-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
435 The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of $40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, $400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as $25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as $10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community.
423 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
311 and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

311 The use of forest lands formerly was open to all who paid a small fee to aid the community
656 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

The sex division of labor in Cherán bars
462 women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European —children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

754 magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

754 Data are too scanty to form any reliable
157 hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory
621 might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

754 Two other items should be added to this discussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

791 Although not considered witches, there are women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

857 Small girls and sometimes small boys play with swings in the house yards. These are merely larger versions of the swings used to teach infants to walk. Girls also play running games in the streets with small boys and play "keep away" and other games with rag balls. [157] Girls are shy and always stopped playing when they were observed.

857 868 In general, girls ape adult activities much more than do boys. Girls pretend to mill maize, using a board for a metate, a rock for the mano, and mud for the maize dough. They play at being street vendors, using flower petals for merchandise. Sometimes they have dolls made of rags, but not very often. More common is it for several girls to get some boards or branches and make a house in which they will play at housekeeping with their fireplaces, grinding stones, dishes, etc. After several weddings had been held in close succession, a group of girls were observed playing at having a wedding. Flowers were put in the hair of the "godmothers" and leaves of maize were tied in the hair to represent the ribbons used in real weddings.

857 861 Education for life in Cherán is completely on an informal and unconscious level. Children learn first by imitating and then by doing while assisting their parents. The social and religious structure they learn little by little through observation first of parents', and later of relatives', reactions to various individuals and situations and by listening to conversations. Only to a very small extent do children learn by being told. Again, observations are too few to generalize extensively, but apparently children are counseled and advised only when they begin to be old enough to undertake adult responsibilities. When they mention that they may do a certain act, the parents may discuss the advisability with them. In small matters of etiquette, parents may prompt children of any age. Formal training, though, seems to play little part in education for life as it is lived in Cherán.

871 Formal education for about 25 percent of the boys is received in school. Those who continue throughout the available course receive four years of school education. They learn to read and write and do a little simple arithmetic. They learn very little history or geography.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1776]

838 The individual in question was also said once to have lived with another woman who did the work in the household while the former acted like a man. It is also believed that she is a "man" during one month and a "woman" the next, the change being regulated by changes in the moon. During the month she is a "man" she is said to go through the streets at night, trying to entice girls to her house, or else she stands at the door of her house and offers presents to girls who will come in. At one time the woman married and had two children but later was widowed. That the individual is emotionally unstable is indicated by her claim to have once "died" and come to life again, after which she brought many people messages from their dead relatives whom she had encountered in the other world.

[158]

No cases of men dressing as women or men who had homosexual relations were encountered, but there evidently are occasional instances. The only specific reports encountered were of subadolescent boys who showed a preference for doing women's work. One example cited was of a boy who washed dishes, swept, made tortillas, and did other housework. His voice was high-pitched and he refused to fight. Later, however, the boy's voice changed and he married.

548 Some prostitution exists in Cherán. There are several houses of assignation operated by elderly women who know the accessible women. Men go to these houses and the old woman then takes a message to some girl or woman. The younger women are often the daughters of older women who have taken this way of life, but sometimes the girls from other families will visit such houses clandestinely. Such girls become known among the unmarried men and usually have difficulty in marrying. Often they attempt to force boys to marry them by claiming to have been "stolen" by a boy and lodging complaints with the mayor, often abetted by their parents. If the girl's reputation is bad, the boy may be put in jail as a discouragement to boys who might be tempted to steal a girl without marrying her, but the boy will not be forced to marry.

The patrons of such houses are usually bachelors and older unmarried youths. Some whose wives are pregnant also visit such houses

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

467 organized the local branch of the CTM, no
665 doubt a factor in securing the withdrawal of
664 the always unpopular military garrison.

The leader of the progressive group is a man
159 who has not held any official office in the town,
665 Moisés Valenzuela, commander of the *reserva*. An orphan as a child, Valenzuela was aided by a woman he calls his aunt. According to Valenzuela's own story, he left Cherán at 16 and tried to go to the United States. Refused admission for some reason, he fell into bad company and became involved in smuggling liquor across the border during prohibition. Eventually the activities of the group extended to narcotics, Valenzuela was caught and held about 18 months in a Texas jail, after which he was deported. He then entered an army school, learned to read and write and received some further education, eventually becoming some sort of officer. Returning to Cherán during the time of the agrarians, he organized and led the resistance to them, and quite informally arrived in the position of being, as one informant put it, "head man" of Cherán. Locally he is regarded as an influential person over an area extending as far as the State capital, Morelia.

So far as evidence could be found, Valenzuela is an honest man, well-liked in the town. He talked several times of the necessity of going away and earning some money. According to his story, he did not mind giving most of his time for the town, but the time had come when he should look after his wife and children better than he was able to do in Cherán. Certainly he did not live in a pretentious house, and his customary clothing was overalls. His dress, of course, could be assumed for political reasons, but when he made trips to Morelia or Uruapan on community or private business, he certainly dressed little better. It is, of course, quite possible that persons with a different view of Valenzuela were afraid to talk freely. He himself deprecated his position and seemed somewhat amused that the townspeople accorded him as much respect as they did. His own story of his arrest and jail sentence in the United States was told with a somewhat rueful and artless good humor. On the many occasions he was seen with others, he always seemed ready to listen to other points of view and to advance his own without any attempt at domina-

665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him
as the leader of a bloody riot.

159 As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

An entirely different type of organization is
474 the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed
[578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still
474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás-
159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically
[195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

The organization of the cooperative would
474 give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest
313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

512 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds
462 it herself, in the meantime making atole. The men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and
[869] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually
[517] by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 In some ways the activities of men are less varied and complex than those of the women.
462 A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

It would be a mistake to assume, however,
517 that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor,
● 159 broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

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517 Agustín arrived in Cherán from the United
159 States on January 25, 1940. For 17 days he
574 did not eat at home. There were no fiestas but he was "taken around." He was brought chocolate and bread before he got up. February 5 there was a wedding, which he attended for a while in the evening and part of the next day. February 6 was Carnival and he went on horseback to Nahuatzen, where he followed the music about for a time. In March, during Holy Week, he went to church Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. He spent some time watching the *Judíos* chase small boys with their spears. The boys blew whistles to annoy them. Between Carnival and Holy Week there were several weddings, but he did not attend any of them for more than an hour or two. At the fiesta of the Octava following Holy Week he spent 4 days going about with the musicians. He spent 3 days at a fiesta in Nahuatzen, coming home each night. At Corpus he spent 4 days, following the music and visiting various parties. He spent 1 day at the *carguero's* house on the day of San José, April 10. After Corpus he spent a whole day at one wedding and an hour or two at another. On San Juan's day, June 24, he spent the whole day watching the horse racing and other activities. On the day of San Pedro in June he ate posole at various houses and walked around all day. In August he spent 2 more days at another fiesta in Nahuatzen and spent an evening and a day in connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves. He also attended three weddings, spending an entire day at each. In September he visited the Ahuiran fiesta for 1 day. In October he spent 4 days at the fiesta of the patron saint in Cherán. A half day was spent at the Huansito fiesta in La Cañada. The Day of the Dead was almost all spent at the graveyard and at people's homes. In December he danced with the *negrito* dancers for 4 days and in January danced with the *viejos* or *Europeos* for 4 days (he did not count any of the practice time which was in the evenings). In January he spent 1 day at a wedding..

517 Another informant, between 40 and 50 years of age, spent the following time in fiestas:

Carnival, 2-3 hours
Wedding, 1 day
Holy Week, 3 days at church

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 4a]

000 gave much time and effort to forward the program. Dr. Alfonso Caso discussed many problems and gave valuable advice. Numerous members of the staff of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional also gave of their time. President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, arranged a special leave of absence to make the study possible. Above all, thanks are due to Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, then head of the Department of Anthropology of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional and now director of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, collaborator in the general program, who gave many days of his time in completing necessary arrangements to make the study possible.

In addition to the persons mentioned, I wish also to express my gratitude to those who have helped further the general Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans: General Lázaro Cárdenas, former President of the United States of Mexico; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, Berkeley,
[continued on top of p. 4b]

THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

131 The modern Tarascans occupy the west central section of northern Michoacán, Mexico. In prehistoric times the Tarascan area was larger, including most of the State of Michoacán, except possibly the rather abrupt and not very hospitable seacoast, as well as parts of the State of Jalisco to the northwest, Guanajuato to the northeast, and the lower end of the Balsas River basin in Guerrero to the south. This expanded area apparently represented the results of a series of conquests. Two or three centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tarascan area probably was not greatly different from that of today.

161 The State of Michoacán is one of the most densely populated rural States of Mexico. It lies to the west of Mexico City, and its capital, Morelia, is about 250 miles from the National Capital by road or railroad. Despite its dense population, much of the State is rugged and mountainous. Its eastern and northern parts
133 are on the plateau of México. Level areas are often above 7,000 feet elevation, but, although it is technically a part of the Central Mexican plateau, only the northern margins of the State
[continued in middle of p. 4b]

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632 The general situation of the *municipio* has
634 already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
423 daries, although there are usually disputes with
632 neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[476] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000.
[161] Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished.
361 A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in *barrio*—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18–30 (17–30 for *barrio* III)	29	16	62	86	193
31–40	24	13	85	35	157
41–50	17	15	62	52	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	13	26	16	62
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	72	47	124	63	307
Laborer	6	5	119	133	263
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker		2		1	3
Mason	1		3	2	6
Carpenter	3	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2			3
Musician	1	1	2		4
Maestro	1				1
Shoemaker		1	6	1	8
Tilemaker			1		1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

[212] [463]

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 217 Additional incomplete but interesting data on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 54).

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no Text]

I
INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. [161] They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2. West, 1948, 1.

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) in northwestern Michoacán. Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siéríü) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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[1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 848A (Uruapan) of the AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S. Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photography taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arachécuita.	27. Patambicho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojas.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupio.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolás.	30. Turwio.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Uocandatacua.
6. Tapan.	19. La Atacada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepamal.	34. Yuxuda.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tapatiato.	35. Tacuana.
10. Querándaro.	23. Tajamanil.	36. Urandén Morales.
11. Zaranamora.	24. Pacápatiro.	37. Urandén Morales.
12. San Luis Sacasa.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandén Carlos.
13. La Jolla.	26. Opangato.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1948 census) are not located: Trintaicha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Enzinillas and Las Lauveles (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolcadero (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itziparámeos (municipio of Tzitzómatzen).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirds*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirds* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirds* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[A1] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[Text continues bottom P. 12-b --Walter]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cuaxo; Mus. Nac., leg. 98, Rel. de Charo Matlaltzinco.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Fuente Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gámez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-b]

161 New Spain 1 year after the coming of Cortés.
164 Thereafter epidemics occurred periodically during
177 the colonial period, completely obliterating the population of some districts, especially those in the low, hot lands. Smallpox, measles, and probably typhus (teréékua) were the most common killers. Mendizábal (1939) has estimated that in the first century of Spanish occupation the Indians of New Spain were reduced to 25 percent of their pre-Conquest numbers, and that the pre-Spanish population of the diocese of Michoacán was possibly 200,000, which was reduced to some 92,000 by 1550.[19] Judging from the accounts in the Relaciones Geográficas of 1579–81, the basins of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec suffered the most heavily. There from one-third to all of the inhabitants of some villages were destroyed. Accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries mention scores of villages in the Tarascan area which are now nonexistent, the inhabi-

[19] Mendizábal made this calculation from figures given in the Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[30]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[30] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1534 to 1538 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13a]

[P. 22-a]

161

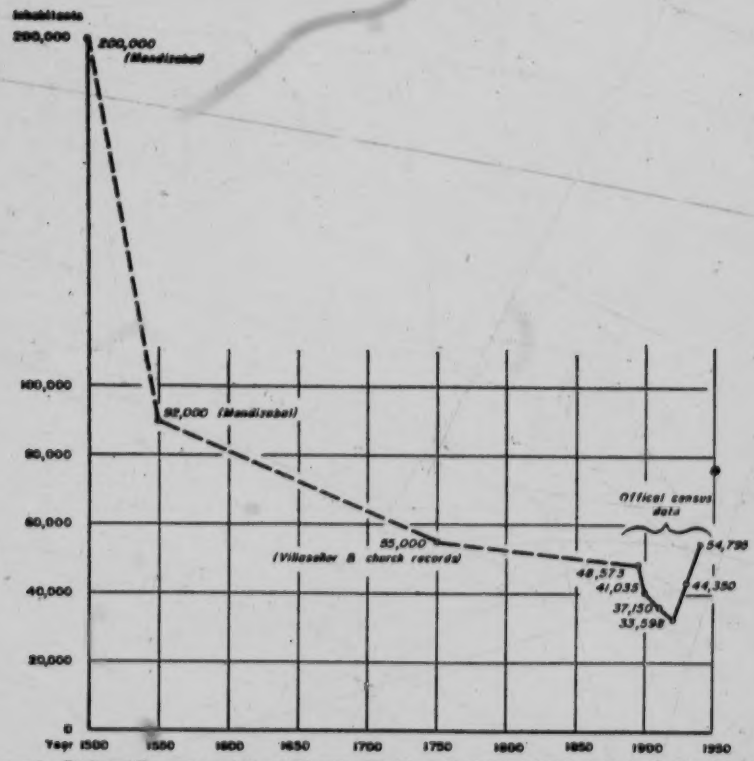

FIGURE 1.—Decline of Tarascan population, 1500–1940. The figures for 1500 and 1550 include all aboriginal inhabitants in the diocese of Michoacán. Besides the Tarascans, several thousand Otomí and some Huastec inhabited the eastern and northeastern sections of the diocese (Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí), and many people of Nahuatl speech lived in the western portion (Colima, southwest Michoacán).

[P. 23-9]

161

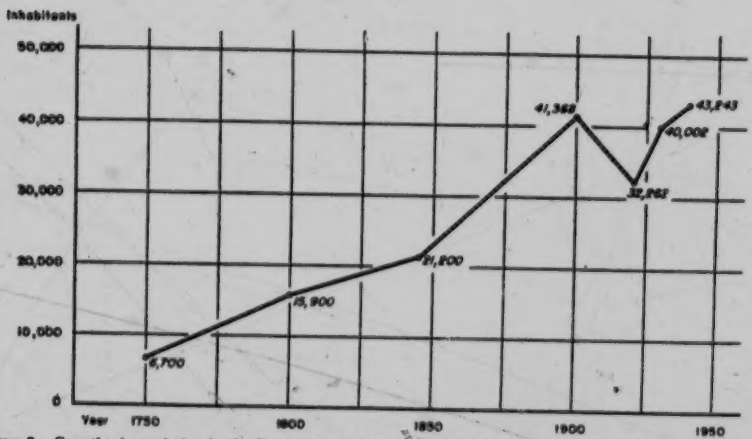

FIGURE 2.—Growth of population in the Sierra, 1750–1940. The population of the following towns and ranchos was used to calculate totals for the years indicated: Ahuiran, Angahuan, Arantepacua, Aranza, Atapan, La Cantera, Cherán, Cheranásticurin, Cherato, Cocucho, Corupo, Cumachuán, Charapan, Capacuaro, Huiramangaro, Nahuatzen, Nurio, Ocumicho, Pamatácuaro, Paracho, Parangaricutiro, Paricutin, Patamban, Pichátaro, Pomacuarán, Quinceo, San Felipe, San José, San Lorenzo, Sevina, Sicuicho, Sirio, Tanaco, Tarecuato, Tengucho, Turícuaro, Urapicho, Zacán, Zirosto, San Benito, San Luis, La Tinaja, El Tropezón, Uringuitiro, Zaracamora. Data for 1750 were taken from Villaseñor and church records (AAM); for 1800, from church records (AAM); for 1845, from AAM, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas; for 1900, 1921, 1930, 1940, from official census.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-b]

166 called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was
731 founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra caliente*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[10]
[182] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-
[161] 46) the population of Villa Silva has decreased from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[10] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the ranchs of Barranca Seca, 4 km. to the northwest.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-c]

●161 191 **Possible future trends in Tarascan population.**—Judging from the long-range trend in both areal recession and actual numerical decrease in Tarascan-speaking folk, it would appear that the Tarascan language is headed toward extinction. Figure 1 indicates the terrific human toll taken by the European epidemics during the first 50 years of Spanish occupation, and the leveling off of the downward curve [21] until after 1920, when increases are reported by the 1930 and 1940 censuses. In the period 1930–40 the rate of increase in Tarascan population equaled that of the mestizo element. This period of increase is too short to conclude

[21] At the end of the 18th century, decrease in Tarascan population was still outstanding enough to be reported officially to the central government in Mexico City. Commenting on the population increase in the diocese of Michoacán from 1700 to 1782, an official reports: "*Hay el considerable numero de 88,449 vecinos . . . pero debe advertirse que este segun las noticias comunicadas por los subdelegados, é informes recividos en el acuerdo, es de españoles, mulatos, y demas castas, pues en la de los Indios se experimenta mucha decadencia o disminución originada en unos pueblos de la mezcla de estos con distintas calidades; en otros de las graves y continuas enfermedades, que han padecido; en otros de las pensiones, que surgen trasportables a su felicidad, quando se corta el numero de los obligados a ellos; y en otros finalmente a la escasez de tierras para sus precios subsistencia, sobre lo qual para no confundir el estado antecedente se acompaña uno, que manifiesta los Pueblos, a quienes faltan mas de 600 varas, que por cada vecino las exigen la ley . . .*". (AGN Historia, vol. 72, expd. 1 (1782)).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 24a]

that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[Text Continues Top of P. 24b---Analyst]

TARASCAN

Settlements

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[22] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[Text Continues bottom P. 24b-Analyst]

[22] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of villa or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,077 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 24-b]

161 appear. Such cultural changes—improved transportation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

361 men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

Settlement sites.—The few available early 361 descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[23] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[23] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castello (1939-46); many documents concerning the congregations of 1595-1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

The town of Cherán has a population of
632 about 5,000. The community is unique among
162 Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherías. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherías or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the
632 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
311 a large area. Much of this area is mountain
578 and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan
361 agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in barrio—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18–30 (17–30 for barrio III)	29	16	63	86	193
31–40	24	13	85	35	157
41–50	17	15	62	62	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	12	26	15	60
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
[212] Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	73	47	124	63	307
[463] Laborer	6	5	119	133	265
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker		2		1	3
Mason	1		3	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2			3
Musician	1	1	2		4
Maestro	1				1
Shoemaker		1	6	1	8
Tilemaker			1		1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 Additional incomplete but interesting data 217 on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 54).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.93b]

162 217 the municipal records, which probably are relatively complete and moderately accurate. The data have been worked up into tables 11 and 12 by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, one of the collaborators in the study.

163 162 TABLE 11.—*Births in Cherán, 1936-39*[1]

Year and month of birth	Total births	Boys	Girls	Percentage of boys	Percentage of girls
1936					
January	9	6	3	1.7	0.9
February	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
March	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
April	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
May	11	3	8	.9	2.3
June	26	11	15	3.2	4.4
July	23	11	12	3.2	3.5
August	21	12	9	3.5	2.6
September	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
October	9	2	7	.6	2.0
November	12	7	5	2.0	1.5
December	6	1	5	.3	1.5
1937					
January	3	2	1	.6	.3
February	...	...	...	...	...
March	15	5	10	1.4	2.9
April	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	19	13	6	3.7	1.7
July	21	9	12	2.6	3.5
August	13	6	7	1.7	2.0
September	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
October	12	6	6	1.7	1.7
November	13	7	6	2.0	1.7
December	22	9	13	2.6	3.8
1938					
January	13	8	5	2.3	1.5
February	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
March	6	3	3	.9	.9
April	24	14	10	4.0	2.9
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	5	3	2	.9	.6
July	11	5	6	1.4	1.7
August	22	10	12	2.9	3.5
September	10	7	3	2.0	.9
October	12	5	7	1.4	2.0
November	10	3	7	.9	2.0
December	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
1939					
January	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
February	13	5	8	1.4	2.3
March	20	9	11	2.6	3.2
April	23	13	10	3.7	2.9
May	24	13	11	3.7	3.2
June	16	16	2	4.6	.6
July	22	13	9	3.7	2.6
August	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
September	15	4	11	1.2	3.2
October	18	9	7	2.6	2.0
November	17	7	10	2.0	2.9
December	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
Total	690	347	343	100.0	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

163 Birth records are probably correct for all live births. There is some possibility that many stillbirths were not reported either in the birth statistics or the death statistics. Although a [686] fine is levied against persons known to have buried a still-born child without registering the fact in the *municipio*, the fine is nominal, and municipal authorities believe that probably the majority of stillbirths are not reported.

131 boundary approximates the México-Guadalajara
101 highway, while the steep escarpment that plunges into the Balsas-Tepalcatepec Basin marks its southern limit. An eastward extension lies south and southeast of the lake and joins with the Sierra de Ozumatlán in eastern Michoacán. Containing
[162] 60 percent of the present indigenous group, the Sierra west of the lake is the modern center of the Tarascans. (2) The Lake Pátzcuaro (Japúndaru, Inčámecuaru) area contains 19 percent of the
[162] Tarascan population distributed in 13 pueblos and 13 ranchos along the lake shore and on the islands. Formerly one of the political centers of the Tarascan Empire, the lake region, in terms of indigenous speech, has declined rapidly since late colonial times. The speech of the entire south
[191] shore and the towns of Quiroga, Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro is predominantly Spanish. North and northeast of the Sierra lie two small areas of indigenous speech, which appear to be remnants of the once large northern Tarascan zone. One of these is (3) La Cañada (Erášeman), a small narrow valley located at the northern edge of the Sierra. This valley was the region of the "onze pueblos" of
[162] colonial days. Today nine towns with 9 percent of the total Tarascan population are clustered along a strip of alluvium within the valley. (4) The other remnant of the northern zone lies north and northwest of Lake Pátzcuaro and contains
[162] seven pueblos and 9.5 percent of the total number of Tarascan-speaking folk.[2] Other regions of Tarascan speech consist of "islands" south of the main area. Cuanajo, located southwest of Morelia in the western[1] extension of the Sierra, is the last fragment of the former indigenous area southeast of Lake Pátzcuaro. San Angel Zurumucapio and the newly formed towns (Caltzontzin and Villa Silva) harboring refugees from the stricken

[2] These pueblos include Tirindaro, Tarejaro, and Naranja on the shore of former Zacapu marsh; Asajo and Comanja on the northeastern edge of the Sierra; Tarecuando and Zipiajo at the northern foot of Cerro el Zirate.

1 [Probably should read "eastern", if referring to Tarascan Sierra.—Analyst.]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 2-d]

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
[191] Formerly an important part of the Tarascan Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Juío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
[166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the Sierra elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Cuzumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1946), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1943).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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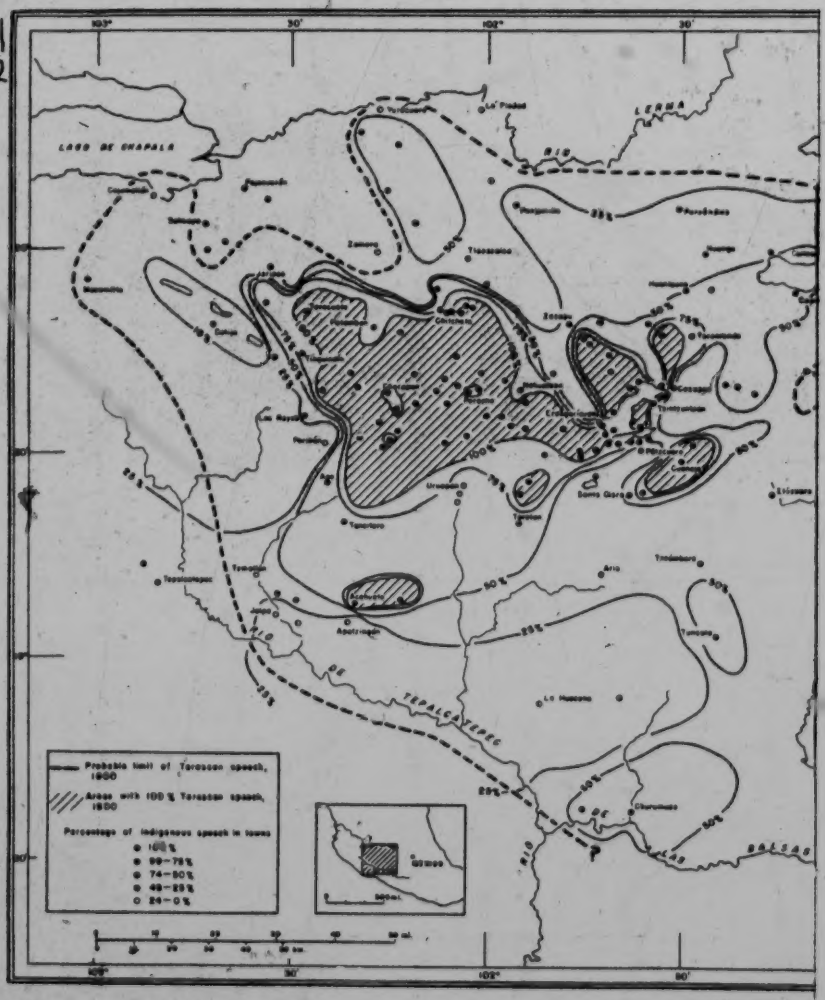

MAP 9.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1600. Isopleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to tot

[Facing page 14; section A]

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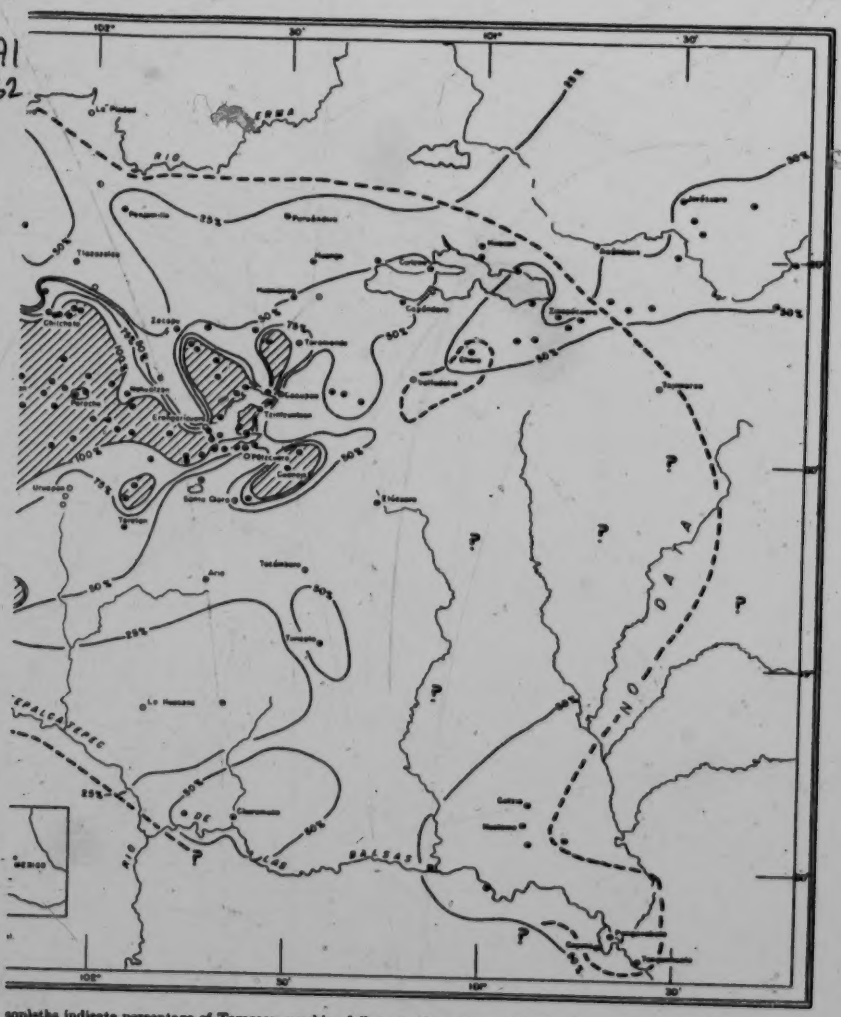
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30'
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Tlazazalca
Zacapu
Tarimbaro
Tacámbaro
Uruapan
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Tumbiscatío
Tepalcayepec
Mexico
Balsas
Balsas
Balsas
Nayarit
Jalisco
Colima
Michoacán
Guerrero
Morelos
Puebla
Tlaxcala
Hidalgo
Querétaro
Guanajuato
Zacatecas
Durango
Chihuahua
Sonora
Sinaloa
Baja California
Coahuila
Nuevo León
Tamaulipas
Veracruz
Oaxaca
Chiapas
Campeche
Yucatán
Quintana Roo
Tabasco
Distrito Federal
Estado de México
Aguascalientes
San Luis Potosí
Nayarit
Colima
Tlaxcala
Morelos
Hidalgo
Querétaro
Guerrero
Puebla
Oaxaca
Veracruz
Tamaulipas
Nuevo León
Coahuila
Durango
Zacatecas
Chihuahua
Sonora
Sinaloa
Baja California

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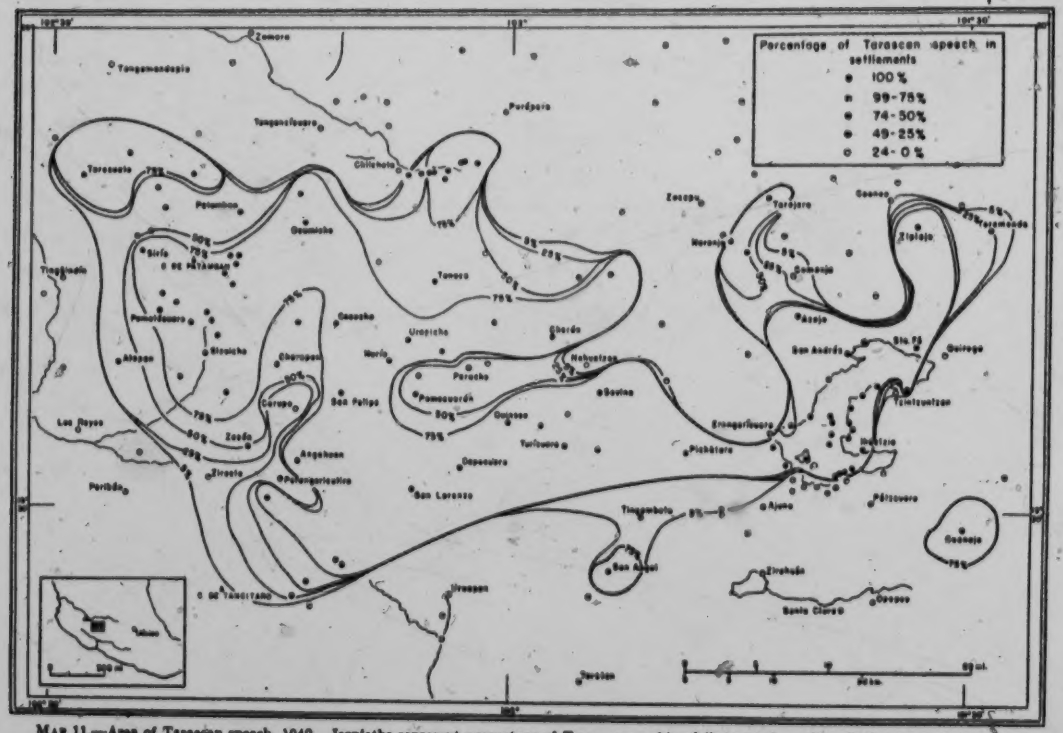
EP. 16



MAP 11.—Area of Tarascan speech, 1940. Isopleths represent percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to total number of inhabitants in the area.

191 buildings) measuring 600 yards (*varas*) in each
177 cardinal direction from the village church. Deprived of land, most of the men of the pueblos sought work in the sugar plantations in the *tierra templada* around Ario and Tacámbaro, returning only occasionally to their homes. Others became peons in the adjacent haciendas, working with mulatto and mestizo labor (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–306). Consequently, the decreased use and subsequent loss of the native language was inevitable. Only the fishers inhabiting the small Urandén Islands immediately offshore, who were unaffected by the haciendas, were able to preserve their native tongue.

MODERN LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTIONS

191 The modern Tarascan area is in no sense a solid block of indigenous speech (table 1). The inhabitants of only 32 of the 66 Tarascan towns and 31 of the 50 indigenous *ranchos* all speak the native tongue (map 12). Nearly 25 percent of the population within the present area is composed of mestizos who know only Spanish. Such people are mainly merchants and *arrieros* living in most of the Indian pueblos and farmers inhabiting nonindigenous *ranchos* scattered throughout the Sierra and the Lake district. Fifty years ago native market centers, the towns of Nahuatzen and Tingambato now contain but a handful of people who have retained the indigenous language. [1162] According to 1940 census figures, only 35 percent of the inhabitants of Patamban are Tarascan in speech, 38 percent of those of Parangaricutiro, 30 percent of those of Paracho, 20 percent of those of Sirosto, and 10 percent of those of Corupo.[29] Moreover, in 1940, 18 mestizo *ranchos* were scattered between Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra. In addition to mestizo merchants and farmers, many Spanish-speaking lumbermen inhabit the ephemeral sawmills prevalent in the Sierra forests. Hence, infiltrating mestizo settlement has shattered the once-continuous indigenous area in the Sierra and Lake district into small islets of purely Tarascan speech. The more notable of these
191 islets are: (1) seven towns in La Cañada, (2)
361 the pueblos and *ranchos* grouped around the flanks of Cerro de Patamban, (3) the Tarecuato district, (4) a string of villages east of Cerro de

[29] The percentage for Corupo is open to question. Although no actual statistical sampling was done, an impression of a much greater percentage of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants was obtained by the writer when he visited that town in 1942.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 18-b]

191 Quinceo, and (5) the islands and adjacent shore
361 settlements of Lake Pátzcuaro (map 11). (See table 1.)

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940* [1]

[Data from official census, 1940]

THE SIERRA

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Locality [1a]	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Charapan:			
Charapan (p)	1,715	1,311	76.4
San Felipe (p)	857	796	89.5
Huancho (r)	30	30	100.0
Rancho Nuevo (r)	34	19	63.0
La Palma (r)	161	0	.0
Municipio of Cherán:			
Cherán (p)	2,388	2,040	87.6
Cosumo (r)	195	81	41.0
Tripiatiro (r)	34	30	82.7
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Huécato (r)	127	0	0
Los Nogales (r)	286	0	0
Rancho Seco (r)	60	0	0
El Pedregal (r)	118	0	0
Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Cauca (r)	26	0	0
Porumbo (h)	49	0	0
La Zarzamora (r)	92	0	0
Zincíro (r)	413	0	0
Municipio of Los Reyes:			
Atapan (p)	1,001	357	35.6
Jesús Díaz (Sirio) (p)	696	696	100.0
Pamatácuaro (p)	1,382	1,372	99.3
Sicuicho (p)	819	709	86.5
Zacán (p)	576	439	85.1
Cherato (r)	271	261	96.3
La Providencia (r)	95	95	100.0
San Benito (r)	255	255	100.0
San Luis Sereno (r)	64	64	100.0
La Tinaja (r)	154	154	100.0
El Tropezón (r)	84	84	100.0
Uringuitiro (Juxupitiro) (r)	267	267	100.0
Zarzamora (r)	130	130	100.0
Quarándaro (r)	60	60	100.0
La Mesa (r)[2]	[2] 130	130	100.0
San Marcos Arachiñenta (r)[2]	[2] 53	53	100.0
La Jolla (r)[2]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tapan (r)[2]	[2] 50	50	100.0
Tierras Blancas (r)[2]	[2] 85	85	100.0
Venado (r)[2]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Nahuatzen:			
Nahuatzen (p)	3,545	25	.7
Arantepacua (p)	860	860	100.0
Cumachinda (p)	1,054	1,039	98.3
Sevina (p)	881	876	99.4
Turicuaro (p)	749	749	100.0
La Mojonera (p)	881	0	0
El Padre (r)	54	0	0
El Pino (r)	132	0	0
San Isidro (r)	845	9	.1

[1] This table does not necessarily include statistics for all settlements within a given municipio. The boundaries of many municipios listed, such as Los Reyes and Pátzcuaro, extend beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech; in such cases many purely mestizo towns and ranchos have been omitted. However, all settlements containing Tarascan-speaking inhabitants are listed.

[1a] In this column (c)=ciudad; (v)=villa; (p)=pueblo; (r)=rancho; (rr)=railroad station; (h)=hacienda.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 19-a--ANALYSIS]

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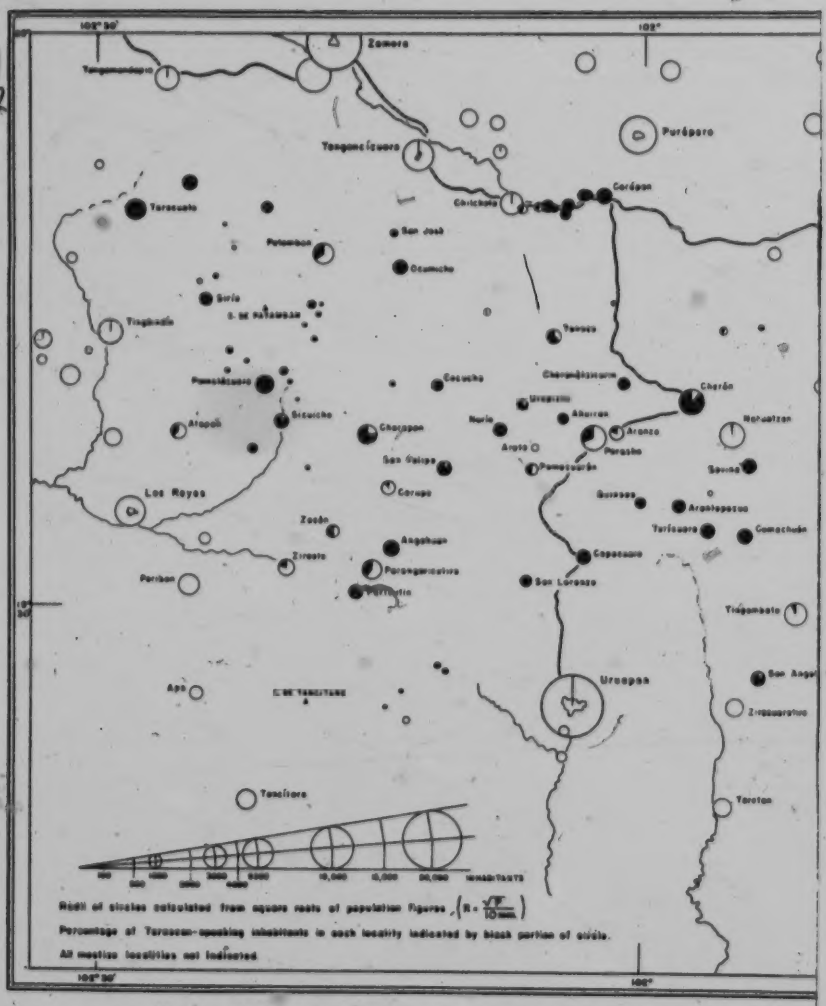

MAP 13.—Distribution of Tarascan speech by settlements, 1940. Based on official 1940 census da

[Facing page 18; section A.]

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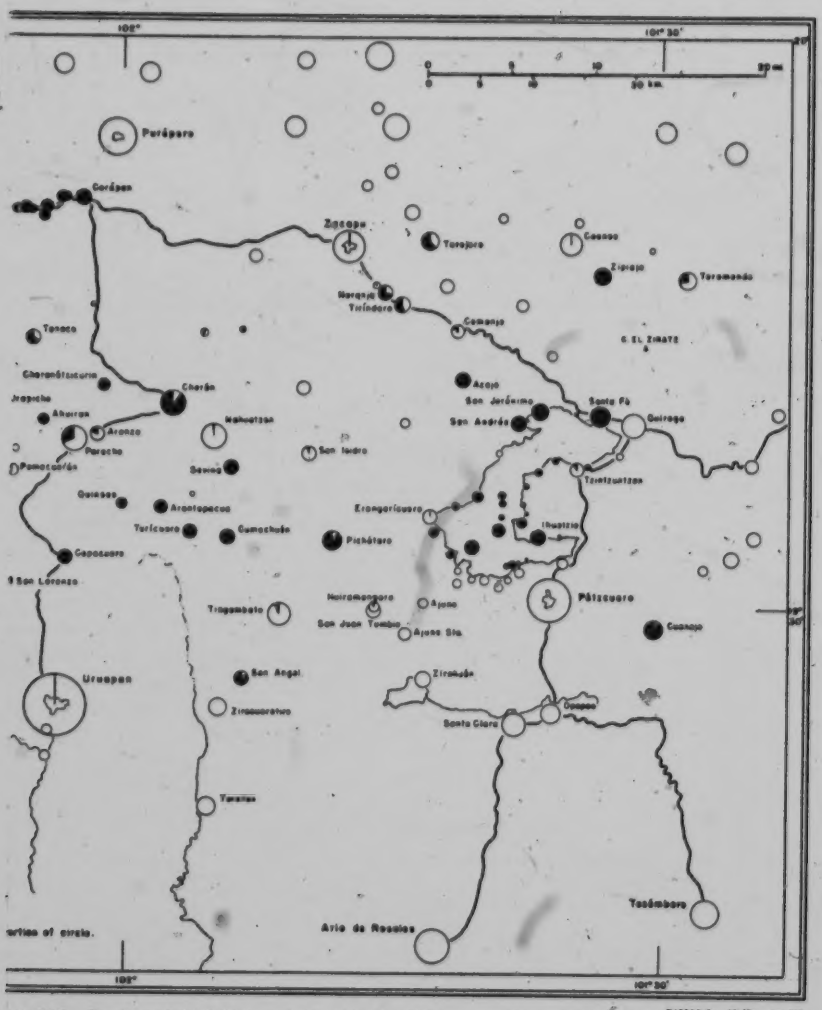

nts, 1940. Based on official 1940 census data. A few small Tarascan ranchos are not indicated. 742968 O - 48 (Face p. 18)

[Facing page 18; section B]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 19-a]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Paracho:			
Paracho (v)	3,304	1,005	30.4
Ahuiran (p)	593	593	100.0
Aranza (p)	792	126	17.1
Arato (p)	233	0	0
Cocucho (p)	584	584	100.0
Cheranátzicurin (p)	751	751	100.0
Nurio (p)	810	784	96.7
Pomacuaran (p)	628	286	45.8
Quinceo (p)	482	482	100.0
Tanaco (p)	948	620	65.3
Urapicho (p)	541	422	78.0
Pacápitiro (r)	107	23	21.5
El Tejocote (r)	81	74	91.3
Municipio of Parangaricutiro:			
Parangaricutiro (p)	1,893	725	38.2
Angahuan (p)	1,098	1,098	100.0
Corupo (p)	813	85	10.4
Paricutin (p)	733	620	84.6
Zirosto (p)	1,314	269	20.5
La Alberca (r)	81	[4](?)	(?)
La Atascada (r)	74	[4](?)	(?)
Barranca Seca (r)	89	4	4.5
Canoa Alta (r)	21	0	0
Las Canoas (r)	113	0	0
La Cantera (r)	89	49	67.8
Las Cocinas (r)	[5]0	0	0
Los Desmontes (r)	23	0	0
El Estudiante (r)	26	8	30.7
Huanondio (r)	80	0	0
Los Lobos (r)	29	0	0
Sipicha (r)	20	0	0
El Tejamanil (r)	84	0	0
El Tepemal (r)	81	44	90.0
El Tepetate (r) [2]	[3]50	22	45.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Cuanajo (p)	1,735	1,682	97.0
Huiramangaro (p)	540	17	3.1
San Juan Tumbio (p)	867	0	0
Ajuno (p)	540	0	0
Ajuno Sta. (rr)	719	0	0
Municipio of Tanaitaro:			
Tancitaro (v)	1,856	6	.3
Apo (p)	876	0	0
Municipio of Tangamandapio:			
Tangamandapio (p)	2,573	12	.5
Tarecuato (p)	2,146	2,146	100.0
La Cantera (r)	962	962	100.0
Las Encinillas (r)	78	78	100.0
Los Laureles (r)	8	8	100.0
Ucuario (r)	308	0	0
Municipio of Tangancícuaro:			
Ocumicho (p)	1,040	1,018	97.8
Patamban (p)	3,332	809	24.6
San José de Gracia (p)	170	147	86.4
Agua Escondida (r)	32	32	100.0
Arquza (r)	54	21	39.0
Camécuaro (r)	37	2	5.4

[2] Locality not listed in 1940 census. Names obtained from local inhabitants.

[3] Estimated population.

[4] Entirely mestizo according to census, but 100 percent Tarascan according to officials in San Juan Nuevo (Los Conejos) in 1946.

[5] Uninhabited in 1940, but estimated population in 1948 around 35, all Tarascan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 196]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tangancicuaro—Continued			
Las Cañas (r)	51	20	39.2
Guarachanillo (r)	22	9	40.9
Rancho Nuevo (r)	38	3	8.0
Las Trojes (r)	14	0	0
El Tanguecho (r)	471	450	95.5
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Pichátaro (p)	1,877	1,740	92.7
Municipio of Tingüindín:			
Tingüindín (v)	2,897	15	.5
Tacátzcuaro (p)	1,496	7	.4
Las Trojes (r)	45	0	0
Municipio of Uruapan:			
San Lorenzo (p)	575	575	100.0
Capacuaro (p)	785	778	99.1
Charangueran (r)	138	0	0
Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo) (p) [6]	(7)	(7)	(7)

THE LAKE AREA

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Erongarícuaro (p)	1,209	14	1.1
Arócutín (p)	211	211	100.0
Jarácuaro (p)	875	875	100.0
Napízaro (p)	239	214	[7] 89.5
Puácuaro (p)	498	498	100.0
Uricho (p)	461	461	100.0
Nocutzepo (p)	400	0	0
Tócuaro (p)	198	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	214	0	0
Opongüio (r)	173	15	8.5
Revolución (r)	10	10	100.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Pátzcuaro (c)	9,587	[8] (7)	(7)
Janitzio (p)	771	748	97.0
Ibarra (Pátzcuaro Sta.)	809	13	1.5
Huecorio (p)	499	0	0
Tzentzenguaro (p)	258	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (p)	412	0	0
Primo Tapia (p)	369	0	0
San Pedro Pareo (p)	394	0	0
Carián (r)	87	87	100.0
Tecuena (r)	73	73	100.0
Urandén Morales (r)	39	39	100.0
Urandén Morelos (r)	164	164	100.0
San Pedrito (r)	14	14	100.0
Yunuén (r)	116	116	100.0
Yuretzio (r)	170	14	8.2
Municipio of Quiroga:			
Quiroga (v)	3,609	4	.1
San Andrés (p)	1,179	1,165	98.8
San Jerónimo (p)	1,837	1,513	98.1
Santa Fé de la Laguna (p)	2,626	2,626	100.0
Atzimbo (r)	179	0	0
Chupícuaro (r)	31	0	0
Isuácato (r)	249	0	0
La Tirimicua (r)	88	0	0
Tzirandagatzio (r)	34	0	0

[6] Inhabited 1944. Official census figures not available.

[7] In 1946, according to local inhabitants, Napízaro was only 30 percent Tarascan.

[8] Owing to loss of original census data, the number of Tarascans in Pátzcuaro could not be calculated. The percentage would probably be extremely low.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 20-a]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE LAKE AREA—Continued

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Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tzintzuntzan:			
Tzintzuntzan (c)	1,077	35 (9 136)	3.2 (9 12.7)
Cuauchuebo (p)	296	279	94.5
Ihuatzio (p)	1,206	1,206	100.0
La Pacanda (p)	267	260	97.1
Coenembo (r)	451	0	0
Los Corrales (r)	177	0	0
Las Cuevas (r)	60	0	0
Las Granadas (r)	92	92	100.0
Ichupio (r)	162	162	100.0
Itzíparámucu (r)	46	15	36.9
La Noria (r)	32	0	0
El Ojo de Agua (r)	104	104	100.0
Patambicho (r)	261	0	0
Las Pilas (r)	67	0	0
Santa Cruz (r)	178	0	0
Tarerio (r)	201	194	96.5
El Tecolote (r)	12	0	0
El Tigre (r)	119	0	0
Uocanástacua (r)	110	110	100.0
La Verdolaga (r)	78	0	0
La Vinata (r)	71	71	100.0
THE NORTHERN PLATEAU REGION			
Municipio of Coeneo:			
Coeneo (v)	2,450	6	.2
Azajo (p)	1,097	1,098	99.2
Comanjo (p)	806	91	11.3
Zipiajo (p)	1,311	1,303	99.4
Bellas Fuentes (h)	876	2	.1
Laredo (r)	345	1	.3
Matugeo (r)	484	0	0
Tunguitiro (r)	749	2	.3
Municipio of Zacapu:			
Zacapu (v)	6,169	14	.2
Cantabria (p)	1,123	0	0
Naranja (p)	1,082	763	70.5
Tarejero (p)	1,457	891	61.1
Tirindaro (p)	1,252	686	54.8
Buenavista (h)	224	7	3.1
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	151	2	1.3
San Antonio (r)	869	0	0
Municipio of Morelia:			
Morelia (c)	44,204	32	.07
Teremendo (p)	1,331	379	28.4
Tres Puentes (r)	176	6	3.4
LA CAÑADA			
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Chilchota (p)	2,479	9	.4
Acachuén (p)	717	712	99.3
Carapan (p)	1,289	1,240	96.5
Huánsito (p)	788	780	98.8
Ichán (p)	776	776	100.0
Santo Tomás (p)	286	282	98.0
Tacuro (p)	445	445	100.0
Tanaquillo (p)	410	184	44.9
Urén (p)	340	133	39.6
Zocopo (p)	290	290	100.0

[9] Number and percentage of Tarascans in Tzintzuntzan, 1945, according to ethnographical census. The percentage was calculated on the basis of 1,231 inhabitants in Tzintzuntzan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 20-b]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

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LA CAÑADA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Chilchota—Continued			
La Cofradía (r)	69	0	0
Tintzipha (r)	117	48	41.0
Municipio of Tangancícuaro:			
Tangancícuaro (v)	4,722	10	.2
Etúcuaro (p)	871	9	1.0
TIERRA TEMPLADA			
Municipio of Ziracuaritiro:			
San Angel Zurumucapio (p)	970	822	84.7
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Tingambato (p)	2,798	204	7.3
Municipio of Uruapan:			
Uruapan (c)	20,588	111	.5
Jucutácato (p)	500	5	1.0
La Rosa de Castilla (r)	60	2	3.3
Toreo Alto (r)	240	3	1.2
Caltzontzin (p)[10]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Ario de Rosales:			
Villa Silva (p)[10]	(?)	(?)	(?)

[10] Inhabited 1943. Official census figures not available.

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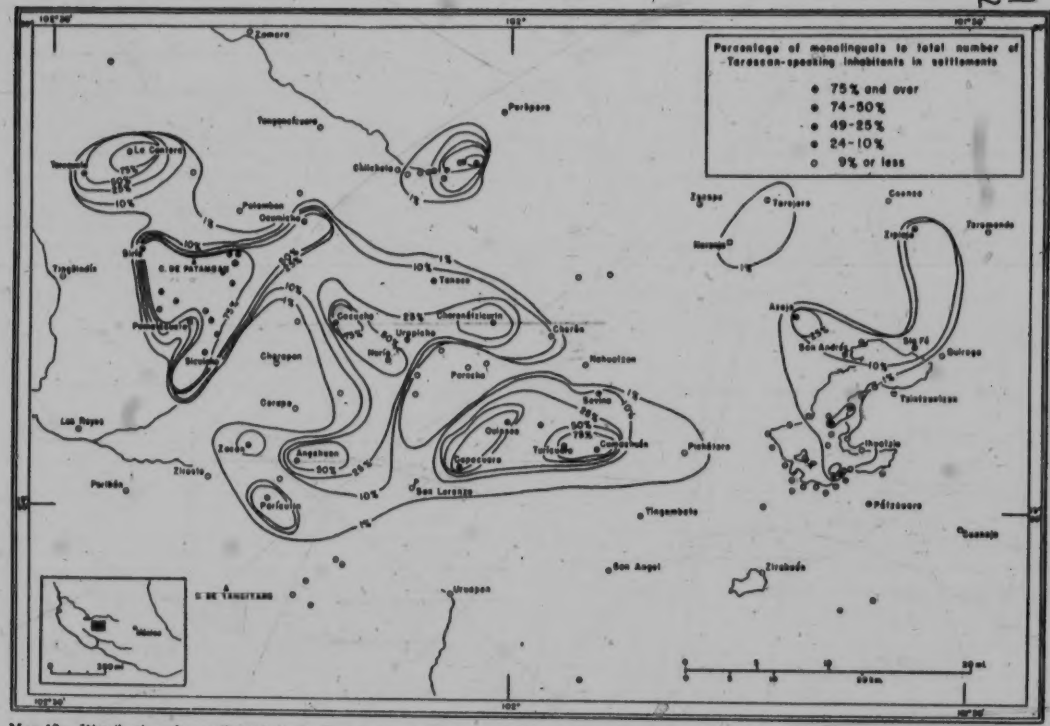
Distribution of monolingual Tarascans.—In spite of continued areal recession of native speech and infiltration of mestizos, monolingualism still exists in many parts of Tarasca. According to calculations from 1940 census data, approximately 38 percent of the Tarascan population is monolingual. Personal field experience, however, would indicate that a smaller proportion (probably 20 percent) speak only Tarascan. The monolinguals are composed principally of conservative women and girls and the older men living in the more isolated pueblos and *ranchos*. Pronounced monolingual centers are scattered through the Tarascan area and correspond to the islets of purely indigenous speech mentioned above (map 13). One center includes the *ranchos* around the Cerro de Patamban and also the majority of women in the pueblos of Pamatácuaro, Sicuicho, and Sirío, nearby. (According to data from the 1940 census, approximately 67 percent of the Tarascan population of this area is monolingual. Following percentages in this paragraph are calculated from the 1940 census.) Another center includes Tarecuato and the adjacent *rancho* of La Cantera (66 percent monolingual). Still another area is situated southwest of Nahuatzen, and consists of the pueblos of Quinceo, Turícuaro,

[TEXT CONTIN. VES BOTTOM OF P. 22 b--ANALYS]

[P.21]


Percentage of monolinguals to total number of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants in settlements
75% and over
74-50%
49-25%
24-10%
9% or less
Zamora
Tangancicuaro
Periban
Chilchota
Tlazazalca
Tocumbo
Tingambato
Uruapan
Zitacuaro
Tlalpujahua
Ocampo
Tanaco
Cherán
Nahuatzen
Paracho
Cherapan
Carapan
Zacapu
Angahuan
Pátzcuaro
Tzintzuntzan
Ihuatzio
Quiroga
Erongarícuaro
Pátzcuaro
Querendaro
Zirahuén
San Angel
Tarejero
Coeneo
Tarimbaro
Zinapécuaro
Huaniqueo
Tlazazalca
Ario
Tacámbaro
Tiquicheo
Huetamo
Zitacuaro
Tlalpujahua
Ocampo
Tanaco
Cherán
Nahuatzen
Paracho
Uruapan
Tingambato
San Angel
Zirahuén
Pátzcuaro
Quiroga
Tarimbaro
Coeneo
Tarimbaro
Zinapécuaro

that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b—ANALYST]

TARASCAN

SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[22] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b—ANALYST]

[22] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the cabecera, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the cabecera and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of villa or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,877 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

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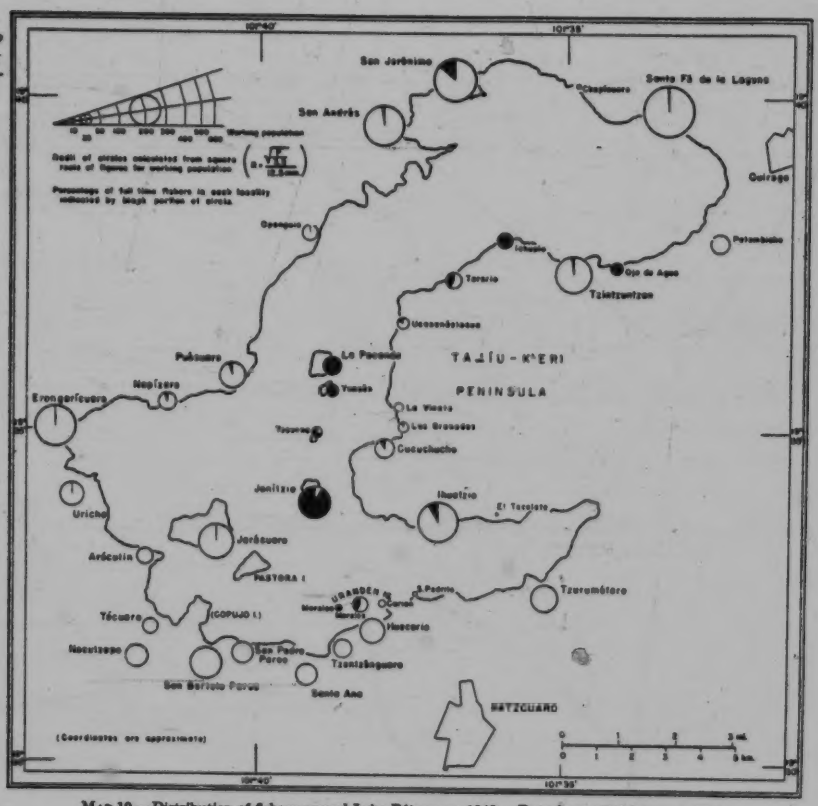

MAP 19.—Distribution of fishers around Lake Pátzcuaro, 1940. Data from official census, 1940.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

162 217 the municipal records, which probably are relatively complete and moderately accurate. The data have been worked up into tables 11 and 12 by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, one of the collaborators in the study.

TABLE 11.—*Births in Cherán, 1936-39*[1]

163 162

Year and month of birth	Total births	Boys	Girls	Percentage of boys	Percentage of girls
1936					
January	9	6	3	1.7	0.9
February	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
March	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
April	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
May	11	3	8	.9	2.3
June	26	11	15	3.2	4.4
July	23	11	12	3.2	3.5
August	21	12	9	3.5	2.6
September	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
October	9	2	7	.6	2.0
November	12	7	5	2.0	1.5
December	6	1	5	.3	1.5
1937					
January	3	2	1	.6	.3
February	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
March	18	8	10	1.4	2.9
April	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	19	13	6	3.7	1.7
July	21	9	12	2.6	3.5
August	13	6	7	1.7	2.0
September	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
October	12	6	6	1.7	1.7
November	13	7	6	2.0	1.7
December	22	9	13	2.6	3.8
1938					
January	13	8	5	2.3	1.5
February	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
March	3	2	1	.9	.9
April	24	14	10	4.0	2.9
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	5	3	2	.9	.6
July	11	5	6	1.4	1.7
August	22	10	12	2.9	3.5
September	10	7	3	2.0	.9
October	12	5	7	1.4	2.0
November	10	3	7	.9	2.0
December	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
1939					
January	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
February	13	5	8	1.4	2.3
March	20	9	11	2.6	3.2
April	23	12	10	3.7	2.9
May	24	13	11	3.7	3.2
June	18	16	2	4.6	.6
July	22	13	9	3.7	2.6
August	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
September	15	4	11	1.2	3.2
October	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
November	17	7	10	2.0	2.9
December	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
Total	690	347	343	100.0	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

163 Birth records are probably correct for all live births. There is some possibility that many stillbirths were not reported either in the birth statistics or the death statistics. Although a [686] fine is levied against persons known to have buried a still-born child without registering the fact in the *municipio*, the fine is nominal, and municipal authorities believe that probably the majority of stillbirths are not reported.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

163 For the years 1936–39, inclusive, there were 690 registered births in Cherán. The sex ratio was very nearly 1:1, with 347 male births and 343 female births. The distribution is shown in table 11. It is of interest that great excess of female births occurred in 1936, reaching a peak in June of that year, while a considerable excess of male births occurred in 1939, also reaching a peak in June.

TABLE 12.—*Marriages in Cherán, 1937-39*[1]

585
582

Age of married person	Married men		Married women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
13			3	2.0
14	1	0.7	23	15.4
15	2	1.3	49	32.9
16	12	8.1	26	17.4
17	8	5.4	9	6.0
18	32	21.5	6	4.0
19	12	8.1	2	1.3
20	15	10.1	3	2.0
21	5	3.4		
22	10	6.7		
23	5	3.4	2	1.3
24			2	1.3
25	9	6.0	5	3.4
26	5	3.4	1	.7
27	1	.7		
28	5	3.4	3	2.0
30	3	2.0	2	1.3
31	1	.7		
32	2	1.3		
35	4	2.7	2	1.3
37	2	1.3	1	.7
38	1	.7		
39			1	.7
40	4	2.7	2	1.3
45	3	2.0	3	2.0
47	1	.7		
48			1	.7
53	1	.7		
55	1	.7	1	.7
60	2	1.3	2	1.3
80	1	.7		
82	1	.7		
Total	149	100.0	149	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

Data on the 149 marriages for 1937, 1938, and 1939 are shown in table 12. The age data are subject to the same probable inaccuracy in age estimates as is the case with the data on adult men. However, inasmuch as many Cherán residents are today sensitive about the early age of marriages and it is known that the ages given for young persons about to be married are often exaggerated, the data underscore the early age of marriage. In round numbers, 2 percent of girls married were only 13, 15 percent were 14, 32 percent were 15, 17 percent were 16, and 6 percent were 17. Only 2 percent of girls married were aged 20. It is significant that no marriages were recorded for girls aged 21 or 22. In all probability all, or nearly all, marriages recorded after this age were remarriages.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946
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TABLE 13.—*Fertility of Okerdi women*[1]

Number of births per woman	Number of women	Living children per woman	Number of women	Deceased children per woman	Number of women	Male births per woman	Number of women	Female births per woman	Number of women	Male children living per woman	Number of women	Female children living	Number of women
1	1	0	2	0	4	1	6	1	13	1	17	1	18
2	6	1	13	1	14	2	20	2	7	2	15	2	12
3	6	2	7	2	12	3	10	3	17	3	6	3	8
4	9	3	18	3	9	4	6	4	4	4	1	4	1
5	10	4	5	4	5	5	6	5	2	5	1	5	0
6	10	5	3	5	3	6	1	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
7	4	6	0	6	2	7	4	7	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
8	3	7	1	7	2	8	0	8	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
9	4	.....	.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(Average) 5.2 per woman		(Average) 2.7 per woman		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] Based on interviews with 88 women past child-bearing age. In the data on male and female births, the sex of 8 children was not remembered.

TABLE 14.—*Deaths by age groups in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Age in years	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Under 1 year	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1		1	0	1	2	4	4	1	1		2	2	4	8	10	6	2	2	4		1	2	2		4	2	1	1		1	6		1	3	1	2	2	4	8	40	22	12	82
1-4		1		1		1	1				2		1	5	2	1				2	2	6	2	6												2	1				1						18	20	16	15	69
5-9					2	4	1	2						1								1	1	1																							6	4	1		11
10-14					1	1	2								1	1						3	1	1																							10	7	6	2	25
15-19									1	1	1	1	6		2			2				2	0	1	2																						8	13	14	3	38
20-24										1	1	1	1		1				1	2			1	1																							2	3	2	1	8
25-29																					2									1																	9	9	4	1	23
30-34																														1	1																7	6	10	4	27
35-39	1	1		2																		4	1	1				1	1	1	1																7	6	3	6	22
40-44																						3																									2	4	6	2	14
45-49																																															6	1	2	3	12
50-54																																																			
55-59																																																			
60-64																																																			
65+																																																			
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	20	20	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	6	60	147	103	53	363

TABLE 15.—*Deaths according to sex in 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Sex	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Male	1	2	4	3	2	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	5	4	6	5	1	2	1	7	8	8	12	12	5	2	6	6	7	1	5	7	2	8	4	4	2	1	4	2	1	2	2	2	22	66	56	23	181
Female	2	3	2	3	6	4	1	0	1	2	2	4	4	7	6	2	0	3	1	10	7	8	17	14	5	3	5	7	2	1	3	2	8	6	1	3	1	9	2	2	3	6	6	4	37	75	47	30	189
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	6	60	147	103	53	363

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 96]

582 The earliest age recorded for married males
585 is 14, this age group comprising 0.7 percent of the total male marriages. However, there is reason to believe that the age of males is falsified at marriage more than that of females. Most marriages, according to the statistics, take place at 16 or after; 8 percent of males marry at the age of 16. Five percent were married at 17, 21 percent at 18, 8 percent at 19, and 10 percent at 20. None were married at age 24, but 6 percent were married at 25. Some marriages listed at this age are probably remarriages, and certainly few first marriages take place after 25. The emphasis placed upon marriage as a normal state is indicated by the considerable age of some persons married. Two women and two men are shown as married at 60, while one man is shown as married at 80 and another at 82.

No particular season of marriage preference is evident if marriage frequencies are analyzed by months, despite assertions that most marriages take place in the winter after harvest. Evidently marriages take place when people have resources, regardless of the time of year. The fluctuations from year to year probably could be accounted for in terms of variable economic conditions. It must be remembered that the month of marriage reported is the time of the civil registry and church wedding. Probably the majority of marriages are consummated before these events.

In addition to the statistical data, even earlier marriages are believed to take place. One girl, whose age was alleged by several people independently to be only 15, had four children. Gossip told of another case of a girl of 10 years who was "half married," that is, the groom's parents did not yet permit him to sleep with his wife. But at the age of 14 the girl was said to have had two children. Before the Tarascans are censured for the practice of such early marriages, it should be born in mind that Bishop Quiroga, who had so much influence on the Tarascans, in his ordinances authorized the marriage of boys over 14 and girls over 12 (Arriaga, 1938).

Data on family composition and fertility
843 were obtained by interviews with 53 families
842 where the wife was 47 years of age or older and had not borne children recently (table 13).

[text continues on p. 97b]

163 The data again are not entirely reliable because of a tendency not to count deceased children
842 until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938,
165 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

The table of deaths by causes (table 16)
165 should be considered primarily of interest in
753 showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities.
[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[858] [28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an incon-
224 siderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Corpulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or
164 incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[927] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[164] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

[674] Robbers are also a source of danger; however, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products ("*tornillo*") from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

163 The data again are not entirely reliable because
842 of a tendency not to count deceased children until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

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[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[858] [28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

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[p. 207a] Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

755 *zorilla* (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

● 164 755 [753] The majority of Capacuaro residents have goiter. This is said often to result from drinking from a spring of bad water. The spring is said to be bad because many humming birds drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

754 755 The power of the evil eye belongs only to certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

755 The following remedies are reported by Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.

2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.

3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).

4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

574 with whom especially friendly relations exist, nor-
609 mally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

So far as is known, customs in other mountain
351 towns are similar in all respects except for the
574 attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences
184 are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

The major insect pests are fleas. In some vil-
362 lages there are also bedbugs. There seems little
136 to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

In the lack of good medical statistics, it is
362 impossible to estimate the relation between health
● 164 and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to
[515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

362 mitted by contact and particularly respiratory
164 and pulmonary infections. Although data are lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is suspected. There seems little to choose between various house types for health.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance,
184 seem to have similar conditions. Local varia-
362 tions, of course, occur as the result of differences in rainfall and temperature (functions of location and altitude) and the number of animals kept (causing variations in the number of flies).

[Continued on p.33b]

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 In this section we try to determine the antiquity
173 of modern house types. We do not include all the data found in early sources referring to pre-Spanish houses and house uses, but base our study of the history of the Tarascan house on modern tradition and especially on the writings of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply useful data concerning the last century or so. The houses of stone and adobe are usually considered to be relatively recent introductions in the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake area.[8] This view is supported by the relatively greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake region, it is remembered that wooden structures once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred to the older custom of building houses in the center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types discussed, kitchens of poles and "*trojes*" and the trója kosína of logs are regarded as the oldest types. Tools, until recently were limited to the ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of a few generations ago are merged into "*los antepasados*" and, unless an historically known event is referred to, it is difficult to know to what period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

[8] This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

[9] In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish word adobe, while in the Lake area a native word (isuárukata) is known.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 11-b]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 17b --ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cuseo; Mus. Nac., leg. 99, Rel. de Charo Matlalzingo.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

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161 New Spain 1 year after the coming of Cortés.
Thereafter epidemics occurred periodically during
●164 the colonial period, completely obliterating the
177 population of some districts, especially those in the low, hot lands. Smallpox, measles, and probably typhus (teréekua) were the most common killers. Mendizábal (1939) has estimated that in the first century of Spanish occupation the Indians of New Spain were reduced to 25 percent of their pre-Conquest numbers, and that the pre-Spanish population of the diocese of Michoacán was possibly 200,000, which was reduced to some 92,000 by 1550.[19] Judging from the accounts in the Relaciones Geográficas of 1579–81, the basins of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec suffered the most heavily. There from one-third to all of the inhabitants of some villages were destroyed. Accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries mention scores of villages in the Tarascan area which are now nonexistent, the inhabi-

[19] Mendizábal made this calculation from figures given in the Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
797 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
177 had established themselves in most of the large
191 Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1524 to 1528 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 13a]

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563 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers
177 and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large
191 Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern
[164] plateau. In the former area disease probably decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[35] The mill settlements (*trapiches, ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians
[464] were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, ex-
191 ploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente*
[177] and the establishment of smelting centers in Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[35] In 1540 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Tuxpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. I, p. 253).

[Text continues top of P. 17a---Analysis]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

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842
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TABLE 13.—*Fertility of Cherán women*[1]

Number of births per woman	Number of women	Living children per woman	Number of women	Deceased children per woman	Number of women	Male births per woman	Number of women	Female births per woman	Number of women	Male children living per woman	Number of women	Female children living	Number of women
1	1	0	2	0	4	1	8	1	13	1	17	1	18
2	8	1	13	1	14	2	20	2	7	2	15	2	15
3	8	2	7	2	12	3	10	3	17	3	6	3	3
4	9	3	18	3	9	4	6	4	8	4	1	4	1
5	10	4	5	4	5	5	6	5	3	5	1	5	0
6	10	5	3	5	3	6	1	6	1				
7	4	6	0	6	2	7	4	7	0				
8	3	7	1	7	2	8	0	8	0				
9	4			8	1								
10	0												
11	1												
(Average) 5.3 per woman		(Average) 2.7 per woman											

[1] Based on interviews with 83 women past child-bearing age. In the data on male and female births, the sex of 2 children was not remembered.

TABLE 14.—*Deaths by age groups in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Age in years	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Totals 1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Under 1 year	..	..	2	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	0	1	3	4	4	1	..	2	2	4	8	10	..	1	8	4	..	1	2	3	..	4	..	2	1	5	..	..	1	3	3	..	..	8	40	23	12	83
1- 9	2	2	1	1	..	2	1	1	..	..	2	2	1	5	8	1	..	..	5	8	9	8	10	5	2	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	1	..	1	1	2	1	2	3	4	15	50	18	16	98
10-19	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	4	1	18
20-29	..	1	..	2	4	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	7	4	2	27
30-39	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	5	..	2	..	..	2	..	3	..	0	1	3	..	1	2	2	1	1	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	12	14	2	32
40-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	3	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	3	2	18
50-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	0	6	9	4	18
60-69	1	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	4	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	2	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	7	9	10	4	30
70-79	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	3	4	13
80-89	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	0	5	9	2	16
90+	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	3	8
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	2	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	8	60	147	109	83	383

TABLE 15.—*Deaths according to sex in 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Sex	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Totals 1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Male	1	3	4	3	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	3	5	4	8	5	1	3	1	7	8	8	12	12	5	3	6	5	7	1	5	7	3	3	4	5	1	4	5	1	3	3	3	2	23	99	86	23	181
Female	2	3	2	3	5	4	1	0	1	1	2	3	4	7	4	2	0	2	1	10	7	8	17	14	5	2	5	7	2	1	3	2	8	9	1	2	2	6	1	3	2	5	6	6	37	78	47	30	182
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	2	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	9	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	8	60	147	109	53	383

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1:Death E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Taraco NU34
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[96]
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TABLE 16.—*Causes of death in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*

Cause of death	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Pulmonía (pneumonia)	1	..	2	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	2	1	3	2	2	..	1	1	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	2	1	1	1	..	..	11	14	11	6	42
Difteria (diphtheria)	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0	0	1
Decrepitud (senility)	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	6	4	5	3	18
Fiebre (fever)	..	2	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	9	3	5	3	20
Tos ferina (whooping cough)	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	3	..	1	..	6	7	11	10	16	2	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	59	7	0	67
Bilis (bile)	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	..	2	..	2	3	2	..	..	..	2	2	1	2	3	2	5	11	13	13	47
Herida (wounds)	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	6	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	12	4	0	18
Disinteria (dysentery)	..	1	..	1	1	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	1	..	1	3	1	..	1	1	..	2	3	7	7	10	9	33
Paludismo (malaria)	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0	0	0	4
Bronquitis (bronchitis)	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	3	2	2	5	12
Viruela (smallpox)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	6	4	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	15	4	1	20
Parto (childbirth)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	2	1	7
Accidental (accidents)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	1	6
Gripa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	0	6	1	9
Congestión alcoholico (alcoholism)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	3	3	1	8
Tifo (typhus)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	0	0	1
Reumatismo (rheumatism)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	3
Cardiaco (heart trouble)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	3	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	8	4	13
Cólico (colic)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	4
Envenenado (poisoning)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Estrinimiento (intestinal obstruction)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Apoplejía (apoplexy)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Enfermedad (disease)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Dolor (pain)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Arma de fuego (shooting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	3
Erisipela (erysipelas)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	3
Desconocido (unknown)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Tumor (tumor)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
Quemadura (burns)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
Tuberculosis (tuberculosis)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Aborto (abortion)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Neumonía fulminante (fulminating pneumonia)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Cancer (cancer)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Vómito (vomiting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Hinchazón (swelling)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Alferecía (epilepsy)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Ahorcado (hanging)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Diarrea (diarrhea)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1
Deposición (colitis etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Sarampión (measles)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Purgación (gonorrhea)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

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TABLE 17.—*Death causes by summation groups of causes in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*

MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Cause of death	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
1. Accidents, injury, firearms	..	..	..	1	9	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	3	..	..	1	..	6	1	1	4	..	2	1	..	1	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	20	10	1	35
2. Pulmonary diseases	2	..	3	1	2	2	1	..	1	..	1	2	1	3	2	2	..	1	1	1	..	..	2	3	1	..	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	4	2	1	1	..	..	..	15	16	13	11	55
3. Intestinal diseases	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	5	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	..	2	4	6	2	15	12	35
a. Bile	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	..	2	..	2	3	2	..	..	..	2	2	1	3	2	2	4	11	18	13	46
4. Fevers	..	4	1	2	3	..	1	2	..	3	3	1	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	2	1	1	..	2	7	2	1	1	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	20	11	17	4	52
5. Heart	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	3	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	0	7	5	13
6. Whooping cough	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	4	3	..	..	..	6	7	11	10	16	2	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	58	6	0	66
7. Infectious disease	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	2	..	..	3	2	6	4	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	21	8	3	33
8. Unknown	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	1	0	0	1
9. Old age	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	6	4	5	3	18
10. Childbirth	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	3	1	8
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	2	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	8	60	147	103	83	363

163 The data again are not entirely reliable because of a tendency not to count deceased children
842 until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938,
165 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

165 The table of deaths by causes (table 16)
753 should be considered primarily of interest in showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities.
[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[858] [28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

165 Possibly (although not necessarily) of more
753 significance is the summary in table 17. This summation was prepared in the belief that the general class of cause was perhaps more accurately known; in other words, diphtheria as a cause of death very likely is an incorrect diagnosis, but very possibly a pulmonary disease was involved. Particular attention is called to category 3a, *bílis*. It is not at all certain that an intestinal disease is involved. *Bílis* is the catch-all of Cherán medicine. Whenever one is "under the weather," he is apt to say he has *bílis*, and very possibly the concept is a receptacle for whatever beliefs of supernatural disease causation still exist in Cherán. The problem will be elaborated on in the discussion of disease and curing.

Knowledge of emigration is necessary to
167 understand the Cherán population situation. Virtually all the emigration has been to the United States; relatively few persons appear to have emigrated either to other parts of Mexico or to other Tarascan towns. Impressionistically, it would appear that a very considerable portion of the Cherán population has been in the United States. Probably very few families either have not been in the United States or do not have some fairly close relative who is or has been in this country. Too small a sample was taken for statistical data on this point to be valid, but of 28 males interviewed specifically with reference to emigration, 25 had been in the United States. Discussion of the motivations, character, and personal significance of this migration will be given later.

Although many Cherán residents have emigrated, few persons have immigrated. A tanner from Aranza and a butcher from Chilchota, two tilemakers, two school teachers, the secretary, and the tax collector are the only persons known to have settled in the town in recent years. Of these, only the first two regard themselves as permanent residents. Most outsiders are treated as citizens, and there is no bar to purchase of land by outsiders. However, if land is for sale, owners are expected to offer it first to local residents.

If the Cherán population continues to increase to the point that land becomes scarce, it will be interesting to observe whether an emigration pattern again develops. The present

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.2-d]

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
Formerly an important part of the Tarascan
[191] Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Jurío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
[166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1946), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1945).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 13-b]

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
[166] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were estab-
[166] lished *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech[23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
[127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1758, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746–48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1806, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

The western area.—Immediately west of the
563 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
191 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was
177 early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

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[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1800. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 767, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1843; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1862.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 22-b]

191 and Cumachuén (62 percent monolingual). Moreover, the pueblos of La Cañada, adjacent to modern transportation facilities, are surprisingly monolingual (59 percent). Other scattered, ultraconservative towns, such as Angahuan, Cocucho, and Cheranátzicurin in the Sierra, contain a large number of monolinguals.

731 **Effects of Parícutin Volcano.**—The eruption of Parícutin Volcano early in 1943 caused the redis-
166 tribution of some of the Tarascan population.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 22-C]

166
731 The inhabitants of the completely destroyed towns of Parícutin and Parangaricutiro were transferred to new lands near Uruapan. Those of Parícutin were moved to the new settlement of Caltzontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan, in February 1943. This pueblo now forms a new island of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. With Government aid the people of Parangaricutiro established a new pueblo near the *rancho* of Los Conejos, 6 km. west of Uruapan, in March 1944. Another new town,
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 23b---ANALYST]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-b]

166 called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was
731 founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra calientes*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[m]
[182] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-
[161] 46) the population of Villa Silva has decreased from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[m] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the ranchs of Barranca Seca, 4 km. to the northwest.

438 An interesting aspect of cottage industries is
178 their ephemeral character. Owing to movement
[166] of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[134] The pottery industry in Santa Fé
[323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was
[294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan
[282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft
[325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[134] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 spoke both Tarascan and Spanish; his wife told him that his father was *de razon* and he said, "Well, my mother was this also." The other 198 individuals in the sample did not consider that any elaboration other than the answer to the question was necessary — another indication of the relative unimportance of the distinction in the town.

Through all of these explanations it can be seen that place of birth is apparently primary in determining the ethnic group with which one will later (if ever) be identified, with the ability to speak the Tarascan language second in importance. There is evidence that Tarascan as the idiom
186 of the community was no longer in favor even several generations ago.
191 Not only is the use of Tarascan in Paracho limited today to members of the oldest generation, but several people showed their dislike for the language and implied that their parents did not teach it to them, or did so only inadequately. Children today are not learning Tarascan, and this tie with Indian culture is rapidly disappearing.

186 The place of birth of the parents may be correlated with ethnic origin to determine to what extent the ethnic composition of the community depends on birthplace. The data indicate that either more Mestizos are coming into Paracho from the outside, or that more of the people who have come to Paracho from elsewhere are considered to be Mestizos. In most instances the places whence the parents had emigrated were small
[166] Sierra Tarascan villages and towns, considered by Parachoans to be "Indian places." In moving to the larger center these individuals had identified themselves (or had been identified by their children) with the more urban, Mestizo, way of life. Among parents born outside Paracho 54.5 per cent of mothers are classed as Mestiza and 58.0 per cent of fathers are reported as Mestizo.

TABLE 3

"RACE" OF FATHER AND MOTHER ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH [6]

Reported as:	Father born: Paracho	Father born: elsewhere	Mother born: Paracho	Mother born: elsewhere
Indian	120	26	143	25
Mestizo	53	36	49	30
Total	173	62	192	55
	χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 14.54		χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 16.33	
	$P < 0.0002$		$P < 0.0001$	

Although a majority of parents born elsewhere are described as Mestizo, others are called Indian. The stereotype of the Indian (not native to Paracho) held by the local citizenry is similar to that reported by other investigators in Mexico.[7] The Indians in near-by communities have the

[6] Parents born in forty-six communities other than Paracho are represented in the total sample.

[7] George Foster, *Empire's Children, The People of Tzintzuntzan*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6 (Washington, 1948), p. 33.
Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 53-54.
Robert Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 75.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

reputation of being ignorant, backward, and mean. We were told that especially when drunk such Indians "get real mean." One qualification of a "real" Indian is a quick trigger finger, for as one man said, "My *compadre* from Arantepáquaro is real Indian . . . and he killed three fellows one time. And another in Aranza he killed eleven cousins in a fight over lands." 186

In recent years there has been an influx to Paracho from towns which also have both Mestizo and Indian elements defined in their population. Some of those interviewed came from Charapan, where a local political upheaval had stimulated emigration, others came from villages made uninhabitable by the eruption of Parícutin Volcano. By no means all parents reported to be Mestizos are from families which have come to Paracho in the last generation, however. On the whole, the relationship between the reported Mestizos and Indians is little altered when the "outsiders" are pooled with the locally-born citizens. [166]

In twenty-two instances it was possible to compare the children's responses with those of their parents. In twelve of these instances the child's categorization of his parent was identical with the parent's categorization of his parents — that is, where the child said his father was *de razon*, the father in turn said that his parents were *de razon*. In five instances there was a complete shift in identification between one generation and the next; in five of these five instances children regarded their parents as Mestizo while the parents regarded *their* parents as Indian. In an additional four instances there was a partial change: for example, the child reported a parent as Mestizo, while the parent concerned reported his father to have been Mestizo and his mother to have been Indian.

It is clear from these comparisons that the responses reflect a variable social attitude rather than any commonly perceivable reality. There is nothing to indicate any presence of the notion that one Indian ancestor automatically makes the possessor Indian (or that one Spanish ancestor makes him Mestizo). Where the criteria for ethnic identification are cultural rather than biological such a notion would not be expected.

It may be said that latent attitudes concerning ethnic differences within the community exist, and the answers to a question concerning these differences are suggestive of the criteria upon which the identifications are based. Such insights are helpful in understanding some of the dynamics involved in social as well as spatial mobility.

The most salient feature, from our point of view, is the lack of any intense feeling concerning ethnic identification. It is not easy for the outside observer to set up any demonstrably valid criteria by which to judge the ethnic make-up of the Paracho community. The fact that some 85 per cent of the people are interrelated, at least by marriages, would

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167 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION--extent and sources of immigration; extent and destination of emigration; reasons of migration; trends; restrictive regulation; colonization; etc. See also:

Prehistoric migrations 174
Travel 484
Ethnic stratification 563
Slave trade 567
Colonial dependencies 636
Naturalization 641
Transplantation of conquered populations . . . 728

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settle-
174 ment. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

165 753 Possibly (although not necessarily) of more significance is the summary in table 17. This summation was prepared in the belief that the general class of cause was perhaps more accurately known; in other words, diphtheria as a cause of death very likely is an incorrect diagnosis, but very possibly a pulmonary disease was involved. Particular attention is called to category 3a, *bílis*. It is not at all certain that an intestinal disease is involved. *Bílis* is the catch-all of Cherán medicine. Whenever one is "under the weather," he is apt to say he has *bílis*, and very possibly the concept is a receptacle for whatever beliefs of supernatural disease causation still exist in Cherán. The problem will be elaborated on in the discussion of disease and curing.

167 Knowledge of emigration is necessary to understand the Cherán population situation. Virtually all the emigration has been to the United States; relatively few persons appear to have emigrated either to other parts of Mexico or to other Tarascan towns. Impressionistically, it would appear that a very considerable portion of the Cherán population has been in the United States. Probably very few families either have not been in the United States or do not have some fairly close relative who is or has been in this country. Too small a sample was taken for statistical data on this point to be valid, but of 28 males interviewed specifically with reference to emigration, 25 had been in the United States. Discussion of the motivations, character, and personal significance of this migration will be given later.

Although many Cherán residents have emigrated, few persons have immigrated. A tanner from Aranza and a butcher from Chilchota, two tilemakers, two school teachers, the secretary, and the tax collector are the only persons known to have settled in the town in recent years. Of these, only the first two regard themselves as permanent residents. Most outsiders are treated as citizens, and there is no bar to purchase of land by outsiders. However, if land is for sale, owners are expected to offer it first to local residents.

If the Cherán population continues to increase to the point that land becomes scarce, it will be interesting to observe whether an emigration pattern again develops. The present

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 986]

167 war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

565 Class or caste stratification is almost unknown in Cherán. There still remains much
556 of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. There is much talk of rich and poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informent put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by
[555] their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

The most influential group at present in
565 Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

754 outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

Little is known about curing techniques. In
754 the account secured, the good witch goes into
755 an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

In all probability an important reason for the
754 departure of the Rangel family from Cherán
[167] for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54] and the enormous response of labor during
[167] the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the
438 economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

Among the declining industries, the
178 most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 69.

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12b--ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cuseo; Mus. Nac., leg. 98, Rel. de Charo Matlaltinga.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
191 contributed more than any other factor to the loss
177 of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 436–437; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 186 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from 554 an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per-533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[122] Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their pre-
[128] sumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and
805 Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación*
[175] *de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief
786 priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the
793 nation and its princes.
173
292

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

• 17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

608 of the bride and groom together with all their brothers,
585 sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the
[516] bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre.*" One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari kà auándaɹu anápueskari ka uéke dióʒa éskakʒa no méni ambé arijperoka. Na čúskuskiá kumba." Meantime the t'aɹépiti is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

608 To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished,
[782] she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.[21]

In some parts of Mexico—for example,
[171] among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

[21] In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Cherán.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no text]

1
INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. [161] They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic poli-
177 cies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest
794 landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the dominant fact in the nineteenth century history
668 of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

342 ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, sup-
335 ported by the adobes of the "*capisayo*," and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*piso*," the upper by a ridge pole (pirijɛ́akua in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito*," or "*zoquete*," forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-
[171] and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

351 Supplementary structures consist of fences,
333 gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called sérka. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (uaɛ́ótakua)
351 are employed to divide lots, or especially in the
335 outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called ɛirindikua.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

342 Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and
177 the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

342 Wooden houses are not mentioned in the "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the
127 *cabeceras* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identificable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the úmutakata, for in Gilberti occurs "tsirimba *troje asentado en cuarto palos.*" The houses of canes and poles (tsirindacata of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

The principal historical problem is to deter-
342 mine whether the shake roof and the log wall
177 with interlocking corners is of European or pre-Hispanic American origin. Both elements are
171 well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil*, tasámani) are both derived from the Nautl tlaxamanilli, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,[14] and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.[15] A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

[14] In shepherds' huts of the Basque country. Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español, vol. 1, p. 91, pl. 7. 1905.
[15] Papeles de Nueva España, vol 6, p. 281. Madrid, 1905.

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
177 It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes
[171] were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

The history of shakes and of interlocked log
342 structures cannot, however, be resolved defini-
171 tively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
343 the Tarascan *tarímba* (in Angahuan) suggests
127 that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

In the Introduction of this paper, a number of
362 problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in
241 the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[Text continues top of P. 11b--Analyst]

TARASCAN

POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 One of the outstanding developments in Ta-
178 rascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in
171 which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the
191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign
563 tongues existed; these represented colonies settled with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[Text continues bottom of P. 11b---Analyst]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 29-C] Sierra

The house lot is fenced
351 with adobe, stone, or logs; the portion facing the street may be enclosed by a high wall of planks, stone, or adobe, which joins the house at one end. Such structures are called ɣanɣakata in the Sierra (pl. 3). Various types of gates are used at the entrance to the house lot; the more common are the double-door affair, and those with logs placed horizontally in slots carved in opposite upright posts.

Historical aspects.—The provenience of the
342 wooden *troje* presents one of the most puzzling
171 features in Tarascan culture history. The structure of interlocked logs or planks is a relatively uncommon house type in Mexico, where it has a disjunct distribution. It is found in (1) Oaxaca among the Mixe, Mixtec, and Trique groups;

342 171 (2) Veracruz on the northern slopes of the Cofre de Perote; (3) the Sierra Madre Oriental between Apulco and Huayacocotla near the Hidalgo-Veracruz border and near the Pan American highway northeast of Jacala, Hidalgo; (4) the Sierra Madre Occidental (Durango and Chihuahua); (5) isolated spots in the Sierra Madre del Sur (Guerrero) west of Chilpancingo; and (6) the Tarascan Sierra of Michoacán. The log cabin in 342 Durango and Chihuahua possibly may have been 171 introduced by United States Confederate refugees, 177 a few of whom settled in the Sierra Madre in the late 1860's and 1870's. Located near one of the main Veracruz-México roads, the Perote people also may have obtained the idea of interlocked logs from United States or European travelers or settlers. The plank structures of Michoacan are technically superior to the North American log cabin (introduced into the North American colonies from Scandinavia in the 17th century), and are known to have existed since the last quarter of the 18th century. Log cabins were apparently unknown in Spain during the colonial period. The idea of their construction may have been introduced into Mexico from northern Europe.

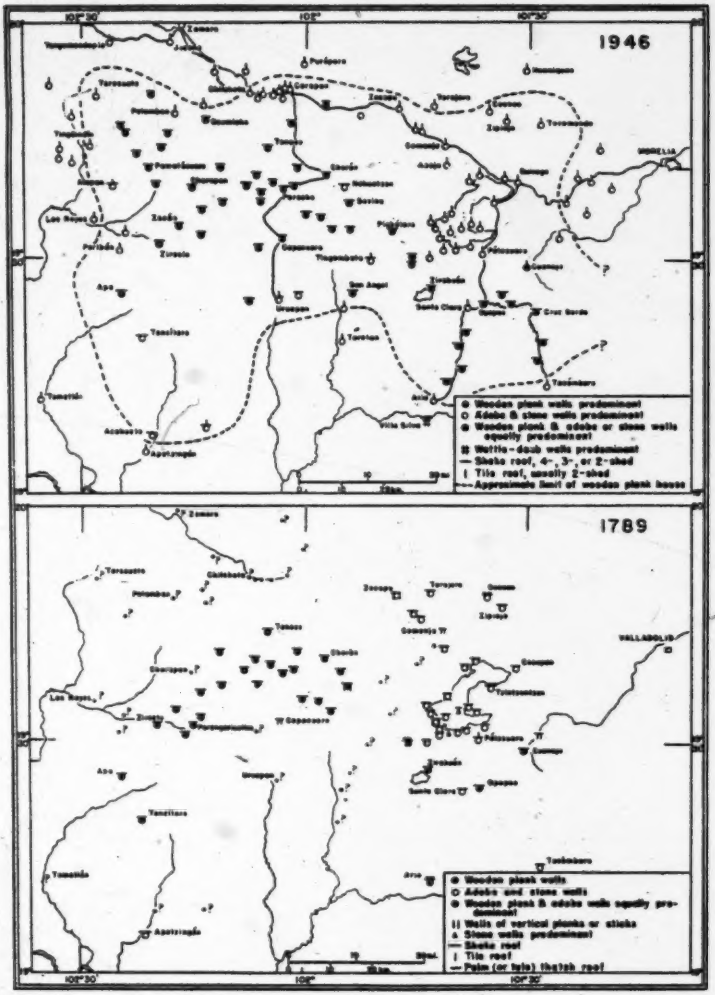
342 There is nothing in the Relación de Michoacán or in the available Relaciones Geográficas (Muc. Nac., leg. 102) that indicates the presence of log structures among 16th-century Tarascans.[39] The native houses were constructed of adobe or stone with four-ahed straw-thatched roofs. The first definite evidence of the modern *troje* that the writer has encountered appears in the Calderon report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73), which mentions ". . . jacales de . . . vigas horizontales cubiertas de tajamanil . . ." in Turícuaro (f. 336v), ". . . cuatro trojes de Maderas de Pino, bien construidas y conservadas . . ." in Nocutzepo (Lake Pátzcuaro) (f. 301), and ". . . chozas (or casas) de madera . . ." in many other towns in the Sierra (map 18). In most pueblos, however, wooden houses were mingled with those of stone or adobe. Moreover, houses constructed of small logs or poles placed vertically ("*estacas plantadas*") were

[39] Log fortifications were constructed by the Tarascans at Tuzimaroa (Ciudad Hidalgo) in pre-Spanish times (Stanislawski, 1947 a, p. 46). There is no evidence, however, that the notching technique was known. For a description of pre-Conquest Tarascan houses, see Beals, Carrasco, and McCurdie, 1944, pp. 32-36.

[712]

[P. 31]

342
171



MAP 18.—Distribution of house types in the Tarascan area, 1789 and 1946. The 1789 data are from AGN Historia, vol. 73, Calderón report.

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243 having many characteristics of the Mexican Narrow: low to medium row number (10–16), usually long ears, slightly tapering from butt to tip, and slightly or nondented grains. In color it is the most striking maize of the Tarascans: blue, blue black, dull red, wine, and often white (from field corn) mixed with the above colors (*pinto*). In most villages of the Sierra the colored *elote* corns are rarely planted outside the house lot. When questioned as to the reason for this, informants invariably answered that such maize would not mature well in the fields, that it required soil of much greater "*fuerza*." [a] Possibly this corn has been grown so long in house lots, where refuse is thrown and animals stalled, that it has acquired a necessity for highly nitrogenous soils. The ekuáru maize is not limited to the
243 Tarascan area, but is planted in a small way in
171 many parts of western Mexico (Colima and Jalisco). Among the Huichol of Nayarit it has acquired ceremonial significance. Possibly developed from the Mexican Narrow Ear in the escarpment area of Jalisco and Nayarit, this maize spread westward into Michoacán; it is rarely found in the eastern part of the Mexican plateau (valleys of Toluca, Mexico, and Puebla). In the Lake district red is the dominant color of ekuáru maize; only few ears of blue or black are seen.

Sweet corn.—This is rarely found among the Tarascans. In 1946 it was encountered in two towns, Teremendo and Chichota (mestizo). Because of its gummy consistency, sweet corn is never eaten green, but dried, mature grains are toasted to make *esquite*. The mature ears are called uačákata, for they resemble preserved green corn.

Popcorns.—The complete absence of popcorn in modern Tarascan agriculture poses a perplexing question concerning the antiquity of maize among these people. Popcorn is usually considered one of the most ancient of Mexican maizes (Anderson, 1946 a). The Tarascans were located between two popcorn centers—the western area (Jalisco, Nayarit) with its big-grained popcorns (*maíz reventador*) (Anderson, 1944) and the Toluca area with its small-grained *huilotlacaule* ("lo que comen las palomitas").

243 **Maize cultivation methods.**—Beals' (1946) description of maize cultivation in Cherán is typical

[a] In Urapicho the farmers believe that ekuáru maize is "afraid" of the fields and consequently will not grow there.

285 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat
438 making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'uírakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[140] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake
438 Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton
[283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

Capote making.—In many parts of indigenous
294 Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to
●[171] those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made
[438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are im-
[439] ported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[150] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[Text continues top of p. 67a]

[140] Other types: The k'amérîła (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the ťimánitepémuła (1 m.×80 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; íóstičan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranches along the shore of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula.

[150] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 679]

294 palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are [439] marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an [177] introduced trait.

Broommaking.—This is another minor industry 412 now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. The result is a common broom found in all parts [171] of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the 322 Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the [177] natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[180a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[180a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1939, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in Garcia Library, Univ. of Texas).

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

121 171 ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

171 526 One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[114] [2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a [131] large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári.*

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgua.* An official called the *kiéŋi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéŋi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akúčperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni.* The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atásukákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he 526
lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team.

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry sea- [883]
son during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it.

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former 526
Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a 171
similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf.

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a [824]
piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios.

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with [175]
a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, [172]
Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan.

Kolíṗs atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or 524
track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskúkua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece.

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurinṗkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *r*s is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "l" sound only occurs in [194]
Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *kolíṗs* is in this category, but its origin is not identified.

208 stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touch-
66 ing the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but
661 with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Duraznо, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Duraznо politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

667 The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

579 The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil
664 war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Duraznо and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Duraznо has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

171 Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

114 1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cárdenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored [574 by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in 273] nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

538 Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music 535 because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." 178 He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar 535 dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said 796 it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week 114 after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

171 535 796 114

In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

178 535

From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] [631] [645] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 648 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[1] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[1] [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925

NU7 Aztec NU7

Tarasco NU34

Zapotec NU44

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People
[773] who lived before the blessing of the world
[172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and
183 folklore primarily sanction the values of the folk culture. They support the family
771 (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The
[776] Devil giving money always appears as a

133 historical examples of vulcanism within or adjacent to the area. However, vulcanism associated with human ancient settlement in the area, [172] is unquestionably evidenced by the occurrence of charred maize ears embedded in a basaltic lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia.[4]

Aside from land forms resulting directly from vulcanism, others caused by depositional processes occur within the Sierra. Between the old composite volcanoes and young cinder cones flattish surfaces have been formed first by ash and cinder fall and later by aeolian and alluvial deposition from surrounding slopes. Such surfaces, which compose only a small percentage of total land area, are the agriculturally important sections of the Sierra. Some form saddles or cols between adjacent hills; the larger plains form basins of interior drainage. The largest basins are Llano Grande, southeast of Charapan; the Plan de Nurío; that of Paracho, Aranza, and Cherán; the plain of Nahuatzen; of Sevina; of Paracho; etc. (map 2; pl. 1). Minor forms include dissected aprons of alluvium and semiconsolidated ash at the base of volcanoes and steep-sided arroyos eroded into alluvium in the upper parts of the basin plains.

One of the most characteristic physical features of the Sierra is the paucity of perennial streams and lakes. Although this is an area of moderate summer precipitation, the porous volcanic surface quickly absorbs most of the available moisture. A few permanent, spring-fed streams occur on the northern and western flanks of Cerro de Patamban and on the western and southern sides of Cerro de Tancítaro. Small springs occur on [312] the flanks of the old composite volcanoes, whose porous rocks form a reservoir of rain water. Such springs afford the sole water supply for many Sierra villages. Only on the edges of the Sierra plateau, at the contact of porous and impervious rock layers, do large springs occur.

The Lake area.—At the eastern edge of the Sierra exists a depression filled by Lake Pátzcuaro. Sierran geomorphology (young and old volcanic forms) almost surrounds the lake, but predominates on its northern, western, and southern shores. Twelve kilometers south of Pátzcuaro small Lake Zirahuén, within the eastern prong of the Sierra, appears to have been formed by a lava-blocked

[4] An excellent specimen of charred maize so embedded is in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 34-a]

241 The Tarascans, like many aboriginal groups
177 strongly influenced by European culture, engage in two types of agriculture: field agriculture and horticulture. The former comprises extensive cultivation of grains in comparatively large fields with the plow and in small hillside plots with the hoe. Tarascan horticulture includes mainly the intensive cultivation of grains, vegetables, medicinal plants, and fruits in the house-lot gardens (ekuáɹu, sing., ekuáɹueča, pl., hispanicized to *ecuaro*); it also includes specialized truck gardening, such as that practiced on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

FIELD AGRICULTURE AND ASSOCIATED CROPS

241 There are three basic native food crops of
261 Mexico: maize (starch and oil), beans (protein), and squash (vegetable vitamin), all of which are now associated with field agriculture. In most Indian and many mestizo communities this complex forms the principal elements in the common diet; the three crops are planted together in the same field, cultivated together in the same manner, and harvested about the same time.

Maize culture.—The earliest record of maize in
243 the Tarascan area is found in the charred ears
[172] encountered in a lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia. The date of the flow is unknown, but maize was probably known to the Tarascans when they settled in the Sierra and the northern plateau.

The provenience of maize cultivated by the early Tarascans is but a small part of the complex and obscure movements of corn from a secondary center of origin in southern Mexico or northern Central America.[50] Anderson (1946 a) has described three distinct races of *Zea mays* in central Mexico: (1) the Mexican Pyramidal, centering in the eastern highlands; (2) Mexican Narrow Ear, found in western Mexico, particularly in both cold and hot lands of Jalisco and Nayarit; and (3) Mountain Yellow, a high altitude maize (usually above 7,000 ft.) encountered in purest form in the highlands of western Mexico.[51] Located between

[50] See Mangelsdorf and Cameron (1942) on the hybridization of South American primitive maize and *Tripsacum* in Middle America.

[51] Following is a brief description of the above races as given by Anderson (1946 a, p. 171): (1) Mexican Pyramidal. Ears short, tapering regularly butt to tip; row number high to very high (16–24). Kernels dented and pointed. Color prevailingly white and pale yellow. Plants short, pronounced intervenal red or purple coloring. Shallow root system, leaves broad and pubescent. Tassels with few or no branches. (2) Mexican Narrow Ear. Ears narrow, long, irregularly long-tapered, compressed at butt. Low row num-

282 in the Tarascan area.[153] By the latter part of the
438 19th century leathercrafts began to decline, and today within the Tarascan area only Nahuatzen (largely mestizo) continues to tan hides and make saddles and other riding equipment.[154] Some Tarascan towns now boast of one or two *zapateros* who make huaraches of imported leather for local consumption. The principal huarache-making centers are now the surrounding mestizo towns: Coeneo, Zacapu, Tinguindín, Los Reyes, Uruapan, Ario de Rosales.

METALCRAFT

325 **Copper work.**—The Tarascans were probably the foremost metallurgists in pre-Columbian Mexico. They worked gold, silver, and copper. The precious metals were formed into ornaments and disks, which the *caltzontzin* stored on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro; useful objects, such as axes, *coas*, and spearheads, were made of copper (Relación de Michoacán, pp. 104–109, 122–123). Although definite archeological evi-
325 dence is not yet at hand, it is probable that the
172 Tarascans purified native copper and extracted metal from simple oxide ores by smelting (Hendrichs, 1940, p. 327).[155] From cursory inspection of copper artifacts extant in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia, it appears that Tarascans cast copper objects (axheads) in stone molds. After casting, the axes seem to have been further shaped and possibly hardened by hammering.[156] Accidental, rather than deliberate, alloying with tin and zinc probably occurred.

325 The Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins contained
316 the ancient copper mines and metallurgical sites.
172 Hendrichs (1940, 1945–46) has described several probable ancient copper mines sites in both the

[153] AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 12; Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362; AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 178–179. The present northern Tarascan towns of Zipiajo, Azajo, Companja, Tatejero, Tirindaro, Naranja, and Teremendo were all producers of shoes and saddles in the latter part of the 18th and in the 19th century.

[154] Beals (1946, p. 44) states that in 1940 one person from Aranza was tanning hides in Cherán. The old men of Ocumicho remember the manufacture of the black "*zapatos de saquetas*" in their town during the last century. These were sold throughout the Sierra as well as in surrounding mestizo towns.

[155] The Lienzo de Jucutacato, a 16th-century representation of the migration of a people from the Gulf of Mexico into the Tarascan country (where they learned metallurgy) clearly depicts smelting of ore or metal (probably copper) apparently with the aid of charcoal and forced air draft (blowpipes) at the ancient copper center of Jicalán (Jicalán Viejo), 20 km. south of Uruapan.

[156] Microanalysis of Tarascan copperware has not yet been undertaken. Until the results of such analyses are known, it is impossible to make definite statements as to ancient metallurgical methods. Interestingly, the flange shape of the modern Tarascan steel axhead is identical with that of the copper axes found in archeological sites in the Balsas Basin.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 70-a]

325 southern and northern drainages of the lower
172 Balsas (Guerrero). However, the mines of Inguarán in the northern drainage of the lower
316 Balsas in Michoacán were the main source of the metal. Smaller deposits, such as those of Sinagua, were gophered over a wide area. The villages
[438] of La Huacana, Jicalán, Sinagua, and possibly Tzatzio appear to have been the chief pre-Columbian copper refining centers.[157]

325 Needing copper for the manufacture of brass cannon, the Spaniards quickly levied tribute in
438 copper bars on various pueblos in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins. Later, adventurers (in the name of the Crown) took over the native mines
[177] at Inguarán, probably introducing European smelting techniques. The main 16th-century Spanish smelting and refining center was Tzatzio, 10 miles each of Ario. This center was located within pine and oak forests, which afforded raw materials for charcoal, and was near the chief highway from Pátzcuaro to the *tierra caliente*. Copper ore and probably native copper was carried by Indians to Tzatzio from the Inguarán mines, which lay 15 miles to the south (AGN General de Parte, vol. 5, ff. 311–313, 1601). Tzatzio was probably an ancient copper center, and the experienced Tarascan metallurgists were retained by the Spaniards to continue with European methods. Before the end of the 16th century the Spanish Crown had established an *asiento* in the Michoacán copper industry, in order to insure a steady supply of metal for the foundaries in Mexico City.[158] Between 1607 and 1614

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[157] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540, state that the Spaniards exacted tribute of copper bars from La Huacana and Jicalán (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 123, 204). Moreover, every 20 days 20 Indians of Coyuca carried copper bars to Mexico (Ibid., p. 80). Coyuca, located near the confluence of the Balsas and Cutzamala Rivers, may have been a collecting point for small lots of copper refined in various pueblos of the middle Balsas drainage. At the end of the 16th century copper was still being mined, refined, and made into tools at Sinagua (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo). Tzatzio was one of the first Spanish copper smelting centers in the area, and was probably an old Tarascan center as well (AGI Aud. de México, leg. 258). In passing, it should be noted that the old La Huacana was located near the Inguarán mines. In 1759 the town was destroyed by the eruption of Jorullo, and a new settlement, the La Huacana seen on modern maps, was established near Tamacuaro 15 miles west of the old site (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 392–394)

[158] Under the *asiento*, or contract, system, control of various industries was farmed out to private individuals. In the case of the copper industry of Michoacán, administrative control was purchased from the Crown for 6-year periods. The administrator was obliged to furnish the Government a stipulated amount of copper annually at a fixed price. In 1589 an official survey was made of the copper industry in Michoacán. The surveyor recommended that owing to forest depletion around Tzatzio and the consequent difficulty in charcoal supply, refining operations should be moved to Ario, near abundant pine forests (AGI Aud. de Mexico, leg. 258). It is doubtful that this move was made, since in 1607 copper was still being refined at Tzatzio (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 166).

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883]

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Kolíṭa atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskúkua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurínṭkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *ra* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "I" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *kolíṭa* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and [361] Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of 133 361 463 438 the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

178 179 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright 000 red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German [114] scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable [172] sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early [131] date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

362 mitted by contact and particularly respiratory
164 and pulmonary infections. Although data are lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is suspected. There seems little to choose between various house types for health.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance,
184 seem to have similar conditions. Local varia-
362 tions, of course, occur as the result of differences in rainfall and temperature (functions of location and altitude) and the number of animals kept (causing variations in the number of flies).

[Continued on p. 33b]

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 In this section we try to determine the antiquity
173 of modern house types. We do not include all the data found in early sources referring to pre-Spanish houses and house uses, but base our study of the history of the Tarascan house on modern tradition and especially on the writings of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply useful data concerning the last century or so. The houses of stone and adobe are usually considered to be relatively recent introductions in the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake area.[8] This view is supported by the relatively greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake region, it is remembered that wooden structures once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred to the older custom of building houses in the center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types discussed, kitchens of poles and "*trojes*" and the trója kosína of logs are regarded as the oldest types. Tools, until recently were limited to the ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of a few generations ago are merged into "*los antepasados*" and, unless an historically known event is referred to, it is difficult to know to what period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

[7] This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

[8] In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish word *adobe*, while in the Lake area a native word (ianárukata) is known.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro
Cañada

362 184 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada, where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

HISTORY OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE[7]

342 [173] houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would be untrustworthy.

342 127 Some of the data available from the 16th century refer to a wider area than that covered by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"[9] of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.[10] The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.[11]

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."[12]

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (iauárukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*" (today k'uta', in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza*, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxcata."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j*, *k*; *m* is described in the text as a provisional

[9] Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

[10] F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

[11] Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobernación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

[12] Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 133. Mexico, 1938.

11: Boyá H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation.

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved.

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions.

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block.

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of pre-Conquest days.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 In the legends will be found specific references to some of
173 these historic events and to places located on the accompanying
[648] maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the
171 first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper
114 are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his
126 wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria
539 in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 [128] [173] [167] The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their presumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

[175] Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 805 [175] The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 796 793 173 292 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the nation and its princes.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarascó NU34

nation and its princes. This account forms the principal part of the *Relación* and refers to the marvels of creation performed by their god, Curicaueri. The miracles of the creation are told in the countryside between Lake Pátzcuaro and Lake Cuitzeo as the tale of the birth of Cueróhperi.

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The Legend

In the beginning of time there was no light. The silent dwelling place of Curicaueri, the only god at that time, was full of minute (atómica) material which slowly moved around without any order or harmony. Curicaueri realized that his enormous circular eyes could not penetrate the darkness nor contemplate infinity; therefore he created four orbs of light, each burning in one of the cardinal points of the universe, and light existed.

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Great shapeless masses from the depths now were reflected in the eyes of the powerful god. From some of the mass, Curicaueri created Huriata, the sun god, naming him father and overseer of the universe. Then Huriata formed the heavenly bodies, ordering that they light the heavens in their own manner.

Thus day and night came into the world.

Through his golden mask Curicaueri smiled upon seeing the light of the four orbs, and, viewing the orderliness which Huriata had given to the universe, he desired to reward Huriata. Thus he created the moon goddess, Cutzi, and presented her to Huriata to take as his wife.

The contact of the two – Father Sun and the Mother Moon – brought darkness to the cosmos. From the two joined bodies, three rays of light broke forth upon the firmament to form three concentric circles around the dusky body of Cutzi.

From the three circles was born Cueróhperi (the creative principle or Mother Nature), the daughter whom Father Sun endowed with beauty and wisdom.

The three rays of light were extended through space, and they caused colors to be reflected from the heavenly bodies and the organized atoms.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient. 539 773

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it. 535 [538] 173 [773]

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces. [292] [532]

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually; each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri. [883] [773]

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

●173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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The Legend

After traveling for many years, centuries perhaps, the Purépecha arrived at the banks of Lake Pátzcuaro. During their lengthy migration those who had departed from the land of their origin as small children grew into manhood; the virile men grew old; and the old ones fell to the earth like trees before the tempestuous hurricane.

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Sons of the sons of the original emigrants were those who finally beheld the blue sky and green mountains reflected in the crystal ripples of the lake.

Around the campfire the forefathers traditionally related that far behind lay the land which was lighted at night by the four mysterious orbs, or stars. In their travels the Purépecha had journeyed near the mountains which vomited fire, where Father Huriata had his abode. Next they had passed through dense woods and stayed for awhile in the region where the two oceans were visible – one ocean giving birth to light and the other engendering the shades of darkness. Upon their departure they circled the destroyed cities of Copán and Quirigua in the ancient empire of the Maya and passed the sacred city of Mictlan. From this point they crossed the waters of Tzacatollan upon rafts of hewn logs and, after walking for many moons, finally arrived in a fertile land. The mild climate, fragrant air, and richness of the fruit tempted them to remain here forever.

After traveling for many years, centuries, perhaps, the Purépecha had learned many things from the various peoples who had given them shelter and hunting privileges within their dominions.

From the remote villages the Purépecha learned about the course of the heavenly bodies and the change of the seasons. Also they were taught how to work in stone, to mold clay, to cook venison over a fire, and to weave the fibers of plants. Above all else they worshipped the goddess Cueróhperi, who created all earthly things, and Huriata, who cared for them by day, and Cutzi, who watched over them by night.

When they arrived before Lake Pátzcuaro, they beheld with

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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amazement this marvelous spectacle of blue. The people roamed about briefly before choosing Tarerio as the site for their village. Fish and game abounded here in quantities beyond imagination.

The Purépecha were happy; but one morning Guaricaten, cacique of the island of Jarácuaro and lord of all the land in the region, arrived in Tarerio demanding to see the leader of the Purépecha.

To the venerable Cuiniurin he spoke: "Cuiniurin, since you are the eldest and the tribes obey your orders, I am speaking to you. For many moons I have permitted you and your people to rest here, recuperating from the rigors of the long journey from the hot lands of the south, whence you came. No longer can you remain here. Your race is prolific, and very soon the land which you people now occupy will not be sufficient. My own people now need this land. Leave with your belongings for the lands which are not as yet occupied."

With these words Guaricaten finished speaking and departed with his retinue, returning by canoe to the island of Jarácuaro. Cuiniurin immediately called together all his people and ordered the priest Petamuti to tell everyone assembled what was the will of their god Curicaueri.

When Petamuti rose to speak, the people anxiously leaned forward to hear his words. Suddenly all assembled saw a flock of swallows draw near. Hovering above the birds was a hawk which pursued them. The frightened birds sought refuge by alighting among the closely gathered people, and a warrior shot an arrow at the rapacious hawk. The arrow squarely struck the swooping bird, which fell dying to the ground. The swallows simultaneously arose in flight toward the four cardinal directions.

Petamuti spoke: "My chief, just as the birds so too is our destiny. Since birth we have traveled and worked, and a superior force, a supreme destiny, will conquer our enemies. Again we Purépecha shall move. Let us follow the path marked by the flight of the swallows, and where we find them singing we shall work and live happily."

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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The following day Cuiniurin divided all his people into four tribes. One circled the lake eastward to the bank opposite Jarácuaro and founded Tzintzuntzan. Another tribe headed southward into La Sierra, settling in Tingambato. The third tribe traveled northward, stopping upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. The other sought refuge in the west at the headwaters of a river and called the site Carapan.

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Thus it was that the four tribes, who came from the region brightened at night by the four lights of the Southern Cross, settled in the four cardinal points of Michoacán: in Tzintzuntzan, Tingambato, Zacapu, and Carapan (Fig. 1). The Purépecha built their homes of dried clay and lived like the swallows, singing and working. Valiantly they defended their land against those who questioned their right of possession. Father Huriata was with them.

On certain nights, in conformity with their sacred rites, they prepared four burning piles of wood pointing toward the four cardinal points in honor of Curicaueri. They danced and sang in joy; never was it the custom to become inebriated. Early the following day all the women would take some water and pitch it afar; the men would dispatch arrows into the sky; all the children would hurl stones through the air. Through such symbolical actions they demonstrated how they took possession of, and defended, their land against those who disputed their right of ownership.

Since then the Purépecha have possessed the land of Michoacán. They fought first with the neighboring races until, one by one, all were conquered or allied with them. Most of the credit for this has been attributed to the great Purépecha people.

Later they fought the Tecos in the west, the Huachichiles and Chichimecos in the north, and finally the Aztecs who came from the east. In all their battles they were victorious.

Their government was patriarchal; their religion remained simple and poetic; their occupations were fishing and handicrafts, the latter laboriously and beautifully executed. They were a people gentle in peace and brave in battle.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 312 passed and she had not gone to the fountain and filled her empty jug with water. She fell to her knees and directed her gaze at the rose-rimmed cloud hiding Father Sun. Tearfully, she prayed that the god would enable her to discover water nearby, so as not to incur the anger of her parents.

Her supplication was humble and sincere, because Tzintzin was a good girl. While she remained on her knees, a small beautifully colored bird arose from the center of a cluster of flowers. At that instant the last rays of Father Sun broke through the cloud and revealed drops of water which shone like diamonds falling from the feathers of the rising bird. This was the sign Tzintzin sought.

She parted the flowers and gazed into the pure, clear depths of a beautiful and hitherto unknown spring. Filling her jar, she returned home. Her parents were greatly surprised to see her return so quickly [she actually was late but the narrator said "so quickly" to emphasize the nearness of the new spring] and they supposed that Quanicoti had aided her with the water jar. However, she explained that she had discovered a new fountain of water near the road where her people traveled for decades.

The news of the fountain spread. The people from neighboring villages came to see the new source of water. Its depth was such that they called it Quiritzícuaro (the great fountain), and it still exists today to the east of the village of Paracho.

Always when the pretty Tzintzin visited this spot to hear Quanicoti's protestations of love, Father Sun smiled approvingly upon them with his brilliant, profound eye.

HUANITA

Historical Comment

173 174 [648] In "Just as the Birds," the narrator spoke of one group of Tarascans who travelled northward to settle upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. At some uncertain time in the twelfth century, these Tarascans conquered the people of Naranjo and then moved south-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region. 173 174 648

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan. 173 642 643

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century. 115 114 539 [173]

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listerners the memory of the charming Huanita. 539 173

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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From among the Tarascan maidens she had been chosen as the Huriat-pari, the consecrated virgin of the sun god, to carry the standard of the sun for her tribe. As the Huriat-pari, she was forbidden to be the wife of any man.

But Tangáxhuan dared to arouse the anger of the gods. He spoke to Huanita of his undying love for her. She listened and was won. Eventually, though, the anger of the gods was to descend upon them.

Tangáxhuan and Huanita believed that they were living alone and unwatched in the birch forest, but the sacrilegious priest Candó knew of their hiding place. Then one day the prince left to fight at the side of his father, Tariácuri, in defense of Pátzcuaro.

By this time Candó no longer carried out his priestly duties before the altar of the temple of Cueróhperi, nor did he worship at the temple of Tacup-achá (another name for Curicaueri). Instead, he secretly burned rich incense before the image of the false god Cuenomen.

Taking advantage of the absence of Tangáxhuan, Candó kidnapped the unsuspecting Huanita. The terrified girl pleaded tearfully but in vain with the enamored priest. He carried her far away. They passed through Carapan, then Tzirapu, eventually reaching the beautiful, rustic place called Taninitzicuaro (Tangancicuaro) where three springs arose from the earth. He left Huanita in the care of one of the high priests of Xhacúnan (Jacona), the second capital of the Tequecha people. [These villages are a few miles south and southeast of Zamora (Fig. 1).]

Many suns passed. Hundreds of emissaries were sent out by Tangáxhuan in search of Huanita upon the termination of the war. From village to village they vainly sought for information concerning the daughter of the forest. Equally fruitless was the aromatic incense offered to Cueróhperi. The angry gods would not be placated.

The searchers were in Cuérecan, Jacona, Paxácuaran, Pajacuarán, Xhacunan, [villages between Zamora and Patamban.]

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and even Patamban, but vainly they fought against destiny. No one had seen Huanita. The diligent emissaries were defeated in their search. They returned home carrying branches of *parietarias* as a symbol of lamentation and sacrificed them on the altar of Cueróhperi.

One morning, at sunrise, Huanita obtained permission from the high priest to go to the springs of Camécuaro. In this shaded sanctuary the unhappy girl went to disclose her grief to the gods, beseeching Cueróhperi to return her to Tangáxhuan. She wept and her tears fell into the waters of the deepest spring of Camécuaro, where they were instantly changed into silvery pearls; at the same time her sighs of longing went to dwell among the swaying branches of the forest, forming a sad and mysterious lullaby.

Suddenly, from the underbrush, the odious Candó appeared. Upon seeing him, Huanita quickly arose, and, with her long black hair flying in the wind, she furiously hurled herself upon the malevolent priest. But he overcame her and dragged her to the base of a birch tree, whose leaves were just beginning to reflect the golden rays of the rising sun.

Huanita, exhausted but with angry eyes, was on the verge of succumbing. Candó confidently smiled and put aside his robe. He was preparing to force himself upon his victim, but a strange hum broke through the woods. An arrow sped across the clearing, passed through the body of the wicked priest, and lodged itself at the base of the tree. Instantly, warm, blue water gushed forth at the spot where the arrow punctured the tree trunk.

The arrow had been shot from the bow of Tangáxhuan, who had followed the footsteps of the traitor.

The sun had fully arisen in the east; the bell-flowers, the heliotropes, and the stars-of-the-field had now opened their fragrant petals. The silence was accentuated even more by the soft murmuring of the trickling water. The stillness was interrupted only by the last tremors of the dying body in the withered leaves and by a couple who walked arm in arm singing a prayer of love.

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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan king-
642 dom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and
643 Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion.
[539] King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of
[776] Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation
[794] of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
539 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
[782] be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
539 that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to
644 generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of
648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique
644 of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival
173 in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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white robe lined with beautiful colors.

The ancient king Singuangua, upon beholding her, was dazzled with her youthful beauty. Realizing that it would be unjust to marry her because of his advanced age, the compassionate monarch paternally consecrated her as priestess of the Sun. She was housed in the *guandaperata*, the sacred mansion of the *guananchecha* (vestal virgins) of the cult of Tucupa-acha.

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The princess Sesihángari, respecting the Purépecha traditions, graciously accepted the honor which King Singuangua bestowed upon her. Her humility only accentuated her loveliness. She only requested that she be permitted to continue her customary baths in the marvelous medicinal springs found in her father's territory. This the monarch granted with pleasure, appointing a group of the vestals to accompany her. To his surprise the waters seemed to work a miracle among the vestals, for in a short time they returned to court flowing with loveliness.

Intrigued by the phenomenon which converted the vestals into gems of magnificent beauty, the king ordered an investigation to determine the cause of the miraculous transformation. His wise men reported that the change could be traced to the magic power of the sulphureous mud from the enchanted marsh, situated eastward in the mountainous country near Taximaroa (Fig. 1). The boiling waters found there, they said, proceeded from the center of the earth and still contained their divine power.

Prince Tanimaranscua, one of the sons of King Singuangua, and Sesihángari fell deeply in love with one another. The king not only approved of their courtship but silently hoped they would marry. According to custom, a Purépecha priestess could marry only with the king's permission.

Prince Tzimtzicha, who was next in succession to inherit the throne, also loved Sesihángari and was jealous of his younger brother Tanimaranscua.

At length the old king died. His son Tzimtzicha succeeded him, and, according to custom, he took as his wives those of the preceding monarch. However, Tzimtzicha wanted Sesihángari as his wife.

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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of [631] the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, [645] Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 618 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2). The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[See Category 116, P. 5-- Analyst]

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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61). 175 539 648

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future. 173 177 539 797 648 728

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl.* Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall. 173 539 787

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 539 1787 (Pirindas), and the Tarascan Emperor Calzonzin were at peace with their powerful armies. Camachuén's preoccupation on this day was with something greater and more profound. Camachuén was thinking about the divine Inchátiro, Queen of Xicalán (which means "the grace of the gods").

He was terribly disturbed because the hour had come when the villages of his people would be destroyed and his gods thrown from the temples. His race, the race of the Purépecha—descendants of King Tariácuri—had defied time and distance, sea and enemies, to place their homes on the edge of the deep blue waters of Tzirahuén, where they had erected a monument in memory of King Tziragu. But now the time had arrived when his people would wander alone among the mountains like driven beasts, because the children of the Sun would come from the east to conquer his people, take away their lands, destroy their homes, and smash their gods.

What would happen to his divine Inchátiro? In vain he had visited the sanctuary of Tazcapu [Zacapu] and made offerings to the god Curicaueri. Many mornings at daybreak he had prostrated himself in the midst of the forest and begged for the protection of the god of the sky, but without results. Camachuén remained grief-stricken.

Three moons passed. The dry leaves fell from the tall pines and all of nature was entering into a sad sleep. At last the prophecy of Guiapara, the high priest of Tzintzuntzan, was to occur. At first Camachuén thought it would be better to order his people to take arms and defend themselves until death released them. But he relented and decided to comply with the will of the gods. In tearful anguish he thought of the misery, hunger, and slavery which the future generations of his people would have to undergo. Only the Father of the Indians could know how tormented he was.

Another gloomy day arrived and Camachuén had not seen his beloved Inchátiro. He took the road to Xicalán and arrived at the palace still sad and pensive, thinking of the destiny which the gods had reserved for his people.

"Why are you sad?" asked Inchátiro wonderingly. "What sin-

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ister grief afflicts you?"

The unhappy Camachuén replied, explaining to her that the gods had become angry with the people and were going to punish them. Above all, he feared for her. Then, unburdening his heart to her, he related the following dream which Curicaueri had revealed to him:

> I saw you reigning in your palace, divinely beautiful as always. Your gardens were covered with multi-colored flowers. All the people of Xicalán were paying tribute to you. The aroma of the fresh flowers and breezes from the fields passed through your balcony, caressing you. The gods, envious of your virtues, were watching your virginal heart, and they learned that you always thought of me ... and after that ... a shadow, black as night, covered my dream, and everything was horrible.
>
> The white men had arrived and invaded our villages and your palace. There, in your quarters, a stranger was living and you were caressing him, giving him your love and, finally, your heart. You had forgotten the oath taken before the altar of our gods. You had forgotten the hatred existing between our race and theirs. I did not raise my knife to kill the stranger, because the gods detained my hand, saying that such an act was not mine by right to do.
>
> And then my soul, wandering among the dark shadows of the night, wrote in letters of light upon your heart the phrase LOVE AND HOPE. Love and hope, that is the pathway of life which enables us to reach the abode of our gods. Love those who suffer, for they are our brothers; hope is their redemption. On the road of life must be planted our deepest sorrow in future hope.
>
> Remember that all have the right to live, and that a tenth of our good fortune must be shared with those who are hungry and needy.
>
> Remember that if you have bread, the poor do not have bread; that if you have good fortune, the

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poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [36] [33] [648]

All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643]

The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

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Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

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The Legend

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Tacamba resided in one of the most colorful sites of the Tierra Caliente, that florid region which marks the descent of the sierra as it breaks away in a spectacular fashion toward the Pacific coast.

Tacamba, a descendant of the legendary Hirepan, was one of the four chieftains of the Michoacán alliance. His kingdom was the richest and most fertile of the four provinces comprising the Tzintzuntzan empire. His capital city of Coyucán, the city of the eagles, sat on the edge of the river that flowed through the luxuriant tropical growth to Zacatula.

The prince was a young man. His tall, willowy stature reminded one of the tropical plant whose name he bore. His countenance was calm and profound, like the brilliance of a star on a calm, clear night. He had spent his life in the tranquility of Coyucán and in the hostilities of the army. At times his life had been like the gentle winds which wove their course through the pines; on other occasions he had lived as violently as the hurricane which pushes aside the oak that falls in its invincible path.

Generous and magnanimous by nature, he did not enjoy war. Nevertheless, when the chief of the quadruple alliance sought his help, Tacamba was the most prudent in council and the most valiant in combat. In spite of the demands of the priests, he never caused a single captive to climb the stairs leading to the sacrificial altar.

During the epochs of peace, this prince taught his people how to improve upon their cultivation of the fertile land in the kingdom and how to advance the rudimentary hand industries which had begun throughout the land.

From time to time Tacamba moved his court to a small valley bearing his name. He had constructed a walled castle on the bluff overlooking the crystalline alberca of Chupio, famous for its nightly visit by the sirens who came by a secret canal from the ocean to sing.

This fortress, situated on the elevated heights, offered a splen-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 539 did view in every direction. To the north the peaks of the pine-covered mountains were lost among the clouds; on the south the outline of a strange, fantastic ridge loomed through the thick haze of the hot country; directly below the palace lay the primordial valley and the poetic lake.

Here Tacamba spent many of his days devoted to important matters of government, while at night he directed his gaze upward into celestial space where innumerable other worlds gave testimony to the immense power of the gods. Was it during such a moment as this that the coming of other men to enslave his people was revealed to him? Many evenings his subjects noted that their young monarch stood alone on the roof of his palace and sang sweet but melancholy songs to Tucupa-Ácha, the supreme ruler of the universe.

173 539 648 When the rumor concerning the arrival of the Spaniards spread throughout the land, Tacamba listened without showing the least surprise. He sent emissaries to all corners of his realm, and one month later twenty thousand of his men were encamped near Chupio on the banks of the two rivers which bathed tropical Turicato. He knew that the proud Aztec king, Montezuma, had sought aid from the Tarascans and he desired to be the first to offer troops.

When the court at Tzintzuntzan chose to remain neutral, Tacamba's surprise and despair was beyond measure. Cautioning his troops to stay there, the prince hastened to the imperial city in hopes that he could overcome the apathy of the aged emperor with reason and logic.

The reigning monarch of the vast empire of Michoacán was King Siguangua, formerly bold and valorous but now old and weak in body and mind.

Tacamba used his eloquence in vain. Fruitlessly he appealed to religious sentiment, to love of the Tarascan countryside, to the pride of the formerly invincible race; finally he spoke of the fear and superstition which now held in bondage the souls of the Purépecha nobles.

Sometime later a smallpox epidemic spread its desolation among the families of the kingdom. The first of the victims to succumb

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to the disease was the Tarascan king, whose death added to the panic which had already seized the people.

Then Tzimtzicha ascended the throne once occupied by the powerful descendents of Tariácuri. At the same time the Spaniards were conquering the hitherto invincible Aztec city of Tenochtitlán. Unhappily, Tacamba watched the dissolution of that race which had always distinguished itself through its strength and courage. The race of eagles seemed like a band of timid doves quivering at the presence of a hawk.

Tacamba, however, like a faithful subject, united his destiny with that of his king. Later, when the disgraced monarch of Tzintzuntzan was a prisoner, Tacamba stayed at his side and lovingly carried the heavy chains which bound Tzimtzicha. He saw how the greed of the Conquistadores for gold drove them to torture the king, and he heard the courageous dying words of the martyred Tzimtzicha.

Tacamba could no longer contain himself. Vowing eternally to hate the invaders of his native land, he placed himself at the head of many warriors and began the short but mighty epoch of slaughter and extermination before the *encomienda* system was established in Michoacán by Hernando Cortez.

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[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in he legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uaxcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
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539 829 577 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 173 867 182 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is provided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.

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[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settle-
174 ment. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

343 de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing
127 food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-
342 Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe,
● 174 with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards
177 introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 312 passed and she had not gone to the fountain and filled her empty jug with water. She fell to her knees and directed her gaze at the rose-rimmed cloud hiding Father Sun. Tearfully, she prayed that the god would enable her to discover water nearby, so as not to incur the anger of her parents.

Her supplication was humble and sincere, because Tzintzin was a good girl. While she remained on her knees, a small beautifully colored bird arose from the center of a cluster of flowers. At that instant the last rays of Father Sun broke through the cloud and revealed drops of water which shone like diamonds falling from the feathers of the rising bird. This was the sign Tzintzin sought.

She parted the flowers and gazed into the pure, clear depths of a beautiful and hitherto unknown spring. Filling her jar, she returned home. Her parents were greatly surprised to see her return so quickly [she actually was late but the narrator said "so quickly" to emphasize the nearness of the new spring] and they supposed that Quanicoti had aided her with the water jar. However, she explained that she had discovered a new fountain of water near the road where her people traveled for decades.

The news of the fountain spread. The people from neighboring villages came to see the new source of water. Its depth was such that they called it Quiritzícuaro (the great fountain), and it still exists today to the east of the village of Paracho.

Always when the pretty Tzintzin visited this spot to hear Quanicoti's protestations of love, Father Sun smiled approvingly upon them with his brilliant, profound eye.

HUANITA

Historical Comment

173 174 [648] In "Just as the Birds," the narrator spoke of one group of Tarascans who travelled northward to settle upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. At some uncertain time in the twelfth century, these Tarascans conquered the people of Naranjo and then moved south-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro región, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region. 173 174 648

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan. 173 642 643

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century. 115 114 539 [173]

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listerners the memory of the charming Huanita. 539 173

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settlement. Archeological remains occur at several
174 nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in México, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 53.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 166.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1861, 24.

175 565 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.

Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [651] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's responsibility to supply a definite number of [467] laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento, mita,* or *coatequil.*

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas,* and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 621 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of economic and cultural autonomy, but they never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 621 565 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading, paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish enterprise, and losing individuals to the growing free lower classes *(castas),* they

5. Sorokin, 1930, 1:360.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.13a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 fitted into the class system of colonial
621 Mexico.

[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

The other main type of social unit in
175 rural Mexico was the privately owned es-
621 tate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can
be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural
423 communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

The colonial village community was the
175 primary economic unit, to some extent self-
621 sufficient but never completely so. In a
society based on agriculture, it was the
423 main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the
175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]

[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of
[463] most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they
[438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

For various reasons differences in wealth
175 came to exist within the community: The
556 Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 562.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-8.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

175 [556] holdings.[10] Commerce also must have caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. 175 Private property prevailed within the community, although the property 423 title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic, [621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, against outsiders.

175 624 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of government in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 With the Spanish conquest the higher strata of Indian society and the related cul- 565 ture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The 175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests that the system by which Indian nobles 623 controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-45, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 160-168; 168-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422-3.

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-86.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p.14b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic policies of liberalism, and greater decay of the
177 village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest
794 landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the domi-
668 nant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

2:Carasco F-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 15a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 This fight turned out to be an attack on
423 inalienable landed property in general, in-
668 cluding the Indian communal lands. The purpose was to free those lands thus removed from commerce and throw them to the free play of the market, creating a class
[565] of small farmer-owners with a well developed idea of property which would make for social and economic progress.

175 The abolition of landownership by civil
668 and ecclesiastical corporations was first written into law in 1856 and incorporated
423 into the 1857 constitution during the period of Mexican history known as the *Reforma*.[21] The enforcement of these measures, in so far as they concerned the lands of Indian towns, was usually delayed until the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

175 The Indians' communal lands were al-
423 lotted as private property among the villagers. Once the property title was in individual hands, with the possibility of be-
648 ing sold to anybody, outsiders found the way open to acquire land which, through communal land title, had formerly been reserved for the villagers. The greater economic power of the non-Indians, and frequently unfair practices, allowed them to acquire a great amount of land from Indian villages. The concentration of land in haciendas and the impoverishment of the villages were thus facilitated. This process was accelerated during the Porfirio Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the general economic progress of that period.
[471] The inflow of capital, building of railroads, development of mining and other industries, also led to a rise of land values and an increase of capital seeking to invest in land.[23]

* * *

175 In summary, after the reforms of the end of the nineteenth century, the haciendas
423 grew enormously at the expense of the formerly communal land of the village
668 communities or of land allotted to individual Indians who were not able to keep pos-
648 session. On the other hand, the remaining village communities changed from units of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the expense of the land-holding villages and the change within the villages from communal to private property represented the general national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phipps, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 136.
23. Phipps, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enríquez, 1909, 56-8.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This
found its legal expression in the *Reforma*
423 and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing
communal property. The change, however,
668 went at a different pace in different re-
648 gions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its
territory and population, is characterized
by a very unequal development of its various regions, thus allowing different types of society and culture to live together even if connected and coordinated into a single nation. The political and legal changes of the late nineteenth century represent only the turning point at which this general trend of change became the dominant political issue and required expression in the nation's legal system.

175 In marginal regions, however, the land-
holding village, regardless of how many
changes in its organization were required,
423 survived and held its own against the
haciendas, in the same way as haciendas had been the dominant type of economy in parts of Mexico at the time when communal ownership of villages was recognized and protected by law. Consequently, in discussing the development of a particular region like Michoacan, further inquiry is essential to determine to what extent and in what manner this national trend of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

175 The villages in the northern and southern
areas had to supplement their native econ-
464 omy with work in neighboring haciendas.
177 This seems to have been the main factor
leading to the decline and final disappear-

175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
648 regarding the distribution of the property
656 of extinct Indian communities (*Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas*, 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys (*apoderados*); that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 464-6.

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

The main reason for the preservation of
[178] Indian communities seems to be that this
area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
character, forests, and cold climate did
[132] not make it suitable for the introduction
of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

The changes within the surviving Indian
[621] towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for
conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1923, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 58-60.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 423 others being landless. This condition seems to have been present even at the time when land was owned by the village, wherever private property existed within the community. When private ownership became general at the end of the nineteenth century, the differentiation as to wealth within the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are available for the Tarascan area, the existing information shows that inequality in landed property within the villages was prevalent, although in different degrees, in the various Tarascan villages. It has been reported for the Cañada villages,[30] Urapicho,[31] Cherán,[32] Tzintzuntzan,[33] Paracho, Chárapan and Jarácuaro[34] either for pre-revolutionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less in some small Cañada villages, which have preserved as communal holding the agricultural lands of the community.[35] In a large agricultural town like Cherán, where laborers come to work in harvest time from neighboring towns,[36] the differences are considerable. A great number of larger landowners rent part of their lands on a share crop basis to other villagers, and there are some completely landless men.[37]

Many Tarascan villages discourage the [609] selling of land to outsiders, the approval of the town being necessary for such transactions.[38] The increased inequality seems to have been greater in those places where selling to strangers took place. At the advent of the Revolution, this was the case in some Cañada villages where the largest landholders were mestizos from neighboring towns.[39]

The custom by which individuals take [796] care of financing a given religious festival also led some villagers to sell or pawn and [426] later lose their lands. Such was the case in Urapicho before the Revolution.[40] In La Cañada this was not only a factor in hastening the loss of lands but also the way by which outsiders got hold of them, for the Indians pawned their lands to moneylenders in mestizo towns.[41]

175 423 464 In all towns where there are landless people, the latter go out to work in neighboring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
31. Beals, 1946, 131.
32. Ibid., 12, 61-3, 66, 98-9.
33. Foster, 1948, 71-2, 172-3.
34. Field notes.
35. West, 1948, 32-3.
36. Beals, 1946, 61.
37. Ibid., 99.
38. West, 1948, 32.
39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
40. Beals, 1946, 131.
41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.

175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the
621 villages were responsible for the splitting
578 of the villages into opposite parties in relation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating, to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have
[651] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

> "The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 188.
44. West, 1948, 22-23.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 23; Beals, 1946, 21, 39, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1942, 170-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
[534] chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[439] greatly increased in importance. The town
[323] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of
423 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mexican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. Ibid., 66.
61. Ibid., 67, 68.
62. Ibid., 63.
63. Ibid., 66-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.19b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 erature on this subject is adequate,[64] so no
668 extensive background presentation will be
423 necessary here.

The agrarian revolution was an outcome of the concentration of land and the influence of capitalism on the countryside mentioned before in connection with the decay of village communities. It revolved around the fight against the haciendas.

The solution has been the breaking up of the haciendas and the granting of land to the landless under a new type of tenure known as *ejido*.[65] In ejido, lands are given to the community of *ejidatarios* (ejido members), who have the right to use the lands but not to alienate them, ultimate ownership resting in the nation. An agricultural Bank of Ejido Credit was set up
[453] in order to finance the exploitation of ejidos.

This change is the end result of many conflicting interests and opposing tendencies which have produced a very complex development. The more militant peasant groups (Villa and Zapata) were crushed by force of arms, and only afterwards were the land reforms of any sizable importance. These reforms, begun in 1915, were intended to restore to the villages the lands illegally acquired by haciendas. Soon the policy was accepted of appropriating haciendas as outright grants of land (ejido) to the landless. A number of laws were enacted, often changed and more often not applied. For a long period, red tape and other delays were the rule before any ejido was finally given. The workers resident in haciendas *(peones acasillados)* were excluded from distribution of land until 1934, the beginning of the Cárdenas administration (1934-1940), during which the land reforms were speeded up and really enforced.

The outcome today is that the hacienda
423 has been replaced by two types of ejido: the individual ejido in which every ejidatario receives a lot which he works by himself; and collective ejidos which are worked cooperatively. Collective ejidos were attempted in the 'twenties and a case in Michoacan has been described,[66] but the individual ejido has been the rule. Only during Cárdenas' period were collective ejidos set up in those areas where a highly commercial, large-scale exploitation prevailed in the production of foodstuffs or of raw materials for industry.

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64. Tannenbaum, 1929; Simpson, 1937; Whetten, 1948.
65. This ejido is to be distinguished from the comunos of colonial villages, also called ejido.
66. Simpson, 1937, Chap. xxv.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 20a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

423 The individual ejido is a turn back to small exploitation. No technological improvements have been made, no credit is received from the Ejido Bank, and in some cases corn for subsistence is now grown instead of a former commercial crop. Collective ejidos, on the contrary, are financed by the Ejido Bank and are under its ultimate control. This is a good example of the state intervention in production which characterizes the present development of world economy.

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175 As stated when discussing the decline of the Indian village community in Michoacan, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, a number of haciendas were near the Tarascan region. Some villages had lost most of their lands and included great numbers of landless people. However, this is not typical of Tarascan villages. Most of them were and are villages of farmer-owners and craftsmen. Although most Tarascans had not lost lands to haciendas, private ownership of land prevailed and there was within the village noticeable inequality in wealth. Relatively large, medium and small landowners, sharecroppers, and landless laborers were to be found. In some towns outsiders owned a considerable amount of land. Consequently, the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution, *i. e.*, the fight to get land from the haciendas, have been mainly external to most Tarascan villages, and the agrarian conflict caused by inequality within the village assumed here a peculiar form.

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No good information is available as to the extent to which Tarascans participated in the armed conflicts, although some fought with agrarian revolutionists (Zapatistas and Villistas). The land tenure situation is reflected in the extent to which agrarian reforms have been carried out. Villages near haciendas have received ejidos, but the other villages have not, although agrarian conflicts also arose.

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All the existing ejidos are of the individual type. In only one case (Tarajero) was collective exploitation attempted for some time. The people of Tarajero petitioned for land in 1915, and finally received it in 1924. It was good fertile land in a drained swamp, and, while part of former haciendas, the land had been used for commercial production. The agraristas decided to exploit it collectively. It seems, however, that the directing committee began to appropriate most of the profits derived from the exploitation, reducing the rest of the

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[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada,
669 Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of
175 farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not
423 been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

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67. *Ibid.*, 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 285-86.
69. *Ibid.*, 283-4.
70. *Ibid.*, 283.
71. *Ibid.*, 281; Sáenz, 1936, 23.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 131.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 423 669 In La Cañada the local revolt took place in 1918, led by people from Tanaquillo. The lands which had fallen into the hands of mestizos from Chilchota, Purépero and Tangancícuaro were recovered and distributed among the revolutionists. Only in 1932 was this reform legalized by the State government.[73] In other cases, medium farmers were the rule, and there is not a very great difference in property holdings. Nevertheless, agrarista groups were also organized. Most Sierra towns had groups of this sort.[74] Cherán and Jarácuaro, the two villages for which we have most information, belong to this type.

In these small towns, which legally had no ejidos, the agrarians took lands illegally either from richer villagers or from the communal lands. In all these villages where the majority of the people was not benefited, there was really a privileged group formed. The agraristas made themselves the only beneficiaries of the lands seized, or distributed them without satisfying the needs of other equally needy villagers who had not taken part in their movement.[75] When seizing lands to distribute among [661] themselves, they sometimes took land belonging to other villagers merely because they had been political enemies.[76] They also seized formerly communal lands for their exclusive use. Hence villagers not belonging to the agrarista group were obliged to pay a fee to the agrarian committee *(Comisario ejidal)* in order to have access to the lands.[77]

423 660 In Jarácuaro, for instance, the rush grounds were formerly owned by the villagers, who used the proceeds from selling the rushes for buying candlewax for the temple; afterwards the agraristas exploited the grounds for their personal use. A similar case occurred during our stay on the island. A lowering of the lake's water level had left dry some flat land of considerable agricultural value. The agrarista group was trying to get the land from the federal government for distribution among its members, while the rest of the village wanted to distribute it among all the villagers (excepting the eight agraristas). At the time of our leaving (1945), the authorities were persuading the villagers to distribute the land among all people of both groups.

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73. Sáenz, 1936, 23-4; 96, 255-6; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291-2.
74. All but two, according to Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289.
75. Sáenz, 1936, 256; also Tarejero, Simpson, 1937, 471-2.
76. Cañada, see Sáenz, 1936, 256; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 281, 291-2.
77. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279, 281.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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423 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio. Here an agrarista group was formed and
661 was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that led many peasants to lose their lands
[798] brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, in a small farmer-owner environment a new privileged minority was
423 formed, which seized the lands of political
668 enemies or of the community, assumed
578 control of the town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values re-
175 lated to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

668 *Sinarquismo* is a political movement strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajio region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 175.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 36-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289, 292.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 26 b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans may have been influenced by Vasco de 175 Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He [743] tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held [423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hos- [794] pital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has [438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 188-194.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 279] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 621 the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 476 Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conceptio, patroness of the hospital.

175 794 The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuríso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a 175 sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

794 Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of 575 cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

175 794 This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eight- 575 eenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more 621 often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can 743 be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly
624 elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
743 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young
624 girls, other times older women; they were most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages
624 for which there is information.[20] Many
796 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 123), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called colector as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

175 794 575 624 Besides the cargueros of the hospital there were other religious officers. Sodalities other than those of the hospitales with funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes*, *fiesteros*, or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 794 651 Financing the cult involved payment of alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua*, custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 743 423 575 794 In the eighteenth century, many of the hospitales had property devoted to the support of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the village commons. One of the cargueros or a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
erty, this financed not only the cult and
423 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
hospital officers, such as caring for the sick
575 and paying for masses of the dead. In addi-
tion, the cargueros could use this same
794 source of income to provide food for the
villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One
village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
735 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring
himself out as a muleteer servant [sirvi-
794 ente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very im-
poverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautivan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Estado, 1944, passim.
29. *Ibid.*, 478.
30. *Ibid.*, 480.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Estado, 1944, 477, 478.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 29a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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The effect of excessive cult expenses on Indian poverty was strong enough to lead the subdelegate (Spanish district authority) to give instructions against it. He recommended avoiding those banquets and superfluities based on the pretext of church festivals. In the case of Amatlan, he directed that no personal service should be given the priest other than that of sexton and bellman.[33]

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The civil administration conformed to general practice in colonial Mexico. Every Indian town was headed by a *gobernador*. There were also one or more *alcaldes* (mayors) and a number of *regidores* (councilmen), according to the size of the town. Minor officials seem to have been more variable: *alguaciles*, similar officers called *katápi* in Tarascan, errand boys *(topil)*, and a scribe.

624
794

An important characteristic of this civil organization was its close connection with the cult organization. For as long as the union of State and Church lasted (until the middle of the nineteenth century), the obligations of the village toward the priest and the cult had the sanction of the civil authorities who approved the church fees *(aranceles)*. The higher civil authorities also intervened in the regulation of cult activities.[34] The village civil officers had also some religious obligations in sponsoring certain festivals or in contributing to the support of the priest.[35]

The custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder (Spanish, *principal*; Tarascan, *t'aıépiti*) seems also to have been present. Evidence for the eighteenth century is lacking. Only for the village of Cutzeo we know that the principales were those who had passed through the office of governor, and that *atole* (cornmeal) for their Saturday meetings was made by the semaneros in the hospital. Today, however, traits of the surviving religious organization suggest the former existence of this connection between civil and religious officers. The group of elders is called *cabildo*, which originally meant 'town council', although it can also mean sodality council. In Cherán, principales are those who have passed through the offices of prioste and colector. In Angahuan also, religious offices have to be held before one becomes alcalde or member of the cabildo.[36]

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33. Osbourn Ms.
34. Osbourn Ms.; Estado, 1944, *passim*.
35. The governor in Ario, Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.), Coeneo (Rivera, 1882, 332, 334), San Francisco (Ocampo, 1900, 387); the councilmen in Tancítaro (Osbourn Ms.).
36. Beals, 1946, 132, 142.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 29 b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

624 More detailed information comes from
794 Chilchota. Here a man was first mayordomo of the hospital, then mayordomo of the patron saint, later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

●175 At the end of the eighteenth century,
794 then, the heavy cult expenses were caus-
735 ing the impoverishment of the Indians in those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 For the nineteenth century there is no
794 survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only for the turn of the century is information
423 again available. Since this is the period of further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 215.
38. León, 1906, 427.
39. Beals, 1946, 122 (for Cherán); 316 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 216, 139.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.30a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro
794 was used until a short time ago to buy wax
423 for the church.

Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions from cargueros or the townspeople at
794 large. Indian impoverishment caused by attending to religious festivals is reported
735 again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

The period of Mexican Independence up
624 to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *munícipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:366.
42. Beals, 1946, 105; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1902, 404, 414-415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:201.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 30b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the State. This undoubtedly influenced the 175 local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is s[illegible]d that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

In spite of these changes, which occurred 621 during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 218, 243.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1888.
46. León, 1906, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1826, 191 ff.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883]

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Kolíṣa atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskúkua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurínṣkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *ra* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "l" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *kolíṣa* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin.
796 We were [illegible] that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, ". . . The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious
175 Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoa-
535 cán . . ." León goes on to say,

796 The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.[2]

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.[3]

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."[4]

535 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to
554 twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

[2] Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletin del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 2a epoca, T. I, Mexico, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

[3] *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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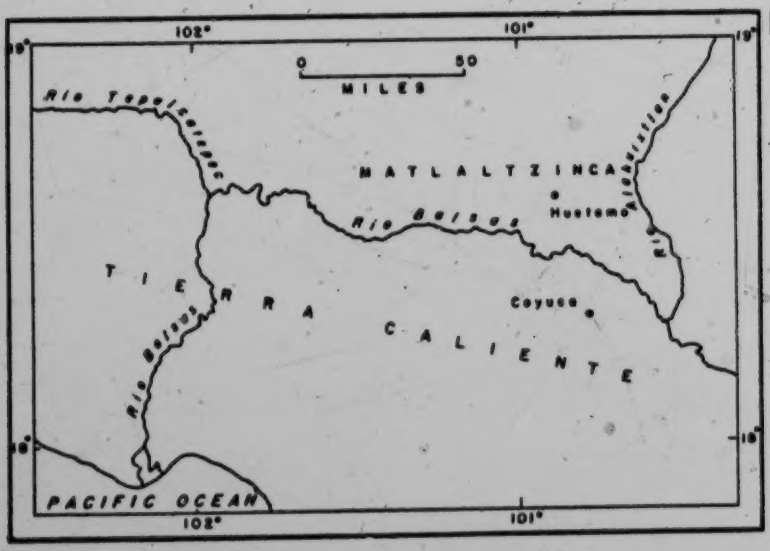
of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style. 115 539

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author. 539 [126]

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual [175] [114]



102 103 131 133 361

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison. 539 [114]

11: Boyd H-4,5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their pre-
[128] sumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and
805 Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación*
[175] *de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief
796 priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the
793 nation and its princes.
173
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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
726 and other data essential to a successful compaign.

Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

11: Boyd H-4.5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 642 643 [539] [706] [794] By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan kingdom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion. King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 644 539 [782] In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal household, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 539 644 648 [669] The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 644 173 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of [631] the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, [645] Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 648 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[3] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

3 [See Category 116, P. 5-- Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid owl bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [133] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175] of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648] through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [199]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539 seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 113 status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [871] religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather [194] exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196] of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128] author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539 the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131] since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182] tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539 years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177 nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178 apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43] yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463] 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539 social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829 577

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[End Plate 2]

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[176] *Upper,* Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower,* Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

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FOREWORD

By Julian H. Steward

000 The Institute of Social Anthropology was created within the Smithsonian Institution to carry out cooperative research and teaching in the field of social anthropology as part of the broad program of Cultural and Scientific Cooperation under the State Department's Interdepartmental Committee.

One of the most important cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. The field research of this program will be directed toward a study of the Tarascans of Michoacán, a large group of Indians whose culture is of great interest to science and whose role in national life is of great importance to contemporary Mexico. In undertaking this work, it is the good fortune of the Institute of Social Anthropology to help further a program already extensively carried out by the University of California in cooperation with the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. The
114 present monograph is a community study of Cherán, a Tarascan village, made by Dr. Beals in collaboration with the Mexican institutions.

This study is a basic document for under-
● 177 standing native American communities from the point of view both of their individuality and of their gradual assimilation to national life through economic and ideological acculturation. Although Cherán, like many other towns of the Tarascan area, is thought of and thinks of itself as Indian, it is difficult to identify anything that is aboriginal besides its language and racial type. Cherán's domesticated animals, many of its crops, its patterns of cultivation,

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177 and its general technologies and material culture are almost exclusively European. It is presumably European in its individual land ownership and inheritance, though the assumption that aboriginal America had collective land ownership needs further proof. Wholly European is its cash system, involving even a monetary standard of values, loans made for interest, and the purchase from elsewhere of most goods other than the local agricultural and forest products. It might be expected that these European economic patterns would have repercussions in other aspects of the culture; actually, the degree of Hispanicization of religious and social life is astonishing. Religion is strictly Catholic, witchcraft is European in type, and even the curers with their herbs and applications betray virtually nothing that is clearly aboriginal. Cherán's large, compact community of 5,000 persons is seemingly in the Spanish rather than Indian settlement pattern (a problem to be solved by archeology), and it may have been facilitated partly by the use of pack animals for transportation. The social configurations are likewise Spanish: the family, with a large circle of relatives by blood and marriage; the innumerable godparents; the *mayordomías* (festivals for the saints); the elaborate wedding ceremonies; and the dances, music, games, and other recreations.

With virtually all aspects of Cherán culture
181 that can be formally categorized clearly Spanish
in origin, why is Cherán considered Indian?
177 Cherán's strong attachment to the locality, to the local group, and to traditional culture characterizes many other "Indian" communities in Mexico, Central America, and the Andes. The essential characteristic of an "Indian" would seem to be his failure to integrate emotionally and actively with national life rather than a demonstrable aboriginal content in his culture. The culture that he preserves in com-

[p. 17 b]

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177 parative isolation may, in fact, be far more
181 that of 16th-century Spain than that of native America. This is not to say, however, that a pure 16th-century Spanish culture survives anywhere. In the case of Cherán, Beals suggests that the distinctive characteristics may represent the "pattern influence of native ideas" on European features, together with the effects of Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's application of Thomas More's "Utopia." For historical anthropology, these communities clearly pose important problems concerning 16th-century Spanish culture, its imposition through the conquistadors and priests on the Indians, and the subsequent long interval during which many areas stabilized their culture in comparative isolation.

Despite being considered Indian, Cherán seems to contain the potentialities for rapid acculturation. Its essential economic patterns will, so far as local productivity through agriculture or manufactures permit, facilitate further economic development as the new highway

[p. x a]

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177 stimulates increased commerce with other areas. Its essentially Spanish social patterns
181 and its present proletariat consciousness and political sense seem to afford a ready basis for further assimilation of national culture through the informal means of outside contacts and the more formal means of governmental programs. Its strong Catholic background will pave the way for further Church influence. One cannot
000 predict the future of such a community in detail, for it will depend partly upon national and even international developments as well as upon Cherán's reaction to them. General trends are now observable among comparable communities; and the work that the Institute of Social Anthropology is now carrying on in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of Mexico among other Tarascan villages that have slightly different characteristics and degrees of acculturation and the Institute's studies in other parts of Latin America will yield data that will both clarify general trends and high-light local peculiarities.

[p. 7 b]

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122 Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several 121 reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of 177 the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. [491] In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The 177 non-Tarascan families were more or less tran- 563 sient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from 121 the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p.1c]

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121 177 563 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both from essentially Indian towns themselves, two school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

The field work in Cherán was a cooperative enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

115 In addition to the foregoing, many persons in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost innumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

[p. 2a]

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286 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 463 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town [511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards [177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more [439] people buy ready-made garments from outside in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

291 177 *Men's dress.*—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

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291 The most prominent and significant change in men's dress in Cherán is not the entry of the
177 *catrin* garments of storekeeper and professional man of the towns, but of the blue denim jeans or overalls of the mechanic and factory worker, the garment of the proletariat. As the con-
[665] trolling group in town is allied to the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanas, the town officials, including mayor and secretary, often wear over-
[292] alls, reserving their *catrin* clothes for visits to Uruapan or Morelia or for important civic events.

291 The working dress of Cherán males, and the exclusive dress of many, is trousers (*calzones*), shirt or blouse of unbleached muslin (*manta*), straw hat, and sandals (*guaraches*). A blanket or poncho (*serape*) is worn or carried as protection against cold or rain (pls. 3; 4, lower right).

The *calzones* or trousers are tight-fitting in the legs but cut full at the waist with a baggy seat. There are no buttons on the fly; instead of a fastening, the two ample sides of the fly are lapped over each other, and a sash, about 6 inches in width, is wrapped about the waist to hold the trousers. The lower part of the trouser leg has a piece of cloth tape attached which is used to tie the bottom of the *calzones* tightly around the ankle. The shirt, or more properly, blouse, likewise has no buttons. It usually has no tails, or very abbreviated ones, and is usually worn outside the *calzones*. It is open part way down the front and has a roll collar, but neither opening nor collar ordinarily is fastened. Buttons are never used, except in attempts to copy city garments, but strings may be provided. Such fitting as is attempted is badly done. A coat of *manta* may also be worn on special occasions; it differs from the blouse primarily in being open down the front and in being of heavier material. It may also be stitched in bright-colored thread.

Both shirt and coat may be modified by at-
[177] tempt to copy urban models and sometimes are purchased ready-made.

Sandals or *guaraches* have a heavy pointed double thick leather sole and leather heel. Part of the top is of leather pieces nailed to the sole, but the major portion is made of woven leather strips passing through slits in the upper sole

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262 With čurípo, the kurúnda is one of the most
252 typical of Tarascan dishes.[16]

There are various forms of the kurúnda, which are eaten on special occasions. The details follow.

Atápakwa kurúnda.—Atápakwa is a sauce made of any kind of chile, cooked, toasted, or raw. This is ground with green tomatoes, garlic, and onion, and seasoned with salt. Fresh or dried cheese, finely broken up, may be added. The regular kurúnda is simply dipped in the sauce as it is eaten. This dish may be served at any time, but it is most frequently used when men come home to lunch from the fields or on other occasions in the middle of the day when the family do not ordinarily have a midday meal.

Agwákata kurúnda.—Beans of any sort are cooked and ground. They are placed in layers alternating with layers of *nixtamal* until a thick cake is formed. This is wrapped in maize leaves and steamed. Agwákata kurúndas are made primarily at the time of the bean harvest (Cherán grows few beans) and are eaten at any of the main meals. They may also be given to children between meals.

Nákatamal.—This is a tamale made with maize dough filled with meat and chile sauce. Beef is commonly used, although pork may also be employed. The meat is boiled in water and cut in small pieces without bones. It is then mixed with a chile sauce made of the dry chile known as *pasiya*, which is cooked in water and ground with tomatoes, garlic, and onions. These tamales are not wrapped in maize leaves but in dry maize husks soaked in water. A small quantity of dough is spread over the leaf and on this is placed a small quantity of meat and sauce. The leaf is then doubled over and the tamale cooked in boiling water. The nákatamal must be small in size to be properly made. The name and the type suggest it is of
[177] Valley of Mexico origin. It is ordinarily made
769 only for the fiestas of the dead on the 1st and
252 2d of November, although it was served to me
262 once on an ordinary occasion. It forms a part of the offerings made to the dead and is also eaten in the graveyard by the mourners and

[16] In Paricutin kurúnda means "corn husks." Kurundurání means "to wrap tamales in maize leaves."

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184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

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435 exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure [177] of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Purépero, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have [465] paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.[26] The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

435 In general, the coming of the highway is
178 bringing higher prices for local products.
494

[26] It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

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454 accumulated a substantial contribution without
358 feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

This procedure would have amounted to little
454 more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A
[323] regular part of the pottery stocks brought to
[532] Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.[33]

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The priest, of course, is appointed by the
793 Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

[177] [33] The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat nonplussed by the devious, even fantastic, route by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

794 these men illustrates the situation clearly, par-
578 ticularly as it came to a head in 1940. That the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

793 The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is
578 entering into political matters and speaks from the pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended,
794 he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.

This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.

I believe that this priest is very disruptive (*muy divisionista*) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

578 Some of the minority faction in the town
177 who are inclined to be anticlerical are undoubtedly affected by their experiences in the
793 United States. A former mayor was very outspoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former mayor also said that the priests seem not to
●177 want people to understand the prayers and
793 rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

769 graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day.

Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames [822] of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

The present study of Cherán reveals a num- ● 177 ber of points of considerable interest. Perhaps 181 the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation of Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

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177 both in formal religion and in witchcraft, are
181 certainly almost wholly European.

Despite the European origins of Tarascan culture, it obviously represents something different from the European-originated Mestizo culture. Neither is it a mere survival of sixteenth century conditions. If Vasco de Quiroga or any other sixteenth century European were to return to Cherán, he no doubt would find it as strange as any lay visitor from modern European culture. Nor would this strangeness be wholly or even primarily due to the infiltration of later European ideas.

The uniqueness of Cherán culture, whether viewed from the standpoint of the sixteenth century or from that of today, lies in the extensive reworking of its European materials. For example, the *cabildo* system seems almost certainly related to the organization of the hospitals introduced by Quiroga, yet the good Bishop might have to do considerable research to recognize the relationship. Such reworking may be due to the patterning influence of native ideas rather than to a spontaneous evolution of a purely European culture in the partial isolation of the late Colonial period. The character of such things as family life and attitudes and the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Cherán inhabitants may have been relatively unchanged, despite the modifications in material culture and social organization.

A subject meriting more thorough investiga-
178 tion in Cherán is the persistence of the mixed
181 culture of Cherán. The fierce attachment to *costumbres* is part of the acceptance of a way of life by most members of the community, even the most progressive. This attachment persists despite the fact that Cherán culture not only changes visibly but that such change is accepted and even desired by a large part of the population. The limits of acceptable change, however, need further definition. The impression of the staff of the present study is that change is accepted rather readily in those things relating to material welfare and perhaps health. Cherán residents are not averse to changes leading to more money, food, medical service (if it does not cost too much), or elements increasing comfort, such as a larger and better distributed water supply. The introduction of industries giving employment at

121 relations, occupation, ethnic origin, or religious background. Social classes are the main segments of this type. Within the national culture, every local and class group has a distinctive subculture. The peasants often appear to be the group with the highest degree of cultural distinctiveness.

National culture and society can not be described only in terms of local and class groups. Both these groups are tied together by institutions (money, trade, property, education, government, law, religion), whose personnel does not always coincide either with local or class groups and which often, as in the case of money or law, are not really the culture of a group but rather an expression of the economic, social and political relations between the different segments of society.[4]

In applying this approach to the Tarascan scene, the following reasoning can be put forth:

There are a Mexican people and a Mexican culture. The social system under which this people lives is characterized by a division into social classes. Every class has cultural peculiarities, *i.e.*, a class subculture. One (or several) of these classes are the peasants, people primarily engaged in the tilling of the soil. Correspondingly one could speak of a national peasant culture. Furthermore, these peasants live in rural settlements every one of which has a distinctive culture due to different native background and adaptations to local ecological and social conditions. In this sense every village can be said to have a local and class subculture, or folk culture for short.

177 Changes in the national cultures are the sum total of changes in every subculture plus their interrelations. Some subcul-
178 tures, however, change more rapidly, or their changes are more decisive than others in determining changes in the other subcultures. In our case, given the backwardness of the Tarascan peasants and their lesser integration into national life, their villages are neither the sources of initiative for change nor the places where changes in the national culture are prepared. The Tarascans hold no key economic position and have no control of political power. They are, rather, in the position of receiving influences from the rest of the nation, and the stimuli for change often come from the outside.

4. Steward, 1950, 115.

178 One might approach the question of change from two points of view: first, how
177 local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

In order to discuss the relation be-
121 tween folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

In the following table the culture of
121 Tarascan villages is classified according to
105 this dichotomy:

Folk	National
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.99] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

121
105

FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

121 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits
177 and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

121 In this sense we study a process of change which is the same as that which Redfield
181 describes as a difference between a folk and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic policies of liberalism, and greater decay of the
177 village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest landowner of the country. The fight for
794 abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the dominant fact in the nineteenth century history
668 of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.156] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This
423 found its legal expression in the *Reforma* and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing
668 communal property. The change, however, went at a different pace in different re-
648 gions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its territory and population, is characterized by a very unequal development of its various regions, thus allowing different types of society and culture to live together even if connected and coordinated into a single nation. The political and legal changes of the late nineteenth century represent only the turning point at which this general trend of change became the dominant political issue and required expression in the nation's legal system.

175 In marginal regions, however, the land-
423 holding village, regardless of how many changes in its organization were required, survived and held its own against the haciendas, in the same way as haciendas had been the dominant type of economy in parts of Mexico at the time when communal ownership of villages was recognized and protected by law. Consequently, in discussing the development of a particular region like Michoacan, further inquiry is essential to determine to what extent and in what manner this national trend of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

175 The villages in the northern and southern
464 areas had to supplement their native economy with work in neighboring haciendas.
177 This seems to have been the main factor leading to the decline and final disappear-

175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was
[311] formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

648 In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
656 regarding the distribution of the property of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas*, 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados)*; that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 484-6.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.23b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater ac-
177 culturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has
[241] a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are light-
[821] ed to them. There are also a number of
[824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and
[754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although
[177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 579] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

185 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a 177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national 621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

771 Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. 794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

114 by one or more of the authors included the following:

Sierra region:
- Ahuiran
- Angahuan
- Aranza
- Capacuaro
- Charapan
- Cherán
- Cocucho
- Corupo
- Nahuatzen
- Nurió
- Paracho
- Parangaricutíro
- Parícutin
- Patamban
- Pomacuarán
- Quinseo
- San Felipe
- San Lorenzo
- Tarecuato
- Urapicho
- Zirosto

La Cañada:
- Acachuén
- Carapan
- Chilchota
- Huáncito
- Ichán
- Santo Tomás
- Tacuro
- Tanaquillo
- Urén
- Zopoco

Lake Pátzcuaro:
- Cucuchucho
- Huecorio
- Ihuatzio
- Janicho
- Jarácuaro
- Tecuena
- Tzentzénhuaro
- Tzintzuntzan
- Tzurumútaro
- Yunuán

[continued on p. 6b]

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 Tarascan towns tend to be located on level, or relatively level ground. Exceptions are found only in a few villages located in the higher mountains such as Quinseo, Cocucho, and others. Ex-
[363] cept where the irregularities of the terrain prohibit, the towns are subdivided by streets forming rectangular blocks oriented approximately to the compass points (pl. 1, upper). This is undoubt-
[177] edly a reflection of the Spanish origins of these towns; in many of the settlements traditions of former locations still exist. The blocks are subdivided into lots, or *solares*, of quite variable size, which are used both as building sites and gardens. Usually, the lots are fenced, particularly on the side facing the street. Houses either may adjoin the street line or may be located well within the lot away from the street. In the center of the larger towns, structures are more apt to adjoin the street, but the doors of living quarters almost always open on the yard rather than the street.

In the Lake region, the fishing villages tend to
[363] be on the edge of the water. As a result, some of the smaller villages, such as Tecuena and Yunuán, do not have streets but merely paths. Where the ground is very uneven, as at Janicho

[p. 6a] [continued bottom of page 6-b]

342 tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo [177] influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

OF CHERÁN The Town of Cherán

361 The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding 363 paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 364 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. 351 The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

The lots are all owned individually. They may 351 be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in 423 various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

[p. 76]

342 in this plate, or may be pinned directly into
335 sockets in the joists. The frame consists of a ridge pole supported by pillars from the walls and joists. The rafters are in pairs resting on the ridge pole. In large structures with tile roofs, additional pillars or braces may support the rafters (pl. 7, upper, right). The ends of the gable roof thus formed are usually closed with shakes. Sometimes a floor is laid over the joists to form a loft. Yet another common variant is a shake roof with four sheds similar to the roof of the "*troje*" (pl. 7, lower, left).

The wide eaves of this type of house usually extend to the edge of the sidewalk, a very convenient arrangement in a rainy country, although the purpose probably is to keep moisture away from the walls. No other feature so strikingly sets off the architecture of central Michoacán from that of the remainder of Mexico than do these wide eaves (pl. 8, left). Structures fronting on the plaza often have a corridor with supporting pillars.

342 Many structures of masonry and adobe brick
[177] are approximating Mexican architecture in their ground plans, particularly if they are of any size. Usually two or more large rooms front on the street. A large entry way with double front doors, wide and high enough to permit the passage of animals, usually will be between two of the rooms. On the side facing the inner yard, there is a wide earth or brick-floored veranda (fig. 14). Doors and windows may open on both the street and the yard. Floors of such structures

342
127

FIGURE 19.—Representations of houses in the plates of the "Relación de Michoacán."

shelter). The roofs appear to be of straw or palm, in some cases with a very large comb or crest undoubtedly resulting from the manner of interweaving the palm at the ridge of the roof. In other cases, the roof is pyramidal or conical and is surmounted by something which may be an inverted pottery vessel. This is what may be referred to by Gilberti: "hucahtsiqua, *un remate que se pone encima de la casa,*" and "*chapitel de casa pajiza,* hucahtsiqua."[13] Verandas are depicted in the plates and references to them are made in the text.

342
177

It is evident that modern houses do not correspond to those of the 16th century. Adobe walls may be pre-Hispanic, but the present methods of construction reveal Spanish influence.

[13] Hucahtsiqua (in the alphabet of the "Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas" juhd(ákua) can be analyzed as "a thing placed on a summit."

[4.34a]

342 Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and
177 the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

342 Wooden houses are not mentioned in the "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the
127 *cabeceras* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identificable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the úmutakata, for in Gilberti occurs "tairimba *troje asentado en cuarto palos.*" The houses of canes and poles (tairindacata of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

The principal historical problem is to deter-
342 mine whether the shake roof and the log wall
177 with interlocking corners is of European or pre-
171 Hispanic American origin. Both elements are well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil*, tasámani) are both derived from the Nautl tlaxamanilli, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,[14] and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.[15] A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

[14] In shepherds' huts of the Basque country. Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español, vol. 1, p. 91, pl. 7. 1923.
[15] Papeles de Nueva España, vol 6, p. 261. Madrid, 1905.

[p.34b]

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
177 It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes
[171] were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

342 The history of shakes and of interlocked log
171 structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

343 The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
127 the Tarascan *tarimba* (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

343 de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing
127 food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-
342 Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe,
174 with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards
177 introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[16] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12-b--AMLYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Nesotlán and Rel. de Cuseo; Mus. Nac., leg. 90, Rel. de Charo Matlalzinga.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

[P. 12 a]

A1
131
563
177

MAP 7.—Pre-Conquest and modern boundaries of Tarascan speech.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-b]

161 New Spain 1 year after the coming of Cortés.
164 Thereafter epidemics occurred periodically during the colonial period, completely obliterating the
● 177 population of some districts, especially those in the low, hot lands. Smallpox, measles, and probably typhus (teréekua) were the most common killers. Mendizábal (1939) has estimated that in the first century of Spanish occupation the Indians of New Spain were reduced to 25 percent of their pre-Conquest numbers, and that the pre-Spanish population of the diocese of Michoacán was possibly 200,000, which was reduced to some 92,000 by 1550.[19] Judging from the accounts in the Relaciones Geográficas of 1579–81, the basins of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec suffered the most heavily. There from one-third to all of the inhabitants of some villages were destroyed. Accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries mention scores of villages in the Tarascan area which are now nonexistent, the inhabi-

[19] Mendizábal made this calculation from figures given in the Sumo de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
797 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
177 had established themselves in most of the large
191 Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1534 to 1538 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13-a]

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 488; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 256).

177 191 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established [464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between [166] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were estab- [166] lished *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech [23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*, [127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1759, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746-48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1808, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 14a]

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

The western area.—Immediately west of the
563 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
191 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was
177 early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1850. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1845; Orozco y Berra, 1884, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1882.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 14.b]

563 177 191 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern plateau. In the former area disease probably [164] decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[21] The mill settlements (*trapiches*, *ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan [464] forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, exploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente* 191 and the establishment of smelting centers in [177] Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[21] In 1840 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Turpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1904, vol. 1, p. 253).

[Text continues top of p. 17a---Analyst]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 17-a]

191 Tarascan to Spanish was also low. Only one isolated area of solid native speech existed northeast of Apatzingán (the fruit-growing villages of Acahuato and Parácuaro). The 18th-century population figures for the sparsely inhabited, highly dissected hot country south of Morelia are not extant, but it was probably entirely Tarascan in language. In 50 years percentages of native speech had decreased, but the outer limits of the language remained practically unchanged. In 1850, however, only scattered islands of indigenous speech remained: along the Balsas at the southeastern extremity of the old Tarascan area (Tanganhuato, Pungarabato); a disjunct arc extending from the Balsas northeast to near Zitácuaro (San Nicolás, Purechucho, Cutzeo, Pungeo, Tiquicheo, Tuzantla, and Susupuato); the Acahuato-Parácuaro district; and the pueblo of San Juan de los Plátanos, west of Apatzingán (map 10). By 1940 Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* had entirely disappeared; only the small fruit town, San Angel Zurumucapio, represented the last remnant of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. Again, as in the northern plateau, the sudden collapse of native speech in the south came in the first half of the 19th century. There, the Tarascans have lost most heavily territorially, for the hot country, although a colonial area and probably lightly held in terms of population, comprised more than half of the old empire.

The present distribution of Tarascan speech is confined mainly to the *tierra fría*—Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra. These regions, together with La Cañada, appear to be a resistant core in which the Tarascans are making a last stand against complete loss of their native tongue. In the maps of 1750, 1800, and 1850 these regions stand out as the only large purely indigenous part of Tarasca.

191 The failure of Spaniards and their mulatto laborers to settle in the Sierra and in some sections
● 177 of the Lake district cannot be attributed to inaccessibility, for those areas are open country with few impediments to horse travel.[28] The Sierra was simply unattractive to Spanish exploitation. Neither it nor the Lake area contained mineral wealth. The pine-oak forests, with little palatable grass and numerous predatory animals, offered few attractions for the stockman.

[487] [28] The *camino real* from México to Nueva Galicia, via Pátzcuaro, traversed the center of the Sierra, passing through Pichátaro, Sevina, Nahuátzen, Cherán, and Chilchota.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 17-b]

191 Nor was the region's winter climate an inducement.[27] The religious had penetrated all Indian
177 settlements in the Sierra and Lake areas; every pueblo was under an absentee *encomendero* to whom tributes in money, grain, or handicrafts were paid periodically. But the Indians had little contact with the Spanish tongue. By 1750, however, some Spanish families, probably traders, had settled in a few Sierra market towns (Patamban, Paracho, Nahuatzen, Corupo), and in 1800 the towns of Charapan and Parangaricutiro also contained one or two Spanish families.[28] A large part of the inhabitants of those pueblos today speak only Castilian (map 12). After independence in 1822, a few Spaniards or mestizos established agricultural settlements on the Sierra, e. g. the *rancho* of Arato, now a pueblo 10 km. west of Paracho.

Although the Tarascan area first to harbor
361 Spaniards was the Lake region (Pátzcuaro, Tzint-
191 zuntzan), some of its pueblos have succeeded in
177 preserving the native tongue. Such towns are located on the islands and in isolated positions on the shore (northwestern edge of the lake, and the Tarıu-k'éri Peninsula). By 1750 numerous Spanish haciendas and mestizo *ranchos* existed along the southern, southwestern, and northeastern borders of the lake. Cocupao (modern Quiroga), Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro at that time were approximately 50 percent Spanish-speaking, and the city of Pátzcuaro, the colonial administrative and economic center of the Lake area, was less than 25 percent Tarascan in speech. Today the language of the former colonial hacienda districts around the lake is completely nonindigenous. These include the entire southern shore, the northeastern section, and many points along the western border.

The history of the southern shore represents a
191 typical example of the influence of haciendas on
177 the hispanicization of native populations. By the mid-18th century large Spanish holdings had enveloped most of the native pueblos, contrary to laws which insured Indians a block of land (for

[27] The Sierra's unattractiveness to Spanish settlement is aptly described by the Franciscan friar, Diego Muñóz, writing in 1603 on the cultivated land near Capacuaro: ". . . *y no son tierras para mas que yndios criados alli que las tienen curadas y experimentadas; que españoles las apetecen poco por ser temple riguroso al mas frio de mechoacan acrecentandolo el ayre caso ordinario desabrido crecio y delgado y la yerua es aspera, ynutil para ganado.*" (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14).

[28] AAM, siglo XVIII, leg. 235 (1746); leg. 277 (1750). In 1798, 19 *gente de razón* lived in Charapan, 6 in Parangaricutiro, 40 in Corupo (AAM siglo XIX, leg. 175).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 18a]

191 buildings) measuring 600 yards (*varas*) in each
177 cardinal direction from the village church. Deprived of land, most of the men of the pueblos sought work in the sugar plantations in the *tierra templada* around Ario and Tacámbaro, returning only occasionally to their homes. Others became peons in the adjacent haciendas, working with mulatto and mestizo labor (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–306). Consequently, the decreased use and subsequent loss of the native language was inevitable. Only the fishers inhabiting the small Urandén Islands immediately offshore, who were unaffected by the haciendas, were able to preserve their native tongue.

MODERN LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The modern Tarascan area is in no sense a
191 solid block of indigenous speech (table 1). The inhabitants of only 32 of the 66 Tarascan towns and 31 of the 50 indigenous *ranchos* all speak the native tongue (map 12). Nearly 25 percent of the population within the present area is composed of mestizos who know only Spanish. Such people are mainly merchants and *arrieros* living in most of the Indian pueblos and farmers inhabiting nonindigenous *ranchos* scattered throughout the Sierra and the Lake district. Fifty years ago native market centers, the towns of Nahuatzen and Tingambato now contain but a handful of people who have retained the indigenous language.
[162] According to 1940 census figures, only 35 percent of the inhabitants of Patamban are Tarascan in speech, 38 percent of those of Parangaricutiro, 30 percent of those of Paracho, 20 percent of those of Sirosto, and 10 percent of those of Corupo.[29] Moreover, in 1940, 18 mestizo *ranchos* were scattered between Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra. In addition to mestizo merchants and farmers, many Spanish-speaking lumbermen inhabit the ephemeral sawmills prevalent in the Sierra forests. Hence, infiltrating mestizo settlement has shattered the once-continuous indigenous area in the Sierra and Lake district into small islets of purely Tarascan speech. The more notable of these
191 islets are: (1) seven towns in La Cañada, (2)
361 the pueblos and *ranchos* grouped around the flanks of Cerro de Patamban, (3) the Tarecuato district, (4) a string of villages east of Cerro de

[29] The percentage for Corupo is open to question. Although no actual statistical sampling was done, an impression of a much greater percentage of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants was obtained by the writer when he visited that town in 1948.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 24-b]

161 appear. Such cultural changes—improved trans-
191 portation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within
191 the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid
177 to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

361 men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo
621 Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

Settlement sites.—The few available early
361 descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[22] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[22] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 302); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castello (1939–46); many documents concerning the congregations of 1598–1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

361 wooded mountain slopes (where maize could be easily cultivated with the digging stick) and on elevations difficult of access (chiefly for protection from Chichimec raids). Many of these *estancias* were likely wiped out by the early epidemics; [177] others the Spaniards probably congregated with larger towns during the last half of the 16th and first years of the 17th centuries (Simpson, 1934; Spain—Law, Statutes, etc., 1681, ley VI, tít. 3), in order to better instruct natives in Christianity and to facilitate the collection of tribute and forced labor. Probably few present Tarascan pueblos possess their pre-Spanish sites.

Modern Tarascan settlements occupy a variety of sites, most of which have level, or nearly level, surfaces. Those along Lake Pátzcuaro are on eminences or shelves above the water's edge; all avoid frequently flooded delta plains. In the Sierra many towns are located on slopes or benches immediately bordering the large basin plains; others occupy level spots in local swales. A few, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Quinceo, and Ocu-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

361 Plans of settlements.—The planning of pueblos and *rancherías* was unknown in pre-Columbian times. Settlements were amorphous, the dwellings irregularly spaced and connected by winding footpaths. Beginning around 1550, the Spaniards [77] slowly forced the natives in most parts of central Mexico to rebuild their towns on a grid street pattern, which is now predominant in most pueblos (Indian and mestizo) in Mexico.[34] The advantages of the grid, with numbered blocks and houses, are obvious in terms of tax and tribute records. Towns were also divided into *barrios* or wards, usually four or more; some *barrios* represent the congregation of outlying *rancherías* into the town. Within the Tarascan area the realinement of the street pattern was apparently continued until the close of the colonial period, for a late 18th-century description mentions the tortuous, unplanned paths and irregularly spaced houses of some Sierra pueblos, which today have the grid pattern (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285–405). At the present time only the Tarascan *ranchos* (formed after the colonial period without direction from a centralized government) are characterized by winding streets and scattered dwellings, and probably illustrate the pattern of a pre-Conquest village (map 15).

One of the outstanding features of the grid pattern imposed by the Spaniards is the plaza, or square, located in the center of the settlement. Every Tarascan village has its plaza, which functions as the commercial, social, and administrative center of the town (map 16; pl. 2). A [367] semblance of a garden and often a bandstand occupy the center of the plaza. Administrative [344] buildings (the *palacio municipal* or *jefetura* and the jail), often the school, stores, and the dwellings of the more prominent citizens face the streets bordering the plaza. Moreover, the square is the site of religious and civil festivals and the market. [346] The church, however, rarely faces the plaza, but is often placed one-half to one block distant.

Away from the plaza, which in the larger towns is surrounded by a contiguous group of buildings, most Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra are characterized by widely spaced dwellings separated by house lots. Compact towns with contiguous building throughout occur in the Lake region and in the Zacapu Basin. (Maps 16, 17; pl. 2.)

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 27b]

[34] For a discussion of the introduction of the grid street pattern into New Spain, see Stanislawski, 1947 b.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 30 a] Sierra

342 171 (2) Veracruz on the northern slopes of the Cofre de Perote; (3) the Sierra Madre Oriental between Apulco and Huayacocotla near the Hidalgo-Veracruz border and near the Pan American highway northeast of Jacala, Hidalgo; (4) the Sierra Madre Occidental (Durango and Chihuahua); (5) isolated spots in the Sierra Madre del Sur (Guerrero) west of Chilpancingo; and (6) the Tarascan Sierra of Michoacán. The log cabin in 342 Durango and Chihuahua possibly may have been 171 introduced by United States Confederate refugees, 177 a few of whom settled in the Sierra Madre in the late 1860's and 1870's. Located near one of the main Veracruz-México roads, the Perote people also may have obtained the idea of interlocked logs from United States or European travelers or settlers. The plank structures of Michoacan are technically superior to the North American log cabin (introduced into the North American colonies from Scandinavia in the 17th century), and are known to have existed since the last quarter of the 18th century. Log cabins were apparently unknown in Spain during the colonial period. The idea of their construction may have been introduced into Mexico from northern Europe.

342 There is nothing in the Relación de Michoacán or in the available Relaciones Geográficas (Muc. Nac., leg. 102) that indicates the presence of log structures among 16th-century Tarascans.[29] The native houses were constructed of adobe or stone with four-shed straw-thatched roofs. The first definite evidence of the modern *troje* that the writer has encountered appears in the Calderon report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73), which mentions ". . . jacales de . . . vigas horizontales cubiertas de tajamanil . . ." in Turícuaro (f. 336v), ". . . cuatro trojes de Maderas de Pino, bien construidas y conservadas . . ." in Nocutzepo (Lake Pátzcuaro) (f. 301), and ". . . chozas (or casas) de madera . . ." in many other towns in the Sierra (map 18). In most pueblos, however, wooden houses were mingled with those of stone or adobe. Moreover, houses constructed of small logs or poles placed vertically ("*estacas plantadas*") were

[712] [29] Log fortifications were constructed by the Tarascans at Taximaroa (Ciudad Hidalgo) in pre-Spanish times (Stanislawski, 1947 a, p. 40). There is no evidence, however, that the notching technique was known. For a description of pre-Conquest Tarascan houses, see Basle, Carrasco, and McOurkle, 1944, pp. 23-24.

342 widespread both in the Sierra and in surrounding areas. The modern *troje*, then, appears to have [177] been introduced into Michoacán sometime between 1580 and 1780.

Some native constructional and functional elements were applied to the log or plank structure. For instance, the square floor plan and the four-shed roof were common features of the aborig-
342 inal house. Again, the use of the *troje* as a store-
251 house and the retention of the separate kitchen as living quarters would seem to indicate application of native uses to an introduced element. The storage of grain in the loft, however, may be an introduced European trait. As in most parts of indigenous Mexico, separate granaries (*trojes*) were possibly employed by pre-Conquest Tarascans.[40]

342 The wooden *troje* is disappearing in the Tarascan area. As mentioned above, a few old structures exist in some of the towns outside the Sierra. According to the local inhabitants, such *trojes* were formerly more numerous; however, there is no evidence that the entire town was once composed of wooden houses. Owing to decrease in large pines and firs, the cheaper adobe and stone structures are gradually replacing the *troje* in the Sierra towns.[41] Only a few small Sierra villages and *ranchos* consist entirely of wooden structures.

In addition to the interlocked plank house,
342 various roofing materials have been introduced
177 into the Tarascan area (as well as into all parts of Mexico). Aboriginally, houses were roofed with grass or palm thatch, which is still employed in the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán. During the last half of the 16th century Basque miners probably introduced the shake (*tejamanil*) to roof their houses and ore refineries at the mining centers in central Mexico.[42] From the mines the use of shakes gradually spread to Indian villages situated

[Text continues top of P. 32-a]

[40] One of the "temporary structures" depicted in the Relación de Michoacán is similar to the modern vasiform granaries (*cuexcomatl*) of parts of Morelos, Puebla, and Tlaxcala. Moreover, the original ms. of the Relación de Tiripitio, 1580 (in the García Library, University of Texas, Austin), illustrates a vasiform *troje* similar to that shown in the Relación de Michoacán. The Tiripitio *troje* was of two stories, the lower floor being used to store maize, the upper, reached by a notched log, for storing clothes, personal valuables, etc.

[41] Fair adobe brick can be made in the Sierra by mixing the local soil (of low clay content) with pine needles.

[42] The Relaciones Geográficas of 1579-81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) invariably mention shaked roofs in mining centers of New Spain. In the modern Basque country, however, shakes are used to roof only shepherds' huts (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944, p. 34).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 32a]

342 within or near pine forests. By 1789 most of the
177 buildings in Tarascan towns in the Lake and Sierra regions were roofed with shakes (map 18). Today in the towns bordering the Sierra the red Castilian tile has completely replaced *tejamanil* and is slowly penetrating into the Sierra towns.[43]

THE LAND SYSTEM AND THE PUEBLO

Tarascan settlements are fundamentally agri-
621 cultural villages. They include not only dwellings
423 arranged along streets and in house lots, but also the surrounding farm land. The land is the body of the pueblo, whose political and economic life revolves around land ownership and boundaries, crop planting and harvesting.

Few records exist on the ancient Tarascan land
423 system; most lands, however, were probably held
311 in common. Each community owned surrounding lands, the limits of which were determined by metes and bounds; the record and adjudication of pueblo boundaries were in the hands of the village chief, who apportioned agricultural plots to his subjects.[44] As in many modern Indian areas of Mexico, the aboriginal concept of village lands and their established boundaries is indurated in the present political and economic structure of the Tarascan pueblos.[45] Such holdings in the Sierra include various types of land: *monte*, or woodland pasture on steep mountain slopes and on lava flows; cropland in basin floors (*planes*, t'pákua), on lower mountain slopes (*laderas*, uanáten), and in craters of cinder cones (*joyas*, t'pákua-supíču). In La Cañada often the following lands are held by a given pueblo: irrigable alluvium on the valley floor, *temporal* lands and *monte* on the adjacent slopes, and *humedad* lands in the Sierra. In the Lake area types of land vary from pueblo to pueblo. Often small strips of irrigable vegetable plots are held along the lake shore; most towns hold *temporal* land on the lower slopes; those on

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[43] Although used in most Spanish towns (except mining centers) in New Spain since the late 16th century, tiles began to appear in the Lake Pátzcuaro district only in the late 18th century. In 1789 Pátzcuaro was the only town in the vicinity with tile roofs (approximately 80 percent of the houses were roofed with tile, the remainder, with shakes). In the same year one house in Naranja boasted of a tile roof. (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 305, 318.)

[44] A copy of an aboriginal land title (1519) of Cheranátiscorin is extant in AGN Tierras, vol. 867, exped. 8.

[45] In many respects the native land system in central Mexico paralleled that of 16th century Spain. Particularly was this true in regard to the concept of village holdings.

423 hectares in size,[46] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may
[428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[46]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33b]

[804] [46] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[46] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a
226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands
224 within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and
222 gathering, although now of small importance, is still practiced throughout the area. Apart from
463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan
[438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices.
177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 33b]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-b]

423 311 [656] Before the promulgation of the Federal forest laws (1930's), all members of the pueblo reserved the right to cut wood and lumber in the *monte* with permission of the *representante*. Today a Federal tax must be paid (but is often evaded) by each pueblo for lumber rights. Small plots of land (*desmontes*) may be cleared and planted in any part of the forest, but the farmer must first gain permission of the *representante* and his committee. In addition to the *monte* many pueblos possess certain croplands, called *tierras de la comunidad*, which are not assigned permanently to individuals, but are worked communally, usually by landless farmers, who receive a portion of the harvest as remuneration. The remainder of the crop is often stored in the pueblo as communal property to be sold by the *representante* for the town treasury or to be used as food in time of shortage.

TARASCAN
ECONOMY

241 177 still forms the leading crop complex, but the European grains—wheat, barley, the broadbean and lentil—have become intimately associated with Tarascan agriculture. European fruits are grown with native types; Old World vegetables, mainly cabbage, have become an integral part of native food habits. But the modern Tarascan considers such crops, most of which were introduced over 400 years ago, as part of his aboriginal culture. Furthermore, although Tarascans still practice pre-Columbian shifting agriculture on steep slopes, the Old World plow has transformed indigenous cultivation on level and gently sloping lands.

Agricultural acculturation continues constantly. Tarascan *braceros* returning from the United States have brought in apple cuttings from the Yakima Valley, grapevines from California, corn from Iowa. Within the last three decades a South American *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*) has been introduced in the Sierra south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Again, alfalfa cultivation is slowly penetrating into many parts of the Sierra. Recent- [654] ly the Federal Government introduced a few steel plows in some Tarascan villages, and here and there one sees engine-powered threshing machines slowly replacing the ancient European threshing floor and flail.

241 The Tarascans, like many aboriginal groups strongly influenced by European culture, engage
● 177 in two types of agriculture: field agriculture and horticulture. The former comprises extensive cultivation of grains in comparatively large fields with the plow and in small hillside plots with the hoe. Tarascan horticulture includes mainly the intensive cultivation of grains, vegetables, medicinal plants, and fruits in the house-lot gardens (ekuáɪu, sing., ekuáɪueča, pl., hispanicized to *ecuaro*); it also includes specialized truck gardening, such as that practiced on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

FIELD AGRICULTURE AND ASSOCIATED CROPS

241 There are three basic native food crops of
261 Mexico: maize (starch and oil), beans (protein), and squash (vegetable vitamin), all of which are now associated with field agriculture. In most Indian and many mestizo communities this complex forms the principal elements in the common diet; the three crops are planted together in the same field, cultivated together in the same manner, and harvested about the same time.

Maize culture.—The earliest record of maize in
243 the Tarascan area is found in the charred ears
[172] encountered in a lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia. The date of the flow is unknown, but maize was probably known to the Tarascans when they settled in the Sierra and the northern plateau.

The provenience of maize cultivated by the early Tarascans is but a small part of the complex and obscure movements of corn from a secondary center of origin in southern Mexico or northern Central America.[80] Anderson (1946 a) has described three distinct races of *Zea mays* in central Mexico: (1) the Mexican Pyramidal, centering in the eastern highlands; (2) Mexican Narrow Ear, found in western Mexico, particularly in both cold and hot lands of Jalisco and Nayarit; and (3) Mountain Yellow, a high altitude maize (usually above 7,000 ft.) encountered in purest form in the highlands of western Mexico.[81] Located between

[80] See Mangelsdorf and Cameron (1942) on the hybridization of South American primitive maize and *Tripsicum* in Middle America.

[81] Following is a brief description of the above races as given by Anderson (1946 a, p. 171): (1) Mexican Pyramidal. Ears short, tapering regularly butt to tip; row number high to very high (16-24). Kernels dented and pointed. Color prevailingly white and pale yellow. Plants short, pronounced interveinal red or purple coloring. Shallow root system, leaves broad and pubescent. Tassels with few or no branches. (2) Mexican Narrow Ear. Ears narrow, long, irregularly long-tapered, compressed at butt. Low row num-

243 old people, but since the old ones have died, no one had continued its cultivation. This suggests that the western corn was formerly predominant in the area, which later was invaded by the eastern race.

Maize types are continually migrating from 243 one pueblo to another within the Tarascan area 177 and are also being introduced from the outside. For instance, *maíz de Sicuicho* has been grown in Arantepacua since 1889; *maíz de Chocandirán* (Nahuatl name for Tingüindín) is raised in Atapan; *maíz de Urúscato* in Tarecuato, etc. All such corns are morphologically alike, being differentiated chiefly by color. Again, in some Sierra pueblos farmers grow a corn called "toluca" or "tulukenio," presumably an introduction from the Valley of Toluca.[53] Around 1900 a maize called "chalco" from the Lake Chalco district in the Valley of Mexico was brought into the newly drained Zacapu Basin, where it now comprises the main corn of the surrounding Tarascan villages. Chalco is a modernly developed maize adapted to wet soils. In the Zacapu Basin it is grown "*de humedad*," and in recent years has been introduced into the Nahuatzen area.

The mountain corns.—On the steep slopes of 243 the Sierra volcanoes the small Mountain Yellow maize is cultivated in little temporary clearings (*desmonte*, čapán, čapákata). This corn is obviously mixed with eastern field varieties, as in many cases the basal enlargement of the ear is not apparent and grain form varies from point to dent. Low row number (8–14), however, is invariably present. Color varies from yellow to white, often with pink present in the pericarp. Tolerant of light frosts and infertile soils and adapted to the ancient indigenous cultivation sites and practices, this maize may be one of the oldest in the area.

The special corns: ékuáru maize (*Anderson 1946 a, 1946 b*).—One of the most interesting of the modern Tarascan corns is that cultivated in the house-lot gardens (*solar*, ekuáru).[54] It is grown mainly for roasting ears (*elotes*). It is morphologically distinct from the field corns,

[53] According to Beals (1946, p. 22), the tulukenio found at Cherán is a mountain type having definite characteristics of Mountain Yellow and grown in the slopes and mountain clearings. In other pueblos (e. g. Arantepacua) tulukenio is a field maize with Mexican Pyramidal characteristics.

[54] In the Sierra and the Lake region the term "ekuáru" is used to mean house lot. In the mestizo towns and some Tarascan pueblos of the northern area, particularly La Cañada and west thereof, ekuáru means small hillside cornfields, while the Spanish *solar* is used to designate house lot.

243 for most of the Sierra. Here, therefore, only the major processes and regional differences will be highlighted.

Ground preparation and planting.—On the level basin floors and lower hill slopes, land is prepared for maize planting with the plow (*arado*). [412] [177] The ancient Egyptian two-piece affair drawn by a pair of oxen is the most common type of plow used by the Tarascans and by most of the present-day farmers of Mexico. (See Beals, 1946, p. 22, for illustration of this primitive plow.) Introduced into the Tarascan area in the 1520's or 1530's, this instrument was readily taken over by the native farmers. Adaptation to the plow was possibly slow in the Sierra, where most of the aboriginal agriculture was on steep slopes; but at least by 1624 the farmers of Cherán were cultivating the lower slopes near the town with the *arado* (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13).

Prior to the introduction of the plow the flattish basin plains of the Sierra apparently were infrequently cultivated. Early accounts of Tarascan farming emphasize the importance of *desmonte* agriculture on the steep slopes. A report of 1599 describing the pueblo of Corundapan (now nonexistent) in the Sierra near Tingambato, states that the natives had no lands in adjacent basin plains, but, as was customary among Tarascan peoples, planted on the slopes in order to obviate frost hazard.[56] The probable occurrence of a grass sod in the basin plains may also have discouraged their cultivation. A description (1603) of the lands of Capacuaro mentions the large number of *desmontes*, but points out the possibility of cultivating an unused plain nearby, which was relatively free of shrubs and trees.[57] Such areas, though difficult to till with the aboriginal digging stick, were readily adapted to plow culture.

243 412 The plow now used in Tarasca probably has not changed in form since the early 16th century. For most plowing the straight iron plow tip (8 to 10 in. long, 3 in. wide), called the *reja*, is fastened

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[56] AGN Tierras, vol. 84, exped. 3. ". . . no tienen tierras en los llanos y asi siembran en el monte como lo acostumbra toda la nación tarasca en lo que es tierra fria por abrigar sus sementeras de los yelos . . . ." This statement is from one of the field reports which accompanied recommendations for the village congregations at the end of the 16th century. Obviously, owing to air drainage, frost hazards are less on lower slopes than on the basin flats, a fact keenly recognized by modern Tarascan farmers.

[57] AGN Congregaciones, ff. 14v–15. Fray Diego Muñiz describes the plain as " . . . llanada . . . la mayor parte rasa y descombrada, fertil y facil de labrar [with the plow, of course] . . . capaz de mucha semilla y cosecha . . . "

243 the appearance of terraces.[63] Remnants of pre-Columbian terrace agriculture occur in the vicinity of Chilchota in La Cañada.[64]

412 In the small plots described above, the large
243 metal hoe (*azada*, *azadón*, with blade perpendicular to handle) is the principal instrument used to prepare the soil. Although called by the native name (t'ekáɸʌkua or tarákua) by some Tarascans,
[177] the *azadón* is European, having been introduced into Tarascan culture early in the 16th century. The aboriginal t'ekáɸʌkua (with blade parallel to handle) is no longer used to prepare soil for planting, but, as mentioned above, is still sometimes employed to replant. In pre-Conquest times this instrument (at least in the *tierra caliente*) carried a copper alloy blade (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo, 1581); the tarákua with a triangular iron blade is at present employed by the mountain people in the Balsas drainage of Guerrero (Hendrichs, 1945–46, vol. 1, pp. 31–32).

Planting in the *desmontes* and other small maize plots is performed by opening a small hole with the *azadón*, dropping in the seeds, and covering them with earth by a sweep of the foot. The seed holes are spaced 2 to 3 feet apart, but no attempt is made to form straight rows. Maize is cultivated twice (*escarda* and *segunda*) with the *azadón*.

243 *Maize harvest and storage.*—Three maize products are obtained from the field: roasting ears (*elotes*), fodder (*rastrojo*), and mature ears (*mazorcas*, šanini). Roasting ears come mainly from the special colored corns of the house-lot garden, but many are taken from the fields. In the *humedad* lands of the Sierra *elote* is ready by August in the *temporal* lands, in July.[65] At high elevations (e. g. around the *rancho* of Cherato) the development of *elote* from corn planted in March

[63] These apparent terraces are best developed along the north and west shores of Tazlu-k'éri Peninsula.

[64] The following account of the terrace agriculture near Chilchota is given in the Relación Geográfica for that town (1579):

" . . . *por ser muy pedregosos y de malpais las piedras estan puestas a mano como gradas dezando entre grada y grada con una vara de medir de ancho limpio donde plantaban el maiz, y es esto tanto y hecho por tal orden que parece cosa que pone espanto*" (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, f. 56v).

[65] In some Tarascan towns a minor celebration occurs when roasting ears
[196] begin to mature. The first ears picked in the village are taken through the streets by girls, who invite people to kiss the *elotes*. The ears are then taken to the village church and placed on the altar. Later, when all the fields and house lots are in *elote*, girls make special tamales (ušápu) of green corn for friends and the family. The *elote* fiesta is apparently a vestige of a significant aboriginal harvest rite. Other minor festivals occur on the first day of the fall-corn or spring-wheat harvests, but they are usually family days and consist mainly of a "*combate*," or drinking spree. Often special foods—tamales, eu tpu (meat stew)—are prepared. There are no religious rites involved in the latter fiestas.

439 located around the Sierra in areas favored by irrigation or rich soils, such as the upper escarpment in the South or the Zacapu Basin in the North. White field maize and yellow field maize comprise the bulk of the export crop. Ekuaɹu maize is entirely for home consumption and most of the mountain crop is used locally. Accurate statistics on crop production and export are not available for the Tarascan area; export data probably do not exist, since public records of sales are not kept in the villages.

Bean culture.—As an aboriginal cultigen the bean
244 (*frijol*, t'aɢán) is second only to maize in Tarascan agriculture and food habits. Twenty varieties of the kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) are cultivated in modern Tarasca. Although most of these are found in many parts of central Mexico,[68] a few may be peculiar to the Sierra of Michoacán. Among the latter are small cream- or brown-colored beans called *petrona* or uašári in some Sierra villages; another is called karáṣaɹi. The Indians regard such beans as "criollos," or natives to the local countryside, while other varieties, which carry non-Tarascan names, are acknowl-
[177] edged to have been introduced from the outside. Many wild beans are reported to exist in the Sierra, though only one, called uipínju (probably *P. vulgaris*) was described in Pamatácuaro, where it is tolerated along edges of maize fields. It is gathered and eaten, but is little liked.[69]

Besides the kidney bean, the Tarascans cultivate the large-seeded *Phaseolus coccineus* L. (*P. multiflorus* Willd.), which they call kokóɢ (the ayocote or ayocotl of the Nahuatl-speaking people).[70] This bean is rarely grown or used by mestizos and even among the Indians its cultivation is dying out.[71] It is now grown only by the more conservative people, especially in the house-lot gardens where it is planted and tended by women. Kokóɢ, therefore, must be an old cultigen in the area. Having a sweet flavor, it is not as well liked as the newer kidney beans from the outside. In some of the Lake pueblos kokóɢ has

[68] The common central Mexican varieties are: Bayo Grande, Bayo Chico, Mexicano, Colorado, Color de Rosa (Rosa de Castilla), Encerrado, Prieto, Blanco, Huiguerilla, etc.

[69] Unfortunately, a seed specimen of this bean was unobtainable. Another doubtful wild *Phaseolus* is reported from Corupo; called *frijol cimarrón*, it produces a white seed and an enlarged root stalk ("raíz como camote").

[70] The Spanish terms "*patol*" and "*frijols*" are also used in some localities. In Pamatácuaro *P. coccineus* is known as ʒope.

[71] In many pueblos (Sierra and Lake regions) it was stated that kókoɢ was cultivated many years ago, but since the introduction of better flavored beans from mestizo towns, it was no longer grown.

244 **Squash culture.**—The cucurbits complete the ancient Mexican crop complex. Three species of the genus *Cucurbita* are today cultivated in the Tarascan area: *C. pepo* (*calabaza común* puɹú), *C. moschata* (*calabaza de Castilla*, puɹú), and *C. ficifolia* (*silacayote* or *chilacayote*, t'ik'áɸʌ or tikáɸ).[74] *C. pepo* appears to be the ancient squash of the area, for it is referred to as *calabaza comùn* or *calabaza corriente*, and in mestizo villages nearby as *calabaza tarasca*. Surprisingly few varieties occur, the most common being oblong (20 cm. long), ribbed (10), green and yellow mottled, with the ordinary five-sided peduncle. Smooth types are also cultivated. A small *pepo*, called čekámita, is grown in a few villages of the Sierra and La Cañada. In some pueblos the common name of *C. moschata* is *calabaza de la* [177] *Castilla*, which may indicate that this squash was introduced into the area after the Spanish Conquest; it is found mainly around the edges of the Sierra. Some varieties are flat and round, similar to the pumpkins of the northeastern part of the United States. Others are small, crooked-neck types.

In contrast to its minor place in the agriculture of many indigenous groups of Mexico, *C. ficifolia* is an important cultigen among the Tarascans. Two varieties are grown, both having the appearance of a watermelon: one with black seeds (*chilacayote común*, tikáɸ), and the other with white seeds (*chilacayote-calabaza*, puɹútikáɸʌ). Of the two, the latter is said to have the better flavor.

Like *frijol*, squash is ordinarily planted with maize in both plow and hoe lands. Squash seeds are rarely planted in the same hill with maize and beans; rather the plantings are widely spaced (5 to 6 meters) along the rows or edges of the field in order to allow for spreading. *Chilacayote* (and often common squash) is usually planted in the fertile house lots or in the *desmontes*, where the soil has been fertilized by wood ash. Within the plowlands it is sometimes planted in a *quemazón*, a spot where a log is burned and ashes well mixed with underlying soil. Squashes are gathered in October or November before the maize harvest. [251] Chilacayotes are sun-cured on roofs or on adobe fences for 3 or 4 weeks, and are then stored in the house loft or in a corner of the dwelling.

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[74] Botanical identification of the squash seed collected in the Tarascan area was kindly made by Dr. T. W. Whitaker, of the United States Department of Agriculture.

244 Tarascans plant few other minor native cultigens in the field. Camote or the sweetpotato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and jícama (*Pachyrrhizus erosus*) are planted in small amounts in La Cañada, but commercial production is found in the warm lands around Zamora, Lake Chapala, and the southern escarpment, outside the Tarascan area. Native vegetables such as chile and tomatoes are discussed under horticulture.

177 **Introduced New World crops.**—In Tarascan field agriculture these consist of two tubers: the
244 South American potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) and, as mentioned earlier, an *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*).[81] Neither has much place in Tarascan food habits. The potato is now grown in some lowlands bordering the Sierra, e. g. in Comanja, where it is planted with maize. Its cultivation is slowly penetrating the Sierra, though most of the highland pueblos still reject it. Beals (1946, p. 26) states that Cherán residents began to grow potatoes around 1938.

Old World crops in Tarascan field agriculture.—
243 Among the crops which the Spaniards introduced
177 into Tarascan culture the small grains, wheat and barley, were the more significant in terms of both food value and degree of adaptation. Wheat was probably first sown in the Lake area by Spanish missionaries during the 1530's; the Spanish ranchers and *encomenderos*, however, for whom white bread was the main item of diet, were the principal carriers of wheat culture among the natives. By the mid-16th century Spanish wheat fields had been established in many parts of the northern plateau, and Tarascans of various pueblos in that area were cultivating the grain in special fields in order to meet tribute demands of the Crown and *encomenderos*.[82] Arabic irrigation
[312] techniques appear to have been introduced jointly with wheat culture, for both early Spanish and Indian wheat fields in the northern Tarascan area were artificially watered.[83] The Relaciones Geo-

[81] The name "*papa de Castilla*" might indicate that the *Oxalis* species has been cultivated in Mexico for some time. According to local informants, however, it has been known in the area south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro for only 30 or 40 years. The tuber is often seen in the Pátzcuaro market. In Pichátaro it is boiled and eaten with piloncillo.

[82] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1) mentions that wheat was cultivated in the following indigenous pueblos of Michoacán: Acámbaro, Chocándiro, Chiquimito, Chilchota, Guanazo (Santa María Ario), Taymeo, Indaparapeo, Zacapu. Indians, however, were slow to adopt wheat foods. During the last quarter of the 16th century the Indians of La Cañada ate wheat only in times of maize famine (Mus. Nac. leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1579).

[83] Spaniards had introduced a Mediterranean grain adapted to winter rains and dry summers into a land of dry winters and wet summers. Con-

243 gráficas of 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) indicate
177 that by the end of the 16th century wheat cultivation was well established in the Tarascan area around the margins of the Sierra, i. e., in those areas first settled by Spanish ranchers.[84] Wheat penetrated slowly into the conservative Sierra. The Relación of Tingüindín (1581) states that in the Sierra villages the Indians had not taken to wheat cultivation. Even by 1789 some of the Sierra pueblos did not grow wheat, but by 1820 the grain was at last being cultivated in all the towns, Urapicho, Cocucho, Pamatácuaro, and Cheranátzicurin being among the last to adopt it (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memoria estadística, 1841).[85]

Today in most Sierra pueblos wheat is con-
243 sidered second only to maize in terms of acreage. Some towns raise the grain chiefly as a cash crop; others consume a large portion of the harvest. The Lake area and La Cañada, however, are the principal Tarascan wheat districts. In both, wheat acreage exceeds that of maize.[86] Although wheat foods are eaten in all Tarascan towns, in none do they replace maize as the chief item of diet. Throughout the present indigenous area
[177] wheat foods play a significant part in religious festivals, apparently an adoption of European customs through Church influence.

A soft wheat called "colorado," probably a descendant of the Spanish grain introduced 400 years ago, is the principal type sown by Tarascan farmers. Both bearded and beardless varieties occur. This wheat is the "*trigo de temporal*" or "*trigo aventurado*," planted in October and harvested from April to June, depending on eleva-

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[312] sequently, to insure good yields, they resorted at once to irrigation. Later, experiments probably showed that a poor to fair yield could be obtained without irrigation in central Mexico, where occasional light winter rains occur.

[84] The wheat-growing areas mentioned: all of the northern plateau region, including La Cañada; Tarecuato (trigo de temporal); Tingüindín; and Peribán. The Ponce Relacion (observations made in 1586) mentions wheat at various Lake towns: Tzintzuntzan, San Jerónimo, Erongaricuaro, and Tacupato (Cocupao or present Quiroga).

[85] The Calderón report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) mentions wheat only in a few Tarascan pueblos. It specifies, however, that only two pueblos (Ocumicho and Pamatácuaro) of the Sierra grew maize exclusively. The report may have neglected to indicate many pueblos in which small amounts of wheat might have been cultivated.

[86] According to data from Secretaría de Agricultura records (1946), wheat acreage equaled that of maize in the municipio of Pátzcuaro; in those of Erongaricuaro and Quiroga the acreage of wheat was more than twice that of maize; in Tzintzuntzan, however, maize acreage exceeded that of wheat by eight times. In the municipio of Chilchota (which includes La Cañada) approximately 500 hectares were planted to maize, while 313 were in wheat. Considering the valley of La Cañada alone, wheat acreage probably would exceed that of maize.

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by
● 177 missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent
797 had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit
[242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting
[242] of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly
438 for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *cermuesa*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chata*, *mariosna*, *chata de Serina* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *morelisna* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1789 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 328). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

239 In spite of unfavorable environment for stock raising, many families possess small herds (10–25 head) of cattle, which roam the Sierra forests.[107] During the latter part of the dry season some cattle die of starvation, and the springs and wells barely afford sufficient water for existing herds. The fatter animals are occasionally sold to the local butcher or home-killed for meat. Only the more wealthy have riding horses, and few except *arrieros* possess mules. When in use oxen and burros are often stabled in the house lot. All livestock is turned into the fields after harvest to graze on stubble and to fertilize the land. The small animals, such as sheep and pigs (*ganado menor*) are common throughout present Tarasca.[108] In almost every village a few families own sheep, flocks ranging in size from 50 to 1,000 head. The greatest number of flocks are found around the higher mountains of the Sierra, such as Tancítaro,[109] Patamban, and Quinceo, where summer pastures (bunchgrass) are abundant near the summits. In [242] winter, flocks are grazed in harvested cornfields, for this is a recognized method of soil fertilization. Most of the inhabitants of the *ranchos* around Cerro de Patamban are shepherd-farmers, at least half of their time being devoted to sheep raising. During the summer months boys and girls are

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177 [107] Few data exist concerning the introduction of cattle into the Sierra. The original land title of Pamatácuaro, dated June 1532, mentions the possession of European domestic animals by the Indians of that village. "*Tuuara los naturales como pobladores las prehemineneias necesarias de pueblo, Iaglecia, campanas sonoras, armentherio: chrias de todas clases de ganados, Bacas de vientre, Bueyes, asnos, ovejas y bestias mulares y caballeros . . .*" Again, from the same document: ". . . *los animales y ganados son sanos y de competente tamaño . . .*" These data were taken from a certified copy (1937) of the original document; the latter is reported to be in the *jefatura* of Pamatácuaro. If the document is correct, European animals were taken into the native culture at an extremely early date. The Ponce Relación (1872, vol. 2, p. 133) mentions herds belonging to natives pasturing on the slopes of Cerro de Tancítaro and watering at the lake on its summit in 1584. Around 1700 the people of Cheranátzicurin possessed a *sitio de ganado mayor* (pasture for large animals such as horses and cattle) near the village (AGN Tierras, vol. 867, exped. 3). In the northern plateau and *tierra caliente* regions, where colonial cattle *estancias* were numerous, many Indians quickly became *vaqueros*, but probably few acquired their own herds.

[108] Tarascans quickly adopted the sheep. By 1580 many Indians around the shores of Lake Cuitzeo possessed flocks numbering from 300 to 400 head. ". . . *crian sus carneros con tan buen orden y concierto como en España . . .*" (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cuitzeo). A great number of Indians living near the northern plateau pastures were forced to tend flocks of Spanish *encomenderos*. The Lake and Sierra Tarascans also likely acquired sheep at an early date. In many parts of Mexico the Indians rapidly took to sheep raising soon after the Spaniards introduced the animal early in the 16th century. During the colonial period Indians were the chief sheep raisers in New Spain, either as hired shepherds or as owners of flocks. Possibly the annual or semi-annual wool clip and the fact that the smaller animals are more easily herded than cattle, prompted the natives to adapt themselves readily to sheep raising.

[109] Most of the flocks on Tancítaro and other areas adjacent to Parícutin were destroyed by heavy ash fall during the spring and summer of 1943. Formerly, some Tarascans in that area owned flocks as large as 5,000 or 6,000 head. One man in Nurio is reported to have had 20,000.

293 During the summer months boys and girls are
[883] the full-time shepherds, driving herds up the mountain slope each morning and down to the folds near the house at evening. The elders perform the semiannual shearing and often tend the flocks in the cornfields during the winter. Professional shepherds are sometimes hired by sheep owners to care for their flocks.

The sheep of the Tarascans are small, scrawny animals, descendants of the 16th-century Spanish breeds. In a given flock about half the animals are black, the rest white (pl. 7). Often a few goats graze with the flock. The Indians are usually financially unable to improve the breed with new blood; in only one case did the writer observe a merino ram. The Tarascans raise sheep
236 mainly for wool. The *rancheros* around Cerro de Patamban shear their animals with hand clippers every 6 months. Some wool is obtained also by the girl shepherds, who pluck from the backs of sheep while the animals are grazing; as she plucks, the girl spins the wool on a whorl spindle, completing a ball of yarn as large as the fist at the end of day. In many villages local wool is used for weaving, many weavers possessing their own flocks. Otherwise the wool clip is sold to people from other villages or to mestizo wholesale buyers.

231 The hog was the first European animal domesti-
177 cate that the Spaniards brought into the Tarascan area in quantity, and was possibly one of the first of the new animals adopted into Indian culture. As early as 1525 Spaniards were raising large droves of hogs in the vicinity of Pátzcuaro in order to supply food to placer operations in the Balsas (Millares Carlo and Mantecón, 1945, p. 32).[110] Indians were used as swineherds. Throughout the colonial period large numbers of hogs were fed in the marsh areas north of the Sierra and droves were periodically driven to Toluca and the valley of Mexico (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 180). Today the hog is common in
231 every Tarascan village. Practically every household owns two or three animals, which serve as scavengers, running the streets by day; enough maize and scraps are fed the animals to induce them to return at night to the proper pen in the

[110] The hog appears to have been the first Old World animal raised on a large scale in New Spain. Moreover, hog culture was intimately connected with gold placering in Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Michoacán (1521–35). Droves were driven along with the shifting placer camps, the animals feeding on fallen tropical fruits (e. g. the *ciruela*), roots, and wild tubers in the *tierra caliente*. "*Carne de puerco*" was the chief "energy" food given the Indian labor gangs.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56b]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

Among most people lacking modern transporta-
438 tion facilities and mass production techniques,
472 cottage industries, often termed "native crafts,"
463 are characteristic of the local economy. Owing to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population[123] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agave fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 Like so many of his material culture elements,
463 the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[123] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 3.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

177 aboriginal and European products and techniques.
463 Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern wood-
[412] work the adz and the lathe are probably European and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide
[281] have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal.
[286] Although the ancient belt loom is used for most cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European tech-
[325] niques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

323 The manufacture of these two Tarascan pots is
438 slowly dying. In 1946 only 10 women were making pottery in Cocucho, whereas in 1841 it was made in practically every household of the village (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

Today by far the greater amount of Tarascan pottery is made with molds by both men and women.[137] None is manufactured with the potter's wheel. All who use molds have taken
[177] over the European glaze technique and the firing oven. Tarascan mold-made pottery can be differentiated according to finish. The "Patamban" type, for instance, carries a beautiful green glaze, known and admired over most of western Mexico.[138] Green glaze is also used in Santo Tomás and Santa Fé de la Laguna, having been recently introduced into the latter pueblo. Pottery hand-painted with brilliant floral designs on a background of black glaze is a specialty of Santa Fé de la Laguna. This unusual technique was
[177] introduced around 1900, and was readily adopted by the inhabitants, whose former industry was batea painting. As mentioned previously, the inhabitants of Santa Fé de la Laguna began to make pots during the last quarter of the 19th century. Since then their ware has become
[439] known throughout Mexico, and some is imported by United States curio shops. In 1936 the technique spread to Tiríndaro, when daughters of a Santa Fé potter married into Tiríndaro families. The most common modern household pottery is the Red ware, either glazed or polished, made in Tzintzuntzan, Huánsito, San José, and Patamban. Before being fired the large pieces, such as ollas and *cántaros*, are usually slipped with a red clay solution and then burnished with iron pyrites. A handsomely polished surface, similar to that of the pre-Conquest wares, results after firing. (Such ware is fired only once.) Smaller pieces are often glazed with litharge. Glazed pieces are fired twice, the litharge being applied after the first firing and the glazed surface appearing after the second. Designs are often painted in white (*tierra blanca*) and black (*tierra*
[439] *de hormigón*). Red ware is carried as far as Guadal-

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[137] See Foster (1948) for a detailed description of the mold technique used by the potters of Tzintzuntzan.

[138] To produce the green color, pulverized copper oxide (*cobre quemado*) and yellow flinty quartz (*pedernal*) are added to the lead oxide (litharge) solution, which is applied to the pottery before firing. A black glaze is also made by adding a mineral called *tierra de hormigo* and pedernal to the litharge.

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323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and Mexico City.

[439] Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the [177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous [177] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

Spinning.—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun 283 raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.) [286] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

286 **Weaving.**—Tarascans weave all agave and cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáıatakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

286 found in most parts of indigenous America south of the United States (pl. 11). Customarily, only women operate this loom; however, in Tarecuato agave fiber is woven with it by both men and women, and in Tanaco, exclusively by men. Until the 1880's the most important fabric made with the belt loom was the cotton *manta*, a simple white cloth used for native clothing since pre-Conquest days. The cheap factory-made cottons [177] of Puebla and Veracruz have completely displaced the indigenous *manta*, so that today Tarascans weave women's and men's belts (*fajas*), shawls (*rebozos*), aprons (*delanteras*), tablecloths and napkins (*servilletas*). Widths of cloth ranging from 1½ inches (women's belts) to more than a yard (*rebozos*) can be woven on these looms. Designs are usually woven into the above-named articles, the warp threads being first arranged for large widths on a long stick (šekuárakua) and for the narrow *fajas* on the šekuáni, an arrangement of four to five small sticks placed in the ground. Some of the finest examples of cotton weaving are found in the Sierra pueblos: Paracho (whose women make the Tarascan "*rebozo corriente*"), Ahuíran (women's belts), Angahuan (women's belts, aprons, *rebozos*), Charapan (belts, aprons, tablecloths), San Lorenzo (tablecloths, belts).

In the early colonial period the weaving of agave fiber was apparently widespread in the Sierra (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14), but today it is limited to Tarecuato and Tanaco.[139] In these villages the main agave fiber products are *morrales* (square bag with shoulder straps), *ayates* (coarse piece for wrapping articles to be carried on back), and *costales* (coarsely woven sacks for carrying goods on mules and burros). The fiber of *maguey bruto* 283 (akámba t'aímiti) is used for the finely woven morrales, while that of *maguey del toro* (torakámba) is employed for the coarser *ayates* and *costales*. Leaves of the agave plant are cut and the fiber extracted and carded. After drying, it is spun by (1) rolling fibers on the thigh with the hand, or (2) with the malacate. The fibers are woven on [286] the belt loom in the same fashion as cotton[140] (pl. 11). A piece of the agave fabric is doubled over and sewn on the sides to make the morral, and a shoulder cord is added. Other agave fiber [439] products made in Tarecuato include rope and

[139] Agave fiber products were manufactured in Pichátaro during the last century (A.A.M, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

[140] The loom for weaving agave fiber is called uápatakua in Tarecuato.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 65-a]

283
439 cord; these and the woven articles are marketed in Guanajuato, Jalisco, the *tierra caliente*, and in all parts of the present Tarascan area.

286 Woolen products are woven mainly on the European loom, which was introduced early in the 16th century.[141] During most of the colonial [177] period this loom was used principally in the *obrajes*, or cloth mills established by Spaniards in various parts of Mexico near an abundant supply of wool. Indians first learned European weaving techniques in these mills, the labor for which came from surrounding native pueblos. By 1540 an *obraje*, operated by 26 forced native workers, had been set up in Acámbaro (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 33), and before the close of the century woolen mills existed in Taximaroa and Valladolid (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 225). Moreover, Indians quickly learned to spin wool, for tributes of spun wool were exacted from some pueblos, possibly to supply *obrajes* nearby.[142] It is not clear when the Tarascans began to use the hand loom in their own villages; possibly some looms were set up in the northern towns in the 16th century.[143] A report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) on the Tarascan pueblos of Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra, however, mentions the use only of the native loom. The first indication of a native wool industry in the Tarascan area comes from the Martínez de Lejarza report of 1822, which cites the *obrajeros* of San Juan Parangaricutiro (later the most renowned of the Tarascan blanket-weaving towns) and of several northern mestizo towns.[144] Tarascan wool weaving on a commercial scale may be post-colonial, having little economic basis until the break-down of the large woolen mills at the close of the colonial period. Today woolen blankets [438] (*cobijas*, *serapes*) are made on the European hand loom in 24 Tarascan towns, Nahuatzen and pre-volcano Parangaricutiro being the largest producers.

[141] Strands of wool are sometimes mixed with cotton in making women's belts. Often the warp is of woolen strands, the woof of cotton thread.

[142] For example, ca. 1540 the people of Puruándiro (Michoacán) contributed each week two arrobas of spun wool (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 117).

[143] The Relación de Chilchota (Mus. Nac.) states that some natives in the town made clothes of wool, but the type of loom used is not given. Moreover, according to the Relación de Cuitzeo (Mus. Nac.), the Indians living around the lake "... *hacían lana a los cazmarcanos para hacer ropa para vestirse, y sus mujeres la hacíciua* ..." Again, the type of loom used to weave wool is not given.

[144] The northern towns mentioned: Morelia, Zinapécuaro, Zitácuaro, Taximaroa, Jiquilpan, Huaruchita, La Piedad, Huaniqueo, and Tangamandapio. At that time the latter pueblo was wholly Tarascan; according to Martínez de Lejarza (1824, p. 227), "... *sus habitantes trabajan telares de algodón y lana.*"

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets, [438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

Embroidery and sewing.—In the Sierra villages 531 of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran, 438 Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro. 286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180). [439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus- 294 try was introduced probably in early colonial [177] days.[145] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurío (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.) 294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of 438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[145] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 63.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 679]

294 palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are [439] marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an [177] introduced trait.

Broommaking.—This is another minor industry 412 now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. [171] The result is a common broom found in all parts of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the 322 Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the [177] natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[180a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[180a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1880, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in García Library, Univ. of Texas).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 67-b]

322 industry more than 150 years old; in only five of the present towns do more than 25 percent of the working population engage in woodwork.

Adz work.—This is the simplest of the wood techniques now practiced by Tarascans (and by other Indian groups, as well as by mestizos in many parts of Mexico). Before the Conquest the Indians shaped boats from a single log and carved delicate figures on throwing sticks and tom-toms, possibly using obsidian and copper cutting tools. With the introduction of the [177] European steel adz and gouge early in the 16th century, native wood carving was greatly facilitated. One of the earliest European objects which the Tarascans carved with the adz was the saddle frame (*fuste*), an industry which disappeared 100 years ago. Today wooden spoons 322 and bowls (*bateas*) of softwoods are the principal 438 adz and gouge products, Pamatácuaro and its offspring settlements Sirío and San Benito being the chief producers.[181] These objects are also made in the Tarascan villages of Turícuaro, Cumachuén, Pichátaro, Zirosto (formerly important) and Sevina (where the industry was introduced a few years ago), and in the mestizo towns of Pátzcuaro, Tócuaro, Zirahuén, Uruapan, Quiroga. Spoons and bowls are made from softwoods: *jaboncillo* (šápu), *palo blano* (urápit-úku), and *aile* (pámu). Occasionally *bateas* are made of pine. Tools include the common adz and vari- [412] ously shaped gouges, which are driven with a wooden mallet (pl. 13). The products of Pamatácuaro and surrounding settlements are marketed in all parts of Michoacán and sometimes are taken as far as Guadalajara and Mexico City.

Lathe work.—This represents one of the most characteristic forms of modern Tarascan woodcraft, Paracho being the center of the *torneros*. Formerly the simple bow lathe was employed to make bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters (*molinillos*), chessmen, toys (tops, yoyos), darning eggs, etc. (See Beals, 1946, p. 43, for illustration of bow lathe.) Since 1942, however, when a power line was constructed near the town, most of the bows have been replaced by electrically powered lathes. About six *torneros* in Paracho and five in neighboring Ahuíran still use the bow. Formerly turned objects, chiefly rosaries, choco-

[181] It is doubtful that wooden *bateas* were carved before the Spanish Conquest. Gourds of *Crescentia* sicta probably functioned for the modern *bateas*. The "*bateas*" employed in early Spanish gold placering in the *tierra caliente* were likely fashioned from *Crescentia* gourds.

322 late beaters, and *malacates*, were made in Charapan
[438] and Cocucho, but this activity has now disappeared. Most of the turned objects are shaped from madroño wood (panáṣkʀa). Carving is done by pressing variously shaped steel chisels and gouges against the whirling block of wood.
[531] In Paracho, designs are painted and burned into objects, and the surface lacquered or varnished. The wheel lathe, an early Spanish introduction, is
[177] used by most cabinetmakers in the area for turning wood.

Cabinet work.—As mentioned earlier, cabinet work was rapidly adopted by Tarascan craftsmen in the early colonial period. In the 17th and 18th centuries inventories of miners' and merchants' household goods in west-central and northern Mexico rarely fail to mention chairs, tables, boxes "de Mechoacán." The majority of present Tarascan towns has at least one cabinetmaker who partially satisfies local demand for furniture. In
[438] Paracho, Corupo, and Cuanajo—the Tarascan furniture centers—carpenters make chairs, tables, bed frames. Cuanajo is famed for its wooden chests, which are marketed in all parts of Michoacán. Most furniture is made from pine wood with simple tools (saw, mallet, plane, chisel, gouge). As mentioned above, chair and table legs are turned on the wheel lathe (fig. 6). The more common jointing techniques used include mor-

325 southern and northern drainages of the lower
172 Balsas (Guerrero). However, the mines of
316 Inguarán in the northern drainage of the lower Balsas in Michoacán were the main source of the metal. Smaller deposits, such as those of Sinagua, were gophered over a wide area. The villages
[438] of La Huacana, Jicalán, Sinagua, and possibly Tzatzio appear to have been the chief pre-Columbian copper refining centers.[157]

325 Needing copper for the manufacture of brass
438 cannon, the Spaniards quickly levied tribute in copper bars on various pueblos in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins. Later, adventurers (in the name of the Crown) took over the native mines
[177] at Inguarán, probably introducing European smelting techniques. The main 16th-century Spanish smelting and refining center was Tzatzio, 10 miles each of Ario. This center was located within pine and oak forests, which afforded raw materials for charcoal, and was near the chief highway from Pátzcuaro to the *tierra caliente*. Copper ore and probably native copper was carried by Indians to Tzatzio from the Inguarán mines, which lay 15 miles to the south (AGN General de Parte, vol. 5, ff. 311–313, 1601). Tzatzio was probably an ancient copper center, and the experienced Tarascan metallurgists were retained by the Spaniards to continue with European methods. Before the end of the 16th century the Spanish Crown had established an *asiento* in the Michoacán copper industry, in order to insure a steady supply of metal for the foundaries in Mexico City.[158] Between 1607 and 1614

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[157] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540, state that the Spaniards exacted tribute of copper bars from La Huacana and Jicalán (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 123, 294). Moreover, every 20 days 20 Indians of Coyuca carried copper bars to Mexico (Ibid., p. 80). Coyuca, located near the confluence of the Balsas and Cutzamala Rivers, may have been a collecting point for small lots of copper refined in various pueblos of the middle Balsas drainage. At the end of the 16th century copper was still being mined, refined, and made into tools at Sinagua (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguasingo). Tzatzio was one of the first Spanish copper smelting centers in the area, and was probably an old Tarascan center as well (AGI And. de México, leg. 288). In passing, it should be noted that the old La Huacana was located near the Inguarán mines. In 1759 the town was destroyed by the eruption of Jorullo, and a new settlement, the La Huacana seen on modern maps, was established near Tamazuro 15 miles west of the old site (AGN Historia, vol. 72, ff. 262-294)

[158] Under the *asiento*, or contract, system, control of various industries was farmed out to private individuals. In the case of the copper industry of Michoacán, administrative control was purchased from the Crown for 6-year periods. The administrator was obliged to furnish the Government a stipulated amount of copper annually at a fixed price. In 1589 an official survey was made of the copper industry in Michoacán. The surveyor recommended that owing to forest depletion around Tzatzio and the consequent difficulty in charcoal supply, refining operations should be moved to Ario, near abundant pine forests (AGI And. de Mexico, leg. 288). It is doubtful that this move was made, since in 1607 copper was still being refined at Tzatzio (Zavala and Castillo, 1939-46, vol. 6, p. 166).

325 438 official copper refining operations had shifted 20 miles northward to Santa Clara (Villa Escalante), which has remained the copper center of Michoacán to this day (AGN Minería, vol. 22, exped. 3). In addition to copper bars for the royal artillery, the colonial administrators established the manufacture of caldrons and other copper vessels, which they sold to all parts of New Spain (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 389).[189] Colonial copper production, however, was not limited to the royal refineries at Santa Clara, for as late as 1789 braziers were still being made by native coppersmiths at Jicalán (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 366). Moreover, some copperwork was done in Pátzcuaro throughout the colonial period.[189]

Today the sole survivors of the former Tarascan copper industry are some 30 mestizo coppersmiths in Santa Clara, where the renowned *casos* (caldrons), vases, and bowls are still manufactured. Ore or native copper is no longer refined; instead, scrap copper is purchased, melted down, and cast in earthen molds. Sixteenth-century hand bellows are still used to force an air draft; charcoal is employed for fuel. The cast vessel is finished and hardened by alternate annealing and hammering.

Ironworking.—With its concomitant tools (bellows, hammers, anvils, tongs, etc.), ironworking
[177] was introduced into Tarascan economy early in the 16th century. Curiously, one Sierra village, San Felipe de los Herreros, became the foremost ironworking center of Michoacán during the colonial period and the early 19th century. In 1644 bridle bits, spurs, locks and keys were fashioned and marketed in surrounding Spanish and mestizo towns (Basalenque, 1886, vol. 1, p. 467). As late as 1851, 68 families (practically the entire town) were professional smiths, supplying the countryside with plow tips, hoe blades, axheads, woodworking tools, etc. In 1946 three

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[189] During the 17th century Tarascans from all parts of Michoacán were forced to work in the Inguarán mines and the *fundiciones* at Santa Clara. Most of the *fundidores* came from the *tierra caliente* and from the *tierra fría* towns of Zirosto and Pátzcuaro (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 192; vol. 7, p. 340). In 1789 there were 8 copper refineries at Santa Clara, each operated by 30 to 40 men (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 389).

[189] The Relación de Pátzcuaro of 1581 (p. 47) mentions "*herrerse y calderas.*" Basalenque (1886, vol. 1, p. 451), writing in 1644, states that copper bells were made in Pátzcuaro. As late as 1862 (Romero 1862, p. 7) writes of Pátzcuaro coppersmiths, who were refining ore from Inguarán and Churumuco. Several new copper deposits in Michoacan were exploited during the last quarter of the 18th century, e. g., the mines of Apupato, near the old site of Urecho (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 388) and those of Chirangangueo, near Tuzantla, south of Ziináro (AGN Minería, vol. 62, exped. 1; Martínez de Lejarza, 1854, p. 82).

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[147] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[148] [177] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanicization of the native population.[149]

The professional traders.—The *huacalero* (inspikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last 443 vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaiakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large 443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many 439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

[438] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and México. Regional
[443] handicrafts were represented as follows:

Article:	Origin	Vendors (number)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
Blankets	Jiquilpan	1 stall.
Rebozos	Paracho	1 stall.
Women's belts	Nahuatzen	1 stall.
Straw hats	Apo	1 stall.
Agave rope	Tarecuato	2 stalls.
Pottery	Patamban	12 stalls.
Pottery	Santa Fé	1 stall.
Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Peribán	1 stall.

[147] Cherán, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[148] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[609] [149] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the *ayuntamiento*, or town hall

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

Although they do not use the large *huacal*,
443 many women of the Sierra devote most of their
438 time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite
492 of inroads of motor transportation, still account
443 for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced
[177] services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacan, Ziristo, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ocote*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Sierra Tarascans

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When others of the more isolated and conservative Tarascan towns are studied, probably more games will come to light. In the more progressive towns, games seem to be almost totally lacking, except such Mexican innovations as card games. For example, at Cherán, which was the subject of intensive study, the only game encountered was *atáɹukuni* if one except the various European games of modern character. Even *atáɹukuni* is now rarely played and few of the young people known it.

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11: Boyá H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation. 82 [131]

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved. 173 793 773 82

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions. 173 829 [177]

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block. 131

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of Pre-Conquest days. 131 36 [173]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

[361] 133 361 463 438

178 179 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

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174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

[114] [172] [131]

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uaxcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 3]

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.

Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

291 of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of [885] an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

Today both men and boys wear the hair 302 short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only 178 one boy in Cherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remem- [856] bered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of 291 women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only

[Text continues on page 40 b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery ("*posición*") is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.87a]

435 exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure [177] of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Purépero, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have [465] paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.[26] The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

435 In general, the coming of the highway is
178 bringing higher prices for local products.
494

[26] It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.876]

178 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods
435 and products. Although little evidence is yet
494 visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .26
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00–[1]3.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Raiz de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

556 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and
423 agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

556 In terms of individual wealth, the basic
422 Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico. Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The [184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took [605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the [587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

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888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of [178] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a [759] *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the [366] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

759 All the curers (*curanderas*—šurijki; in other towns ¢inájpiri) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

765 these prayers, but it is not necessary for other
767 relatives to do so. However, if a relative attends the first day, he is obligated to continue the entire 9 days. On the ninth day, the *novena* is sometimes observed with prayers in the house. There is no purification or burning of incense or other materials in the house.

After the funeral, the parents or the surviv-
765 ing spouse may remain very sad. If it appears
[152] they may be made ill of "sadness," the relatives visit the survivors frequently, talking to them of things which they think may alleviate their condition and giving consolation. If this does not improve matters, they seek a curer who gives medicines.

A very few families pay for Masses for the deceased. More commonly, members of the family of the deceased will visit the church from time to time and burn candles and pray for the dead.

A few additional observations may be of interest. It is said that formerly the bells were
[178] tolled 10 or 12 times in the morning and afternoon when someone had died. This is not done now. The graveyard is on the lower edge of town and is surrounded by an adobe wall. In some cases the graves are paved with cobblestones or more elaborate masonry pavements. On rare occasions a tomb or head stone is erected, but in the majority of cases only a wooden cross is put up. The age of the present graveyard is unknown; the oldest date found on a grave was 1883. There is no evidence of offerings (except in connection with the Day of the Dead), although the graveyard is apparently visited at night by some people to judge by the presence of numerous partially burned pitch pine splinters about the entrance. All informants denied knowledge of such visits, however.

The major mourning ceremony is the Day
769 of the Dead, November 2. Several days before this date the graveyard is divided in four sections and the young men from each *barrio* are required by the municipal officials to clear the brush and weeds away from the entire cemetery. On November 1 everyone prepares quantities of nákatamales, a small tamale filled with beef in chile sauce and wrapped in husks rather than maize leaves. Fruit is also purchased and bread is made. A few make tamales for sale, but most people make their own.

177 both in formal religion and in witchcraft, are
181 certainly almost wholly European.

Despite the European origins of Tarascan culture, it obviously represents something different from the European-originated Mestizo culture. Neither is it a mere survival of sixteenth century conditions. If Vasco de Quiroga or any other sixteenth century European were to return to Cherán, he no doubt would find it as strange as any lay visitor from modern European culture. Nor would this strangeness be wholly or even primarily due to the infiltration of later European ideas.

The uniqueness of Cherán culture, whether viewed from the standpoint of the sixteenth century or from that of today, lies in the extensive reworking of its European materials. For example, the *cabildo* system seems almost certainly related to the organization of the hospitals introduced by Quiroga, yet the good Bishop might have to do considerable research to recognize the relationship. Such reworking may be due to the patterning influence of native ideas rather than to a spontaneous evolution of a purely European culture in the partial isolation of the late Colonial period. The character of such things as family life and attitudes and the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Cherán inhabitants may have been relatively unchanged, despite the modifications in material culture and social organization.

A subject meriting more thorough investiga-
178 tion in Cherán is the persistence of the mixed
181 culture of Cherán. The fierce attachment to *costumbres* is part of the acceptance of a way of life by most members of the community, even the most progressive. This attachment persists despite the fact that Cherán culture not only changes visibly but that such change is accepted and even desired by a large part of the population. The limits of acceptable change, however, need further definition. The impression of the staff of the present study is that change is accepted rather readily in those things relating to material welfare and perhaps health. Cherán residents are not averse to changes leading to more money, food, medical service (if it does not cost too much), or elements increasing comfort, such as a larger and better distributed water supply. The introduction of industries giving employment at

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 181 better wages would meet no opposition. Probably political reforms would have support if they clearly would provide more effective and representative self-government. Nevertheless, it seems probable that extensive changes in these fields would still leave Cherán life with a highly distinctive flavor. No matter how long Cherán residents have lived away from the community, and even if they have been born out of the community, they seem to accept a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which have not been successfully identified and analyzed in the present study.

In some measure a dichotomy of Cherán 121 culture is implied in the foregoing remarks. 181 The areas in which change is permissible and accepted may be identified as "secular" in the sense Robert Redfield (1941) has used the term in his studies of Yucatan culture change. Such a characterization might be misleading, however, for it seems doubtful if the term "sacred" can be applied equally well to the sectors of the culture where change is rejected. Certainly a Cherán resident would be nonplussed at the application of the term "sacred" to weddings and the obligations of kinship (although he might consider it properly applied to the *compadre* obligations). Primarily the sacred in Cherán is closely associated with the affairs of the Church, a view that is perhaps best high-lighted by the fact that those progressives who are most anticlerical (a position to be kept clearly distant from "anti-Catholic") are not opponents of the *costumbres*.

Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the processes again seem significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, Mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable Mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village of Yucatan hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U. S. A.), Mexico City, and Morelia (possibly in diminishing order) than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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[P. 6 contains no text]

1

INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. [161] They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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121 relations, occupation, ethnic origin, or religious background. Social classes are the main segments of this type. Within the national culture, every local and class group has a distinctive subculture. The peasants often appear to be the group with the highest degree of cultural distinctiveness.

National culture and society can not be described only in terms of local and class groups. Both these groups are tied together by institutions (money, trade, property, education, government, law, religion), whose personnel does not always coincide either with local or class groups and which often, as in the case of money or law, are not really the culture of a group but rather an expression of the economic, social and political relations between the different segments of society.[4]

In applying this approach to the Tarascan scene, the following reasoning can be put forth:

There are a Mexican people and a Mexican culture. The social system under which this people lives is characterized by a division into social classes. Every class has cultural peculiarities, *i. e.*, a class subculture. One (or several) of these classes are the peasants, people primarily engaged in the tilling of the soil. Correspondingly one could speak of a national peasant culture. Furthermore, these peasants live in rural settlements every one of which has a distinctive culture due to different native background and adaptations to local ecological and social conditions. In this sense every village can be said to have a local and class subculture, or folk culture for short.

Changes in the national cultures are the 177 sum total of changes in every subculture plus their interrelations. Some subcul- 178 tures, however, change more rapidly, or their changes are more decisive than others in determining changes in the other subcultures. In our case, given the backwardness of the Tarascan peasants and their lesser integration into national life, their villages are neither the sources of initiative for change nor the places where changes in the national culture are prepared. The Tarascans hold no key economic position and have no control of political power. They are, rather, in the position of receiving influences from the rest of the nation, and the stimuli for change often come from the outside.

4. Steward, 1949, 115.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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178 One might approach the question of change from two points of view: first, how
177 local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

121 In order to discuss the relation between folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

121 In the following table the culture of Tarascan villages is classified according to
105 this dichotomy:

FOLK	NATIONAL
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

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105

FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

121 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits
177 and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

In this sense we study a process of change
121 which is the same as that which Redfield
181 describes as a difference between a folk and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[778] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

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178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian
423 communities after Spanish townships, the Spaniards introduced into Mexico private
178 ownership of land. They acquired large estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic poli-
177 cies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest
794 landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the domi-
668 nant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] The main reason for the preservation of Indian communities seems to be that this area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
[132] character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] The changes within the surviving Indian
[578] towns can be described from two points of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1930, 86-90.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the
438 economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

Among the declining industries, the
178 most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 337.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 58-71.
56. Ibid., 64.
57. Ibid., 66.
58. Ibid., 70-71.
59. Ibid., 69.

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178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
178 chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City
and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
[323] tery has recently been selling to Mexico
City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending
in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
land tenure is the factor which has pro-
578 duced the conflicts during the revolution-
ary period. This holds true even for vil-
lages predominantly devoted to handi-
[438] crafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and
Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
175 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic
668 development of the country, a period of
unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood
both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 269] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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796 Different towns have reputations for giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an advanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.326] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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791 from Cocucho, her reputation and activities evaporated when in spite of her name she became pregnant.

668 Also, during this time of the government's limitation of priests, groups of
794 *cristeros*, in revolt against the government, operated in Michoacan.[58]

178 From about 1940, the agraristas lost control of many villages. They were able to stay in power only where they had been the majority. No study has been made of towns where the agraristas predominated. The communities studied are conservative and the agraristas were a minority. The study of Cherán[59] was made shortly after the agrarista group had been expelled. The author's field work was concentrated in a village where the anti-agrarista reaction was in power and had become affiliated with sinarquismo.

In describing the present economic situation we mentioned how the economic decline of the Indian communities is continuing in modern times. Since this economic decline was the cause for conflict in the sphere of the cult, the question naturally arises about the policy of this strongly religious reaction in regard to the old cargo system.

Following the success of the anti-agrarista reaction, the cult has again been allowed in villages where it had been forbidden, and fiestas are celebrated again, but there is no blooming again of the traditional cabildo; the decay of the old cargo system continues. Within the Catholic reaction to the agraristas we can see differences arising between more traditional and more modern elements; these differences are manifest in connection with religion and cargos.

Through the changes taking place in the political-religious organization, the cabildo became independent of the village civil administration, and, although connected with the priest, it arranged the festivals and the concession of sponsorships independently. As the organizer of the folk cult activities, it can be taken as the organization most purely representing the folk aspects of the local culture. It is in a position to resist national inroads on the folk culture either from the priest, who wants to change the festivals, or from the government, which wants to suppress the religious cult. As long as the elders have any political power within the community,

58. Foster, 1948, 178.
59. Beals, 1946.

668 the cabildo is neither official nor related to the national or state government.

●178 794 Correspondingly, there are people — we shall call them traditionalists — for whom religion means fundamentally the festivals to the saints, organized by the cargueros and the cabildo, and their meetings, inaugurations, and ceremonies. They speak of the need to continue the cargos and the fiestas and to resume the meetings of the cabildo. They even oppose the priests who attempt to suppress cargos or to modify the festivals, and they look down upon fellow villagers who do not care to take cargos, considering them unfit for leadership within the community.

These folk values are under attack by individuals who, although religious, are drifting away from the traditional organization and becoming closer to the Church. These may be called militant Catholics.

The trend is primarily against the cabildo as a clique of those who, through wealth and age, have passed through the cargos and reached eldership, and try to control cult organization. Also, the individual sponsorship as practiced by the cabildo included heavy expenses in connection with presents and banqueting for cabildo members. The trend is toward less drunkenness and toward making sponsorship less expensive.

The changes in organization cause the cult to be more strictly dependent on either the Church or the town government, i. e., on local branches of national institutions as against the former almost purely locally organized cabildo.

Thus to some extent the conflict appears as one between the priest and the conservative cabildo. The priest, of course, tries to lead the natives into more orthodox practices so that he attempts to suppress some of the folk customs and excessive drunkenness. The basic point is that he is only the incentive and leading force for those town elements who want the changes themselves.

The initiative often comes from the townspeople, from those whom we called militant Catholics. In Cherán some of the people organized a town meeting to ask that the cabildo be suppressed because of the excessive gifts they demanded from those aspiring to sponsorship, because their festivals and meetings were occasions for drunkenness, and because they stole from the church (a discussion having arisen as to the use the cabildo made of

668 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking).
●178 They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was
794 not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

[793] In Jarácuaro, where there was no resident priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

[656] In some cases the new civil authorities intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. *Ibid.*, 134 ff.
61. *Ibid.*, 143-44, 215-19.
62. *Ibid.*, 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 201-202.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 349] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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668 On the other hand, the intervention of the civil authorities reflects increasing secularization of the main festivals. It takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

178 794

The trend of change is not only to shift control from the cabildo to either the priest or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; and instead of the carguero sponsor, there is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

178 794 [624]

This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan: the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of offce. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero system. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 120-127; Foster, 1948, 204ff, 215ff.
65. Beals, 1946, 106, 130.
66. Foster, 1948, 196, 198.
67. *Ibid.*, 198, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 130, 136, 137.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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794 uals can be found to sponsor festivals. The fact remains, though, that the opposite
178 tendency making for decay of the mayordomías seems to be stronger.

794 In spite of the changes devised to preserve the festivals and the desire to continue them, the old fact of their being an economic burden still continues. During the short time when the field work for the Tarascan project was done, a number of fiestas were not celebrated because nobody was available to see to the expenses or because of the current conflict between the cargueros and the priest. Thus in Cherán, 1940, dances for Santa Nieves, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the pastorela of the shepherdesses were not celebrated.[69] In Tzintzuntzan, the cargueros of La Soledad were not functioning since the priest had suppressed them in 1942.[70] The festival of the patron saint failed in Jaracuaro in 1945 because of lack of enough sponsors.

The new commissioner who substitutes for the old carguero can find his duty too much like that of his predecessor, his contribution being too high. In Cherán in 1940, one of the four commissioners named by the town officials to act as Moro dancers avoided the performance and only three Moros danced.[71]

668 This new trend away from folk festivals and toward a closer dependence on the
794 priest is, therefore, also one toward both more orthodox Catholicism and secularization of the festivals. It finds more ready
178 support among the villagers who have become associated with sinarquismo, and whose relation to the Church is close and similar to that of allegiance to a political party. Conversely, the priest often supports and fosters the spread of sinarquismo among the townspeople. Not only does he attack the old organization of cargueros and try to have a new one under his control, but he uses their influence to attack the government and schools, and to support the sinarquista schools and propaganda.[72]

* * *

The economic developments of the Indian communities outlined in Chapter 2 have been causing the disruption of folk cult celebrations because of the economic burden of their financing.

In connection with the agraristas, a radical trend for change arises which, spurred by the cult rôle in the impoverishment of

69. Ibid., 136, 138, 149.
70. Foster, 1948, 198.
71. Beals, 1946, 121.
72. Foster, 1948, 175, 184-186, 193.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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some villagers and by the anticlerical policy of the government, aims at abolishing the cult. But as in the economic sphere, this movement does not succeed in making change permanent because of the survival of the villages' economic foundation and their folk culture. There is a return to the cult, although the economic situation forces changes in its organization: decline of the body of the folk officers (cabildo); increased control by the priest; abolition of some folk ceremonies; organization of the main festivals by the civil administration as secular affairs; change from organization by an individual sponsor (carguero) carrying all the financial burden, to that of a number of commissioners sharing in the organization and the collection of contributions from the whole community. The decline of folk festivals and the greater control by the priest lead to a more orthodox Catholicism, and the influence of sinarquismo, in which allegiance to the

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Church is of a political nature, brings the local subculture closer to the national culture. These changes show the trend through which the folk religion might disappear completely (lack of cult sponsors, control by the priests, or the success of the anticlericals), but the simplification of ceremonials and the new forms of organization are also a means by which the folk religion survives, on an organizational basis better suited to the changed economic and social order. As in economics, the basic traits of the village community survive. A stable situation, however, is not reached. Conflict continues, because of the same forces which caused the changes described: the economic impossibility or unattractiveness of the festivals, and the ceremonials under attack by the priest. These trends go on disrupting the folk culture, but they are not strong enough to break it completely. As in economics, a state of latent conflict continues.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

000 In the preceding chapter, changes in the organization and ceremonials of folk Catholicism have been examined, as affected by economic and social developments within the local and the national cultures. The trends in religious ideas and folklore will presently be discussed as related to those same factors, and particularly to the political conflict whose relation to religion and the cult organization has been described.

771 An important trait of Tarascan folk Catholicism (as of Catholicism in general) is the ethical nature of its ideology, dominated by concepts of good and evil. Non-ethical concepts are relegated to a second plane constituting mere miscellaneous beliefs, or, in so far as they form a system of ideas, are part of wider concepts dominated by an ethical dichotomy.

771 178 In examining the relation of such a religion to social change, we find an interesting problem of how the social values at stake in the economic and social conflict are reflected in religious ideology. What do religious ideas tell about the agraristas, about the cargo system of sponsoring festivals, about the sinarquistas who are militantly Catholic and yet to some extent are in conflict with the traditional cult system? Is conflict between national influences on the folk culture and folk resistance to change reflected in the folklore? What is the attitude of different political groups toward the existing body of religious ideology?

In order to discuss this relation of religious ideology to social change, an outline of religious ideas and beliefs, as dominated by the good and evil concept, will be presented. This outline is based on folk narratives, mainly myths and experiences with the supernatural, which express religious concepts. A discussion of narrative types will be sketched in order to place them in a wider setting.

The social values sanctioned in religious ideology will then be examined. It will be seen that primarily they endorse the values of the traditional folk culture although they are in conflict with influences from the national culture. Also, in the same way as the ideology of folk Catholicism is part of the wider Catholic religion,

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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771 178 it also sanctions the national values of the Church. Political conflict mentioned in folklore seems to reflect almost exclusively the conservative point of view. Religious people can put it to use to point out the wisdom of following their party and to present the opponent as wicked.

The tendencies which are disrupting the folk culture do not create a new body of folklore. Even religious people, like the sinarquistas, allied to the church, keep only that part of the religion which is more orthodox, and neglect that which is purely folk. Here, as with the agraristas, changes in the religious ideology and folklore do not create a new folklore but induce changes in the *function* of the old, leading to obsolescence. The different attitudes of belief will consequently be considered.[1]

Main Traits of Tarascan Religious Ideology

538 In contrast to what is reported for other Mexican folk cultures[2] the Tarascans do not classify their folk narratives into well defined types according to the story's characters or the didactical or recreative use of the tale. All tales are called *uandánękua*, (from *uandáni*, to tell, to speak; in Spanish, *cuento*). Sometimes, at least in Jarácuaro, the Spanish word (pronounced *kuéntu*) is used in Tarascan discourse. Its meaning, however, seems to be synonymous with *uandánękua*. Everything which is told can be called a tale. This does not mean of course that all narratives are of the same type; it means only that Tarascan culture and language do not recognize standard categories of tales. Different types are to some extent recognized in that some are told as true experiences, usually giving concrete place and personal names, while in others the action takes place in unnamed places and among unknown people. Informants are themselves aware of this possible distinction. Sometimes the word *uandánękua* (or *kuéntu*) is

1. This chapter is based almost exclusively on the author's field work. A complete field report will contain a full collection of tales. As this is not yet published, references to it are not possible. Most information comes from Jarácuaro, a strongly religious and conservative village, with sinarquismo as the dominant tendency.
2. M. Redfield, 1935.

539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found 181 only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credulous attitude on many points, but some 178 skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

"Who knows, really?" or "Who knows 821 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world, 812 the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

771 the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an
[539] easy life, that of a sorcerer.'

This basic trend of change is found in both convinced agraristas and militant
771 Catholics, but there are also differences which warrant a discussion.

●178 The disbelief attitude is sometimes pushed to an extreme, including doubt as to
668 religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

178 These people scorn the others as superstitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experi-
771 ences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

> ". . . And as in this town there are a lot
> [539] of superstitious people, the following day . . .
> the woman praying the rosary began shouting
> and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of
> [781] blood because Saint Peter had left . . . And
> what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

771 For the militant Catholics, agraristas are nothing but atheists. They describe
668 them as people who have no religion, as is proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

These communities began to decline in
621 the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and
178 tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

The loss of Indian lands to haciendas
423 diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within
182 the Indian communities the economic im-
178 pact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the [illegible] system of organizing the religious [illegible] no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be
[794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a
[795] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

The factors disrupting the folk culture
182 are evident in the folk ideology as it con-
178 demns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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178 greater acceptance of outside authority in
182 questions of ideology. Also the institutions, such as sponsorships of festivals, sanctioned by the folk ideology, were now against the interests of people within the community.

178 The former forces of change led to conflict within the villages incited by the
668 Mexican Revolution and subsequent agrarian reforms. Different political trends became discernible within the villages and the people in them had different religious aspirations and policies.

Agrarista groups were formed. In Mexico agraristas are peasants who receive land (usually from former haciendas) under the terms of the agrarian reforms. Such groups exist in some Tarascan villages which were close to haciendas, but in the conservative villages studied, agraristas are groups within the village, organized to take over lands which had been lost to outsiders, or which either belonged to larger landowners within the village or were communal property. In religion they aim at abolishing the cult. They particularly forbid the sponsorship and celebration of festivals, for they see in them the cause for the loss of their lands. Consequently the body of officers organizing those festivals is also suppressed. Belief in God and the saints may be kept and folk narratives are still told which express the old local community values but there is a considerable lack of belief in an ideology which sanctions what they oppose, including the Church. Some can be easily convinced by the anti-religious teachings of outside radicals.

In the conservative communities studied, since the agraristas formed a privileged minority, a reaction arose which finally prevailed. This reaction suppressed the privileges of the agraristas, gained control of the local government, and restored the cult. Within this reaction two trends in religious policies can be discerned. One group, which might be called traditionalist, favors following the cult as of old with the earlier system of sponsorships and a revival of the political and social importance of the sponsors within the community. In ideology it correlates with total belief in

178 668 the content of folklore and this folklore is used to prove agrarista wickedness.

178 668 771 The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church politically. This group restores the cult but the old causes for decline of the folk religion are seen in their policy. They sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

178 182 One can see clearly the forces of change which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in
241 the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11b--ANALYST]

TARASCAN
POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 One of the outstanding developments in Ta-
rascan history has been the drastic areal recession
● 178 of indigenous speech. Today the territory in
which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents
171 only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the
191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign
563 tongues existed; these represented colonies settled with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 11b--ANALYST]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 178 [166] An interesting aspect of cottage industries is their ephemeral character. Owing to movement of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[184] The pottery industry in Santa Fé [323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was [294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan [282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft [325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[184] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 30 towns and ranches.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 62b]

438 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest
463 times, have completely disappeared. The fine Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924,
178 pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground pith of maize stalks, from which various objects (mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then disappeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican kitchens,[125] and tile roofing is used extensively in

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* 186 *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 554 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally 535 performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[122] Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
[114] during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan
area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on
the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about
fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to
be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanan-
cha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but ap-
parently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it
had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoa-
443 cán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal
requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of
merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make
the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several
places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second
Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday
has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the
year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious
aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special
church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people be-
cause they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The
clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday
then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had
been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the
present parish priest was in residence.

178 But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
533 holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same special-
ized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about
the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the
time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to
have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the
trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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beaters, *rebosos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and 178
giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, 796
although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various [467]
reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community 796
"played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took 578
place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected [622
mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. 662]
The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and 533
woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as 796
the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances per- 535
formed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day 796

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored [574 by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in 273] nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

538 Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." 535 He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, 178 very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar 535 dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said 746 it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week 114 after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 388.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

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In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

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From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).

[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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1948—some of the earlier functions of the office had disappeared and little save the outer formality of the performance of the dance remained. The fact that the performance has not yet been entirely eliminated indicates that the dance still holds meaning for at least some of the members of the community. It may do no more than give status and prestige to the families of the girls who take part. Yet if this is so, it is of some interest that this method of gaining position in the community continues to be recognized and approved. On the other hand, it seems plausible to explain the survival of the dance of the Huananchichas as a loose bond between the earlier sacred beliefs, practices and orientations of the community and the newer, more secular, emphases which are continually gaining ground. For the majority of the younger members of the audience it may well have been that the performance of the dance held no very deep emotional significance, that it was merely another spectacle of the Corpus Christi fiesta. Many of the older people, on the other hand, seemed to derive genuine satisfaction from its performance, if only because it reminded them of the past.

Detroit, Michigan

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8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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increase in reported Indian parents by the older group may also reflect awareness of the social changes which have been occurring over the decades, and the heavy incidence of Indian parents reported may merely be a reflection of the fact that "things were not always thus." One elderly man, commenting on the changes which he had seen in Paracho since his youth, said, "In that time the people spoke only Tarascan, and the race was *naturalito*, all *Indios* here. Since the burning of the town (in 1917 during the 1910-1920 Revolution) the people speak only Castilian."

TABLE 2

AGE OF RESPONDENT AND REPORTED RACE OF PARENTS

Age of Informant	Fathers		Mothers	
	Indian	Mestizo	Indian	Mestiza
Under 20	5	5	6	4
21-30	20	18	18	20
31-40	28	32	33	27
41-50	36	18	37	17
51-60	30	10	34	6
61 and over	22	4	20	6
Total	141	87	148	80

These explanations are admittedly not biological. Indeed, it can be demonstrated empirically that to the extent to which the question aroused any interest at all, the residents of Paracho are not concerned with genetic (racial) explanations. Of thirty-seven explanations as to why their parents are considered to be Indian the following reasons were given: the parents were "from here in Paracho" in thirteen instances; they were "born in Paracho" in nine instances; they were said to have been born "in an Indian place" in nine instances; they were described as descended (in the male line) from those who had come to Paracho from Paracho Viejo in the 16th century in five instances. The eight other reasons included the following: "Because in 1901 the people were more *Natural* and today they are more civilized"; "parent is *Indigena*, but on the basis of color is with the French or the Spanish"; "All of us are pure people, Indians — we are of this population"; "In that time there were no mixtures"; "More Indian than *de razon*, like it still is, *Natural*, no?" and finally, "Indian, the same as the rest of us."

From the twenty-one explanations concerning Mestizo parents the following tabulation results. In seven instances the parent concerned was said to have been born elsewhere. In four instances the parents are described as Mestizo because they do not, or did not, speak Tarascan. In two cases the parents were "more white." In two responses they were "like ourselves" (*i.e.*, the speakers). And in one instance the parents were considered to be Mestizo because they were born in Paracho. Of the miscellaneous reasons the following are illustrative: ". . . my father is a little Spanish, the Indians don't have a beard." "They were *de razon*, but from the *ranchos*." One man said he did not know how to answer as his parents

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of [361] the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of 133 361 463 438 the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

● 178 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, 179 whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright ~~000~~ red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German [114] scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable [172] sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early [131] date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 823 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 [539] [361] The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most significant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to furnish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 584 [178] The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 49 [539] The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [1997]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
597

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

177 and its general technologies and material culture are almost exclusively European. It is presumably European in its individual land ownership and inheritance, though the assumption that aboriginal America had collective land ownership needs further proof. Wholly European is its cash system, involving even a monetary standard of values, loans made for interest, and the purchase from elsewhere of most goods other than the local agricultural and forest products. It might be expected that these European economic patterns would have repercussions in other aspects of the culture; actually, the degree of Hispanicization of religious and social life is astonishing. Religion is strictly Catholic, witchcraft is European in type, and even the curers with their herbs and applications betray virtually nothing that is clearly aboriginal. Cherán's large, compact community of 5,000 persons is seemingly in the Spanish rather than Indian settlement pattern (a problem to be solved by archeology), and it may have been facilitated partly by the use of pack animals for transportation. The social configurations are likewise Spanish: the family, with a large circle of relatives by blood and marriage; the innumerable godparents; the *mayordomías* (festivals for the saints); the elaborate wedding ceremonies; and the dances, music, games, and other recreations.

With virtually all aspects of Cherán culture
181 that can be formally categorized clearly Spanish
in origin, why is Cherán considered Indian?
177 Cherán's strong attachment to the locality, to the local group, and to traditional culture characterizes many other "Indian" communities in Mexico, Central America, and the Andes. The essential characteristic of an "Indian" would seem to be his failure to integrate emotionally and actively with national life rather than a demonstrable aboriginal content in his culture. The culture that he preserves in com-

[p. 17 b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

177 parative isolation may, in fact, be far more
that of 16th-century Spain than that of native
181 America. This is not to say, however, that a
pure 16th-century Spanish culture survives anywhere. In the case of Cherán, Beals suggests that the distinctive characteristics may represent the "pattern influence of native ideas" on European features, together with the effects of Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's application of Thomas More's "Utopia." For historical anthropology, these communities clearly pose important problems concerning 16th-century Spanish culture, its imposition through the conquistadors and priests on the Indians, and the subsequent long interval during which many areas stabilized their culture in comparative isolation.

Despite being considered Indian, Cherán seems to contain the potentialities for rapid acculturation. Its essential economic patterns will, so far as local productivity through agriculture or manufactures permit, facilitate further economic development as the new highway

[p. 7 a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

177 stimulates increased commerce with other
181 areas. Its essentially Spanish social patterns and its present proletariat consciousness and political sense seem to afford a ready basis for further assimilation of national culture through the informal means of outside contacts and the more formal means of governmental programs. Its strong Catholic background will pave the way for further Church influence. One cannot
000 predict the future of such a community in detail, for it will depend partly upon national and even international developments as well as upon Cherán's reaction to them. General trends are now observable among comparable communities; and the work that the Institute of Social Anthropology is now carrying on in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of Mexico among other Tarascan villages that have slightly different characteristics and degrees of acculturation and the Institute's studies in other parts of Latin America will yield data that will both clarify general trends and high-light local peculiarities.

[p. 7 b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.586]

184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

511 The motivations of consumption appear
181 several. Primary is the need of food, shelter, and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case
[626] the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

556 In general, wealthy people do not display their wealth ostentatiously except through
511 undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
428 sons remain in the family group and which
593 function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

All inheritances are supposed to be registered
428 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

Even though many details of the economic
181 system of Cherán are still not known in detail,
556 some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

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[p.91a]

181 with the larger national economy. Some of the
556 deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

[text continues on top of p.91b]

THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in
128 several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an admin-
632 istrative unit, smaller than the usual county in
634 the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

[text continues on middle of p. 91b]

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[P.91b]

181 poor indeed if there should be a maize shortage.
556 Even in normal times, the man who has to buy maize is pitied, even though he has plenty of money.

Although further analysis might be desirable, it also seems that the emphasis on nonproductive expenditures is higher in Cherán than in our own culture. The outlay in cash and goods involved in religious festivals, weddings, and similar events, seems much higher proportionately. Men often forego material advantage also for the spiritual rewards of offices connected with the church, an aspect which has not yet been discussed but which will be described later in detail. It seems doubtful if the motivations in these cases correspond entirely to those of the "conspicuous expenditures" of our own society.

THE COMMUNITY

632 the population live in the *cabecera*. Subordi-
634 nate to the *cabecera* ordinarily are a number of *tenencias*, villages of several hundred to more than a thousand population, and rancherias or other small units. All these subordinate units are administered from the *cabecera* through local, appointed delegates, the *jefes de tenencia*. Theoretically the residents in the *tenencias* and other units play an equal part with the inhabitants of the *cabecera*; in practice, government is controlled from the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the usual pattern in that the *municipio* consists of the *cabecera* and one small rancheria. Cherán, the town, is thus about twice as large as most Tarascan *cabeceras*, although the *municipio* has about the same population as others. Formerly the situation was somewhat different, with the *tenencia* of Cheranástico forming part of the *municipio*. As the result of circumstances to be related later, the people of Cheranástico withdrew from the *municipio* of Cherán and now form part of the *municipio* of Paracho. Had the population of Cheranástico been sufficiently large, it might even have become a separate *municipio*. The withdrawal of Cheranástico emphasizes the fact that *cabeceras* and *tenencias* have their respective boundaries within the larger limits of the *municipio*.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.2106]

769 graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day.

Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames [822] of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

The present study of Cherán reveals a num- 177 ber of points of considerable interest. Perhaps 181 the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation ~~of~~ Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

177 both in formal religion and in witchcraft, are
181 certainly almost wholly European.

Despite the European origins of Tarascan culture, it obviously represents something different from the European-originated Mestizo culture. Neither is it a mere survival of sixteenth century conditions. If Vasco de Quiroga or any other sixteenth century European were to return to Cherán, he no doubt would find it as strange as any lay visitor from modern European culture. Nor would this strangeness be wholly or even primarily due to the infiltration of later European ideas.

The uniqueness of Cherán culture, whether viewed from the standpoint of the sixteenth century or from that of today, lies in the extensive reworking of its European materials. For example, the *cabildo* system seems almost certainly related to the organization of the hospitals introduced by Quiroga, yet the good Bishop might have to do considerable research to recognize the relationship. Such reworking may be due to the patterning influence of native ideas rather than to a spontaneous evolution of a purely European culture in the partial isolation of the late Colonial period. The character of such things as family life and attitudes and the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Cherán inhabitants may have been relatively unchanged, despite the modifications in material culture and social organization.

A subject meriting more thorough investiga-
178 tion in Cherán is the persistence of the mixed
181 culture of Cherán. The fierce attachment to *costumbres* is part of the acceptance of a way of life by most members of the community, even the most progressive. This attachment persists despite the fact that Cherán culture not only changes visibly but that such change is accepted and even desired by a large part of the population. The limits of acceptable change, however, need further definition. The impression of the staff of the present study is that change is accepted rather readily in those things relating to material welfare and perhaps health. Cherán residents are not averse to changes leading to more money, food, medical service (if it does not cost too much), or elements increasing comfort, such as a larger and better distributed water supply. The introduction of industries giving employment at

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 better wages would meet no opposition. Prob-
181 ably political reforms would have support if they clearly would provide more effective and representative self-government. Nevertheless, it seems probable that extensive changes in these fields would still leave Cherán life with a highly distinctive flavor. No matter how long Cherán residents have lived away from the community, and even if they have been born out of the community, they seem to accept a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which have not been successfully identified and analyzed in the present study.

In some measure a dichotomy of Cherán
121 culture is implied in the foregoing remarks.
181 The areas in which change is permissible and accepted may be identified as "secular" in the sense Robert Redfield (1941) has used the term in his studies of Yucatan culture change. Such a characterization might be misleading, however, for it seems doubtful if the term "sacred" can be applied equally well to the sectors of the culture where change is rejected. Certainly a Cherán resident would be nonplussed at the application of the term "sacred" to weddings and the obligations of kinship (although he might consider it properly applied to the *compadre* obligations). Primarily the sacred in Cherán is closely associated with the affairs of the Church, a view that is perhaps best high-lighted by the fact that those progressives who are most anticlerical (a position to be kept clearly distant from "anti-Catholic") are not opponents of the *costumbres*.

Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the processes again seem significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los decentos* and *los correctos*, Mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable Mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village of Yucatan hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U. S. A.), Mexico City, and Morelia (possibly in diminishing order) than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is

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[p.212a]

12| Mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealiza-
181 tion of a Colonial past. (Pátzcuaro has not been studied but apparently the social structure is fairly rigidly fixed in terms of the families whose signatures occur on last Colonial charter of the town with relatively little modification by present economic or occupational conditions.)

12| As indicated in the introduction, the study of Cherán thus far has been conducted in a single time dimension. Ultimately, considerable light can be shed on the present culture by relating it to its historical background. Tarascan culture seems not to have been static in pre-European times and to have changed greatly both during and after the Colonial period. Materials are probably sufficiently abundant to permit study of change in enough detail to give some knowledge of processes. Of particular interest would be a study of contemporary culture in the light of the utopian ideas of Quiroga, ideas that to a considerable degree seem to have been translated into a functioning system.

Many problems related to the individual in Cherán need further attention. The role of women in Cherán could not be adequately studied for reasons already explained; it would not be too much to say that the present study gives merely the masculine culture of Cherán. Such problems as the significance of witchcraft and its relation to personality structure and emigration should be fruitful. The pattern of growth and development and child rearing undoubtedly has bearing on this point. Similarly rewarding should be a deeper investigation of the curious contradiction between the normal concealment or denial of wealth and its ostentatious display in connection with the wedding ceremonies. The characteristics of Cherán culture and Cherán personalities which seem to make it possible for individuals to adapt readily to the outside world, spend years in the heart of industrialized civilization, yet be reabsorbed wholly into the local situation on their return should offer fruitful problems for investigation. Likewise the influence of the returning emigrant on present conditions in Cherán should be more thoroughly understood.

Most of the foregoing suggestions for study involve the role of the individual and the relationship between the individual and culture. To this field of investigation also are related

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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105

FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

121 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits
177 and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

In this sense we study a process of change
121 which is the same as that which Redfield describes as a difference between a folk
181 and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.9b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

121 181 historically those segments of our Western civilization among which industrialism did not arise (peasantry and colonial peoples), and among which its influences were latest to act. Thus, although in many basic economic, social and religious aspects the Tarascans are incorporated into Western society and must be considered part of it, they still keep many traits and institutions which characterize their subcultures as more similar in many respects to the primitive than to our civilization.

* * *

The present paper is an attempt to pre-
121 sent the relation between local and national cultures as seen in one aspect of culture, in this case religion. The problem is to see how changes in the economic and social structure of Mexico in general and the Tarascan area in particular affect the development of Tarasan folk religion. National processes such as the loss of communal ownership of land, the separation of Church and State, the capitalist development of Mexico, the Mexican agrarian revolution, the anticlerical movement and the rise of a militant Catholic movement among the peasantry will be discussed in their local manifestations and their effect on religion.

The economic structure of the peasant
128 communities will be outlined first in order to provide a socio-economic background to
121 our problem. The type of village community which is based on communal ownership of land — a type which was formed during colonial times by a blending of Spanish and Indian institutions — will be described first. The formation of large private estates *(haciendas)* from early colonial times on, and the abolition of communal ownership of land (1857-1910) impoverished the communities and increased the differences in wealth among the villagers. During the Mexican Revolution (1910 on) groups of peasants organized to obtain land from neighboring estates. In most Tarascan towns, which had no such estates in their neighborhood, these agraristas, lacking haciendas, seized properties from richer villagers or from formerly communal lands. Thus a new privileged minority was formed. The majority of the villages reacted against these reformers and in most cases won power in the local administrations. (Chapter 2.)

The main traits of the folk religion, the system of financing the cult, and the close relation between government and local organization of the cult will be examined in

668 of stealing because it distributed the haciendas, it does not propagandize a return to the old order. It is supported by small farmers and even ejidatarios dissatisfied with the course of the land reforms. It promises the ejidatarios to rid them of the new bosses born of the Revolution and to give them as outright private property their ejido plots which now are ultimately owned by the State.

668 465 Since the late 'thirties, the period when land reforms were more or less completed, the real wages in the countryside have been in decline[21] due mainly to wartime inflation. This fact together with the in-
[452] ability of the government to provide agricultural credit indicates the difficult situation of the countryside and explains the rapid growth of a protest movement like sinarquismo.[22]

668 The opposition to the agraristas and to the government which had arisen in many Tarascan towns has lately merged with sinarquismo. Sinarquista units function in many villages and many Tarascans are members of the party.

423 181 In the present situation, with the agrarian revolt receded, the Indian village communities, although greatly impaired, show a persistence of an economic foundation which is the basis for the survival of the

21. Whetten, 1948, 262.
22. Gill, 1944; Padilla, 1948; Whetten, 1948, 494-522.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.22b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

4/23 181 folk culture: some remaining communal property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

182 In spite of this conservatism, however, the decline of the village community goes on. The concentration of land in haciendas, 423 the main process by which the village communities tended to disappear, has been 621 checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The government's restrictions on the use of forests or [656] the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

579 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found
181 only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credul-
178 ous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

"Who knows, really?" or "Who knows
821 what the truth is?" is a common answer
812 to questions about the nature of the world, the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

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871 They learn something of natural history, such as major classifications of things in the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms.

A few ambitious families send one or more
874 of their children to high school in Morelia or to an agricultural school. Some are sent to the boarding school at Paracho, where they receive some education in a trade and in farming. A few also may go to Mexico City, and a case or two were discovered of children studying law or medicine. However, it is doubtful whether 2 dozen families in Cherán have sent their children on to advanced school training.

With all due acknowledgement of the effort
871 and sincerity involved in the school system, the Cherán schools do not train children in any
● 182 real sense for life in Cherán. The average Cherán resident completing the school training has little advantage over his unschooled fellows in following the farming routines of the community. If he can read and write he perhaps has some less chance of being swindled in business transactions and more opportunity of rising to some municipal office. If his education is effective, however, and is put to use, it is by moving out of the basic pattern of Cherán. Such a person may become a storekeeper or a mill operator, where his education will be of some slight service to him. The major advantage of school training is to better equip some individuals to cope with the Mestizo world which impinges on Cherán to some extent. Even so, the school child acquires little knowledge of rights and responsibilities in a larger world. Insofar as the education is effective and is utilized—and this is even more markedly true of those going on for more advanced education—the effect is to move the individual out of the culture of Cherán. If he stays in Cherán he tends to become an exploiter rather than a producer, or to occupy a position where he furnishes some liason between the rest of the population and the Mestizo world. Or, more commonly, he moves out of the Cherán culture completely, residing in some other part of Mexico. Only to a very small extent and in a very limited number of cases does an individual become a better producer, that is, a better farmer; or practice a trade learned through schools; or become a force and example guiding the community to better housing, reformed

871 diets, better health practices, or higher stan-
182 dards of community organization. Formal education is still not geared to the needs and problems of Cherán life and is and will remain relatively ineffective until it becomes of obvious utility to the average Cherán resident. In other words, until the educational process is conceived of first of all from the standpoint of Cherán culture, instead of from the standpoint of national needs or theories, it will not be effective. And when education becomes geared to Cherán needs, paradoxically, it can then be effectively geared to national objectives.

YOUTH

882 The period of youth is very short in Cherán for most persons and there is no clearly defined lower limit to it. Boys seem to be regarded as youths when they are able to do a man's work or to be self-supporting but have not yet married. Marriage puts a termination to the period, although the young married man may still be under the tutelage of his parents. Still, after marriage a boy will be consulted in all family affairs; before marriage he normally will not be consulted unless he is much older than the age at which most Cherán youths are married. By 15 practically every Cherán youth is either earning his own living in part by working for wages or is working regularly on the family estate, taking a full man's share of the labors. In individual cases this may be true of youths as young as 12. Unmarried
883 youths of 16 to 18 do not spend much of their free time at home; indeed, they may not even eat at home regularly. They tend to hang around the streets in gangs in their spare time. They spend a good deal of time in one of the
[529] two billiard parlors which modern civilization has brought to Cherán, where they may gamble
[525] on billiards at 50 centavos a game, or may be drawn into card games, or may begin drinking. However, few of the youngsters go around the saloons very much, nor are many of them prone to drink excessively. In such groups will be concerted many of the "stealings" which are the preliminaries to marriage. At this period
882 boys in general are rather antisocial and appear to have some conflict with their parents. They feel they are growing up very fast and are impressed by the age gap which separates them

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
584 forced but went willingly. There is no reason to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am not concerned in the matter but come to speak for the parents of the groom. They have come as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the evening the father returned and agreed to the marriage, but he said little and clearly was angry.

162 One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
585 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
602 counts is important: the new marriage means that the two families, in the most extended sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male relatives will help to move a house or roof a house, while the bride's female relatives will be called on to work in the kitchen on the same occasions. Both families will likewise be concerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in varying degree, especially when a grandchild marries at some future date.

585 The function of the wedding as an occasion for celebration, the release of tensions through drinking, the provision of diversion with the dancing, and the general stimulus through extensive social interaction is very considerable. For the participants, weddings probably rank as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for social contacts and amusement.

585 A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
987 weddings is the much greater participation of the older women. Young women with children usually do not take a very active part in the kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the exchange of clothing. The old women, on the other hand, are in the forefront of all activities. Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in many respects. Old women are the most active in the kitchen. They are the first to start drinking, although they rarely drink to the excess common among the men, and they are the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the playing of dance music has an almost compulsive effect. Time and again, when dance music is being played, even though it is not time for dancing, some of the old women will be seen quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

585 Although the ceremonies of marriage are
587 most elaborate in the case of first marriages, often marriages of widows or widowers are

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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I

INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

123 The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

● 182 The problem, then, of integrating the phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

121 The concept of folk culture as something different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
quently, everyone tries to have land in at least
621 two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
152 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No
433 doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depend-
433 ing on crafts, to the national and world markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, be-
cause of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 29.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 148-8, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

423 folk culture: some remaining communal
181 property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

In spite of this conservatism, however,
182 the decline of the village community goes on. The concentration of land in haciendas,
423 the main process by which the village com-
621 munities tended to disappear, has been checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The government's restrictions on the use of forests or
[656] the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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and the cult is also part of the national Catholic cult, we find acceptance of two kinds of outside opinions. Some people rely more than before on the authority of the Church in questions of belief, while others criticize the Church in the same manner as the anticlericals throughout the country.

With the decline of the purely folk aspects of the local culture and the community's becoming increasingly part of the external world, come the decay of religious beliefs centering around and sanctioning these folk elements, and the growth of national aspects of culture, either through connection with the Church or with anticlerical groups.

To the decline of some local cult forms and of cargos as their manner of organization, corresponds (in the realm of ideology) a lack of belief in folk concepts, resulting in either the acceptance of more orthodox Catholicism or doubt in religion in general.

This is the trend by which the folk culture seems to begin to disappear. But as in the village economy and organization of religion, these trends are not carried to the end. The traditional folklore which sanctions folk culture still has meaning, and evidence that for some people it is still alive is seen in its being used against the disruptive tendencies personified in the agraristas.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and 178 tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within ● 182 the Indian communities the economic impact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more 178 complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be [794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a [735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

182 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it condemns money and wealth. With increased 178 dependence on the outside world came

178 greater acceptance of outside authority in
182 questions of ideology. Also the institutions, such as sponsorships of festivals, sanctioned by the folk ideology, were now against the interests of people within the community.

178 The former forces of change led to con-
668 flict within the villages incited by the Mexican Revolution and subsequent agrarian reforms. Different political trends became discernible within the villages and the people in them had different religious aspirations and policies.

Agrarista groups were formed. In Mexico agraristas are peasants who receive land (usually from former haciendas) under the terms of the agrarian reforms. Such groups exist in some Tarascan villages which were close to haciendas, but in the conservative villages studied, agraristas are groups within the village, organized to take over lands which had been lost to outsiders, or which either belonged to larger landowners within the village or were communal property. In religion they aim at abolishing the cult. They particularly forbid the sponsorship and celebration of festivals, for they see in them the cause for the loss of their lands. Consequently the body of officers organizing those festivals is also suppressed. Belief in God and the saints may be kept and folk narratives are still told which express the old local community values but there is a considerable lack of belief in an ideology which sanctions what they oppose, including the Church. Some can be easily convinced by the anti-religious teachings of outside radicals.

In the conservative communities studied, since the agraristas formed a privileged minority, a reaction arose which finally prevailed. This reaction suppressed the privileges of the agraristas, gained control of the local government, and restored the cult. Within this reaction two trends in religious policies can be discerned. One group, which might be called traditionalist, favors following the cult as of old with the earlier system of sponsorships and a revival of the political and social importance of the sponsors within the community. In ideology it correlates with total belief in

178 the content of folklore and this folklore is
668 used to prove agrarista wickedness.

The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church
178 politically. This group restores the cult but the old causes for decline of the folk
668 religion are seen in their policy. They
771 sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

One can see clearly the forces of change
178 which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of
182 sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-b]

166 called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was
731 founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra caliente*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[20]
[182] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-
[161] 46) the population of Villa Silva has decreased from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[20] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the ranchs of Barranca Seca, 4 km. to the northwest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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182

The Town's ‡ 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
538

The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

‡ [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [871]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather [194]
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
577

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the
809 pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and
577 heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the
173 Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and
867 thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is pro-
182 vided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.

681 flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

[683] October 9. A man knocked down a child and hurt her head. He was placed in jail overnight.

681 689 October 12. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail (no term indicated).

October 15. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 16. A drunken man broke onto a house. He was placed in jail until the eighteenth.

October 22. A woman was "disobedient" (probably disorderly conduct of some sort). She was placed in jail overnight.

681 [684] [183] November 3. A man raped a young woman, his second offense. He was placed in jail until the 10th. It should be observed that according to Cherán ideas a properly brought up girl whose parents looked after her as they should would never have been in a situation where rape would be possible.

[685] December 3. A man "abused confidence" by trying to register a piece of land as his own which actually belonged to his mother-in-law. He was put in jail overnight.

The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

579 Despite the fact that Cherán has a bad reputation in other towns for violence, there seem to be relatively few serious fights. Drunks often fall to fisticuffs, usually ineffective, but knife fights are rare and the use of firearms is even more unusual. In ordinary times there is probably not more than one killing a year. However, a very serious affair occurred shortly before the close of the study.

At a wedding the new priest appeared after the drinking was well under way. He reproved the people soundly for their excessive drinking and urged them to go home. One of the men, who was already very drunk, took the priest's words to heart and started home. Crossing the bridge to the *barrio* of Parícutin, he was shot from ambush and killed. That night the *ronda* went from house to house asking for certain persons, but up to the time the study closed

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and [437] begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

585 weeks or seven months. In at least one case the religious marriage took place before the civil marriage, although
[183] on the same day. However, the priest normally refuses to perform the service unless the certificate of civil marriage is presented. The relatives accompanying the couple are parents, uncles and male first cousins of the groom, the parents and close relatives of the bride, and the godmothers of the groom and the godmother for the wedding. The latter stands by the couple when the legal formula is read by the secretary or the mayor. All the relatives sign the papers as witnesses. Sometimes the secretary or mayor makes a little speech, pointing out to the husband that now he has to support his bride and can not expect her father to go on supporting her. He also may deliver a homily on behavior, pointing out that a married man shouldn't have two women or a married woman two men, warning them to avoid divorce, etc.]

After following the course indicated by the authorities, the proper steps are taken for the religious marriage. On the vespers of the day of the marriage they celebrate the t'irénkua or the dance. For this the parents of the bride hire a band with the object of going to the house of the groom with the music to take him the clothing called Aríperata, or gifts, which consist of a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of trousers (*calzones*), three shirts, and a hat. The cost of this is divided by the godparents and relatives of the bride in this way: one pair of trousers, a shirt, and a sash from each of the two godfathers of the bride and the rest from her father. The groom is dressed in this clothing by the grandfathers, grandmothers, siblings, and first cousins of the bride. [One of the latter actually dresses the groom. The groom is called tem-
[602] buča and his siblings and cousins of both sexes are called tembučas. Similarly, the bride is called tembunga and her siblings and cousins are called tembungas. The female tembučas give the female tembungas narrow colored ribbons or bands to wear in their hair.] Immediately the dressing is completed, the musicians play some regional tune and the groom has to dance, with which ends the affair of the gifts of the groom. [Atole is sometimes brought to this function also. The custom seems to be decaying.]

On the day of the wedding the parents and godparents of the groom, together with the grandfathers, uncles and cousins, are those charged with going to the house of the bride very early in the morning when the bells ring the first call to Mass to take her clothing also, that is to say, the Aríperata. [The bride has returned to her own house a few days before the wedding. During this time the groom may visit her freely.] This consists of three rebozos, a shirt and blouse, earrings, *corales* (red glass beads), sash, and a pair of shoes. The cost of these is divided as follows: one rebozo from each godfather, these being the blue rebozos of Paracho, and the father of the groom a very fine white rebozo [it is not actually white but one of the remarkably fine mixed color rebozos from Tangancicuaro, costing anywhere from 20 to 80 pesos] and all the other

764 handful of earth on the coffin in the form of the cross before the grave is filled. The arches decorating the table are placed over the grave. There are no prayers or other ceremonies and the party leaves immediately after the grave is filled.

The body of an adult is watched through the night with candles; this night watch is attended by many more people than in the case of an infant and atole made of rice and brown sugar is served at midnight. The corpse is dressed in black clothing of the type worn in life. Nothing is placed on the head. A candle is placed in the hand of the corpse but no flowers. The clothing is prepared by the nearest relatives, the godparents taking no part in the funeral of a person over about 14 years of age.

In the morning the visitors and mourners are served beans and tortillas. At noon it is obligatory to serve broth, čurípo, and white tamales, kurúndas (although these are regarded as injurious to the digestion). The food is all prepared by relatives of the wife. The body is taken to the graveyard in a wooden coffin and is carried by four male relatives. A few people take the body first to the church, but generally it is taken directly to the graveyard. In any case, there are never any prayers at the graveyard. As in the case of a child, all the prayers are in the house, usually with the aid [767] of a professional "prayer" or *rezador*. The priest is never asked to officiate, although he may have been summoned while the person was dying. The body is buried in the family plot (but a woman is buried in the plot of her husband's family). In the case of both adults and children a small stoppered *olla* of water is placed at the head of the corpse but outside the coffin. There are no flowers, but each mourner carries a candle.

One evident contradiction between theory and 183 practice was observed. Numerous informants 764 insisted that there was never any music for funerals of adults at any time. In actual fact, several funerals were observed in which music played in the house almost the entire day of the funeral.

In some cases, the interment ends all mourn- 765 ing. In others, the family hires a *rezador* to 767 come to the house every afternoon for 9 days to pray. The members of the family join in

775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.

Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

183 havior against the interests of a certain class or institution.

(*a*) Among the behavior which is considered bad, we find activities which are harmful to the social body in general without regard to special group interests. Thus, drunkenness is incited by the Devil. He leads drunkards to disregard friends and family and to quarrel. The dead as a [775] consequence of drunkenness go to hell. In the same way, fighting is incited by the Devil and both the killed and the killer are doomed.

Behavior against the family and disapproved sex relations loom large under this heading. Rebelliousness against the [773] father (God, in this case) in the creation myths caused the Devil's damnation. Killing the father equally dooms the murderer in one story; and one of the causes for the outbreak of the volcano in Parícutin is said to have been punishment for a patricide which had happened there. Disobedience toward parental authority is also condemned in a prodigal son type of tale.

Deserting one's wife and living with another woman bar entrance into heaven. In a story where a man agrees to lend his wife to a friend, they are taken away by the Devil. Marriage between brother and sister among the mountain spirits occurs in one story, and their son is half snake, proof of his devilish nature. When blessed, they disappear amidst thunder and whirlwinds.

[773] Cain, by killing his brother Abel, caused the flood in one creation story. The *llorona* is the spirit of a woman who killed her son; she is condemned to wander on earth crying for her baby.

Failure to become godparents (*compadres*) according to proper custom is punishable by having to look for the other person after death in order to perform the ceremony. Similar punishment awaits the woman who does not take proper care of her children; she will have to do so after death.

Sex is a powerful bait the Devil uses to trap his victims, although not quite bad in itself. Thus the Devil appears as a seducing woman to draw men into the woods; or when a boy goes to see his sweetheart in the night, the Devil takes her form to catch him. A boy who used love magic powder loses his heart (*i. e.*, soul) to the Devil.

Disobedience to the father, killing the father, deserting the wife and living with

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183 another woman, lending one's wife, marriage between brother and sister, killing a brother or a son, failure to become *compadres* according to custom, not taking good care of children—such are the sins against the family.

754 Witchcraft is learned from the Devil by selling him one's own soul or even one's children's. Consequently, witches are doomed to hell and all their activities are definitely evil; they make people sicken and die, they ask for the help of the devils, and they deal sacrilegiously with the church.

183 (b) Behavior against special interests or groups, which is considered evil in Tarascan folklore, can be arranged under two main headings: (1) that relating to money and property; and (2) that relating to the Church and organized religion.

(1) All the evil associations of money come out very clearly in the very common theme of the man who sells his soul to the Devil, money being the main cause for his doing so. The same moral is found in other stories: In a number of tales, a poor girl's marriage to a rich man leads only to her damnation. The cupidity of the people of San Juan Parangaricutiro in connection with the pilgrims to their fiesta leads to their destruction by the volcano of Parícutin. The priest who wants to keep the money a boy found and took to him to be blessed is turned into stone. Those who do not fulfill promises regarding inheritance find their failure to do so an impediment to entering heaven.

The bad association of money is thus clearly established. Poverty, work (richness and idleness go together in Tarascan world view), and resignation are the good qualities opposed to those associated with money. "If you marry a rich man, you will not love God; you better marry a poor man and think always of God." Marrying a rich man "you profit only for a while and then you have to pay for it in the other world." For the rich, it is good to give away property. Beggars will speak favorably to God. In the story of the rich man who gave corn to the poor in times of scarcity, God rewards him by making him the spirit of rain.

This censure of wealth and praise of poverty, however, form but one aspect of the attitude towards property. Certain tales clearly stress, on the contrary, the rightness of property, and damnation is brought to whoever dares attack it. In one

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Parícutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the wrongness of anything that is against the 183 Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People
[773] who lived before the blessing of the world
[172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and
183 folklore primarily sanction the values of the folk culture. They support the family
771 (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The
[776] Devil giving money always appears as a

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[776]

well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

668 against the traditional cargo system is
798 again discernible, although this time under the cloak of a more orthodox Catholicism. Thus people are divided according to their appreciation of some cultural institution: for cargos (traditionalist) or against them (agraristas and some militant Catholics); for the Church (traditionalists and militant Catholics) or aganist it (agraristas).

Since the ethical religious ideology sanctions those institutions thus in conflict, let us see how supernatural sanction of political groups is evidenced in folk narratives.

183 Corresponding to the general anti-agra-
668 rista trend, we find in the tales use of the good and evil theme in order to prove the wickedness of the agraristas. A number of experiences in which people see the Devil take place in towns where the agraristas dominate, doubtless a reflection of the connection between the two evils.

At the time of our stay in Jarácuaro, the level of the lake was falling, leaving considerable extensions of land dry. At that time in Ihuatzio, which is strongly Catholic, an agrarista group was formed to get this land for themselves instead of sharing it with the whole town. News soon reached Jarácuaro that the Devil had been seen in Ihuatzio. The following market day in Pátzcuaro brought more complete news:

[539] "In Ihuatzio they saw the Devil. He came out
[776] of the mountains and he crossed the town through the center. He looked like a human, but had feet like those of donkeys. The people wanted to hit him, but they were not able to reach him. They say he came out because many have now become agraristas. In order to get the land at the lakeshore the town has split."

A similar story is told of another town:

539 "This is what happened to a man from Tócuaro when agrarismo was so powerful. This man remembered an errand he had to do at Pichátaro and he left; this was about eleven o'clock at night. He went down right to the road and there he saw a man on horseback. They greeted each other: 'Good evening.' 'Good evening.' 'Where are you going?' 'To Pichátaro.' 'I am going to Puácuaro. Shall we travel together?' 'All right. Let's go.'

"'Where do you come from?' the stranger asked. 'I come from Tócuaro, and you?' 'Well, I am here and there, sometimes in Tzurumútaro, sometimes in San Pedro, San Bartolo or Puácuaro; those are the towns where they like me best.' 'And what about Tócuaro?' 'No, you don't like me at all; you have there an old

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222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

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[5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a 252 round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

245 *Pears.*—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (ꞓarápiti), and t'ačani (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock 245 of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

[194] [10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as quiote; the leaves are called ꞓíkua, the stalk or bud, ꞓámaꞓ. Mestizoised Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread 231 in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent 556 of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

Cattle are raised for several economic uses: 231 meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

Relatively few cows are milked, and most 234 families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

231 492 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

231 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán [184] but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in [435] adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

[232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

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236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them [262] for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same ● [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other [291] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.33a]

231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch
[825] the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are special-
232 ists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[184] [11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Paricutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Paricutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

29] for visiting or receiving guests, while a great many conservative women wear it constantly. In the latter case, if they can afford it, women have two costumes, an old one for everyday, a newer one for special occasions.

The complete Tarascan woman's dress consists of petticoat, skirt, blouse, apron, *rebozo* or shawl, and a number of woven belts (fig. 8). The greatest variation is in the blouse. This may be of cheap *manta* or even discarded flour sacking, in which case it merely has an opening for the head, short sleeves, 4 to 6 inches in length, and is unsewn down the sides. The [853] open-sided blouse is often worn by nursing mothers, even though the materials are of better quality. No matter how cheap the materials, however, some design in cross-stitching is usually found about the neck opening.

Finer blouses may be of good cotton, rayon, or even silk, although cotton is the most common. The short sleeves may have a drawstring at the end to tie them closely about the arm. This gives a puffed sleeve appearance, although there is no fitting. More commonly, except in garments made for tourists, the lower end of the sleeve is finished with a crocheted band about 1 inch wide in a contrasting color. Often the lower seam of the sleeve is not carried to the body of the garment. The side seam of the latter is also often incomplete for about 2 inches below the sleeve. The opening left compensates to some extent for the lack of fitting. The neck opening is bound either by solid cross-stitching or a crocheted band similar to that on the sleeve. An extensive cross-stitched design usually gives the effect of a yoke, although front and back of the blouse are a single piece. The neck opening is tied together with two pieces of cord, a piece sewn to each side. Garments for sale may have a drawstring about the neck opening, which then is not extended down the front of the garment.

Cherán women's blouses are usually plainer [184] than those worn in other villages. The decoration is usually a dull yellowish brown and is applied with restraint. No study of the designs was attempted, as it is hoped a general study of the Tarascan textile and garment industry will be made.

The petticoat is of white cotton cloth or *manta*. It reaches from the waist nearly to the

251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

264 Eating habits show considerable variability as between families. They also change with 262 the season and the prevailing occupations. 184 Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later. [556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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184 262 264 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly 262 eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, čurípo, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (očepos), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*.)

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.[13]

MEAT FOODS

252 Čurípo is a stewed meat, almost always of 262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few garabanzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot. [263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

[13] Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*jocoxocostle*), is used as greens in čurípo and in making chile sauce (*sindurakua*). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

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[p.56b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas
Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)—Possibly because Capacuaro is
262 184 a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, gophers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

[264] Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričúskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

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[p.576]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (čiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*"
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[20] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*"
252 (guanito). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[20] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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184 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like
261 maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

A special "bread" of maize is used as an offer-
782 ing at the house altar. This is made of maize
532 toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted.
262 Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas.*"

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque,
[273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

Eating habits seem to vary little from town
264 to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

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264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

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184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

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243 In the case of the farmer who slaves at pro-
433 ducing a scanty crop on submarginal land,
461 similar considerations are important. The farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

243 Even in the case of the average or somewhat
433 better than average case cited in detail, the
153 calculations made on the basis of our economic viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

184 In case maize is raised for sale on any scale,
433 however, the farmer encounters new market-
243 ing problems. The local market prefers yellow maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

243 From the statements given above it should
433 not be concluded that the idea of a return for
427 land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

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511 spent on meat. Families not regarded as poor might spend as little as 60 centavos a day on food for a family of six (two adults and four children). Checked in several ways, although obviously the quantitative data are inadequate, it appears that most prosperous (but not wealthy) families with sufficient land to produce all their own maize may spend less than 1 peso a day. It is estimated by some that this amount also includes the cost of all clothing and some maintenance of buildings but would not include special expenses, such as replacing animals, giving fiestas, holding funerals, etc. Frankly, this seems hard to believe.[25]

An approach to consumption (in terms of peso values), based on such quantitative data as it was possible to collect, indicates a much higher consumption rate for the normal Cherán family. Taking, for convenience, a family of five, the following seems a reasonably close approximation of consumption and expenditure:

	Per day	*Per year*
Home-produced goods consumed:		
Maize, 2½ liters daily	$0.15	$54.75
Vegetables and fruit	.10	36.50
Firewood	.08	29.20
Total value		$120.45
Goods requiring cash expenditure:		
Expenditures at store and butcher shop	$1.00	$365.00
Man's clothing (a rough estimate of minimum requirements for work clothing plus some "dress" clothing)		27.00
Woman's clothing (one typical woman's outfit of Tarascan type clothing, plus a couple of cotton dresses a year)		60.00
Clothing for 3 small children		15.00
Total cash expenditure a year		467.00
Total value of goods consumed a year		$587.45

In addition to the above ordinary expendi-

[25] In Mestizo Chilchota, Rapdán collected the following data: For a family of two adults and four children, 6 to 22 years, food expenditures were said to be 75 centavos to 1 peso daily, mostly for meat, the remainder for beans, lard, pitch pine, chiles, tomatoes, salt, lime, and other things. The maize consumed is grown. Another family of four adults and one child of 5 years spent about a peso a day. Another family of four adults and three children, 8 to 14 years, spent a peso to a peso and a half daily. In all cases the major expenditure was said to be for meat, with beans coming second. All grew their own maize. Unlike those in Cherán, all these families consumed coffee once and sometimes twice a day.

[184]
[272]

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863 sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

633 A larger subdivision than the block is
103 furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúkutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúkutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keíku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalákua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Parícutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

633 The *barrios* show very few differences.
184 Parícutin is less populated, has larger lots, and is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest,
[231] the dogs of Parícutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

633 Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.[27]

[27] On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

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565 once he understood the words, in classifying
571 the people he knew in these categories. The
185 second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (‡). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).

FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[20] is extended to the brothers and

[20] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
796 tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *carguerosor mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

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585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The [184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took [605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the [587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

769 people hid them when the priest approached,
782 placing them out again when he moved on. The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of nákatamales, bread, and
[574] fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the
[text continues on top of p. 210b]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

Of immediate concern in dealing with a group
121 as large as the Tarascans is the question
184 whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

Final resolution of the question raised seems
121 to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a
[text continues on middle of p. 210b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p 215b] Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

252 262 237 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidfied. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or uánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

796 624

[1] One of the roseras is called pendompari, and one capitamora. They are always of different barrios, the positions alternating from one barrio to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

463 specialists. The situation in other Sierra towns is similar. In the Lake region as well, nearly every one can make adobes and erect a house of sorts, but good work requires a specialist.

000 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually em-

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 No complete survey of construction types has yet been made but some general data are available.

184 It is clear that many fundamental features of the architecture extend through not only large areas of the Tarascan country but also into adjoining regions settled by Mestizos. The type of masonry construction with tile or shake roofs and wide overhanging eaves extends far beyond the limits of Tarascan settlement, and the wide eaves are characteristic of even such a town as Morelia, the State capitol. In general, the higher, more heavily forested areas from at least as far west as Tingüindin to near Morelia show a predominance of wooden construction, usually with shake roofs. The lower and, in some instances, drier regions show a predominance of masonry-adobe structures with tile roofs and wide eaves. In some cases, shakes replace tile as roofing material. Distribution of the wide-eaved masonry-adobe style extends beyond the present Tarascan boundaries. It ends sharply west of Zamora, and it disappears east of Morelia.

The following tabulation shows the present

335 465 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually employed on a contract basis. Often the carpenter employs a helper. In addition to their pay, the carpenter and helper are given their food. Adobe or stone structures are also built under contract, but in this case the workmen are not fed.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 184 known distribution of types within Tarascan boundaries:

Mostly wood	*Mostly masonry-adobe*	*All masonry-adobe*
Ahuiran	Cuanajo	Cucuchucho
Angahuan	La Cañada (all towns)	Huecorio
Arantepakua	Puacuaro [2]	Ihuatzio
Aranza	Tarecuato	Janicho
Capacuaro	Uruapan [1] [2]	Jarácuaro [1]
Charapan	Zacápu [1]	Naranja
Cherán	Zamora [1]	Pareo
Cocucho		Pátzcuaro [1]
Corupo		Quiroga
Nahuatzen		Santa Fé
Nurió		Tarejero
Paracho		Tecuena
Parangaricutiro		Tirindaro
Parícutin		Tzentzénhuaro
Patamban		Tzurumútaro
Pomacuarán		Yunuán
Quinseo		
San Felipe		
San Lorenzo		
Sevina		
Tucutacato		
Tingüindin		
Urapicho		
Zirosto		

[1] Indicates Mestizo town showing influence of styles.
[2] Indicates shake roofs common.

[p.21b]

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánɛ́akua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tirípatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.^{2}) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.:[1]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-*varas* (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[1] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 3-inch planks, which are adzed.

362 could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

362 184 Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

[continued on p. 30b]

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

CEREMONIES

342 Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "*combate*," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

342 431 476 On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing.

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals
476 among those working. When the work is completed, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are
[531] fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

574 609 with whom especially friendly relations exist, normally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

So far as is known, customs in other mountain 351 towns are similar in all respects except for the 574 attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences 184 are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

The major insect pests are fleas. In some vil- 362 lages there are also bedbugs. There seems little 136 to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

In the lack of good medical statistics, it is 362 impossible to estimate the relation between health 164 and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to [515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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362 mitted by contact and particularly respiratory
164 and pulmonary infections. Although data are lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is suspected. There seems little to choose between various house types for health.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance,
184 seem to have similar conditions. Local varia-
362 tions, of course, occur as the result of differences in rainfall and temperature (functions of location and altitude) and the number of animals kept (causing variations in the number of flies).

[Continued on P. 33b]

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 In this section we try to determine the antiquity
173 of modern house types. We do not include all the data found in early sources referring to pre-Spanish houses and house uses, but base our study of the history of the Tarascan house on modern tradition and especially on the writings of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply useful data concerning the last century or so. The houses of stone and adobe are usually considered to be relatively recent introductions in the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake area.[8] This view is supported by the relatively greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake region, it is remembered that wooden structures once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred to the older custom of building houses in the center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types discussed, kitchens of poles and "*trojes*" and the trója kosína of logs are regarded as the oldest types. Tools, until recently were limited to the ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of a few generations ago are merged into "*los antepasados*" and, unless an historically known event is referred to, it is difficult to know to what period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

[7] This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

[8] In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish word *adobe*, while in the Lake area a native word (isuírukata) is known.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro
Cañada

362 184 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada, where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

HISTORY OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE[7]

342 [173] houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would be untrustworthy.

342 127 Some of the data available from the 16th century refer to a wider area than that covered by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"[9] of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.[10] The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.[11]

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."[12]

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (iauárukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*" (today k'uta', in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza*, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxcata."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j*, *k*; *m* is described in the text as a provisional

[9] Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

[10] F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

[11] Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobernación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

[12] Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 135. Mexico, 1938.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 34b]

243 the two centers of medium altitude maize (Mexican Pyramidal and Mexican Narrow Ear), the Tarascan area has received a mixture of both. Mountain Yellow, often diluted with strains of Pyramidal, is found in the higher mountain slopes in the Sierra. Other varieties, cultivated for special purposes (green corn, sweet corn) are also found in modern Tarascan agriculture. Popcorn, however, one of the oldest maizes in Mexico, is significantly absent.

The field corns.—Economically the most important maize modernly grown by Tarascans is the field varieties, cultivated usually in the level lands and on lower slopes. Morphologically, this maize is similar to Mexican Pyramidal, but with pronounced denting of the seeds, little or no pointing, and medium row number (14–18). In all probability this type represents a mixture of western and eastern corns, with characteristics of the latter being dominant. In the Sierra field corn is predominantly white and is grown *"de humedad,"* i. e. it is planted in the moist t'upúri soils in the dry season (March or April). For this reason it is called *blanco marceño.* In the lower areas surrounding the Sierra (e. g. the Lake district and La Cañada) field corn is morphologically similar to that of the Sierra, but is predominantly yellow and grown *"de temporal,"* i. e. planted in the clayey čarándа soils immediately after the first summer rains (late May or early June). The planting of a few grains of red maize (čóču) [194] with the field corns (both *humedad* and *temporal*) is a common practice in many Tarascan pueblos.[18] Many consider the red as "father" of all maize, and as a protector of field corn from disease, storms, and drought.

Traces of western low-row number in field maize are found scattered throughout the Sierra, where such corn is known as *maíz de ocho,* although the row count varies between 8 and 10. In many pueblos it was stated that *maíz de ocho* was grown more extensively in past years, especially by the

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ber (8–14). Kernels wide, unpointed, slight to no dent. Color prevailingly white. Plants tall, slender; slight to high interveinal coloring. Tassel with many branches, long and wiry. (3) Mountain Yellow. Ears and kernels small, somewhat compressed. Ears enlarged at base with irregular rowing there. Color bright yellow.

[18] This practice was encountered in the following Sierra towns: Cocucho, Nurio, Urapicho, Pomacuarán, Charán, Cherenátzicurín, Pichátaro. In La Cañada: Tenaquillo, Carapan. The practice was denied in the Lake Pátzcuaro pueblos. In Nurio 1 grain of red is planted with 1,000 grains of white. Many former Tarascan towns (now mestizo) follow the customs: Tancítaro, Apo, etc. The practice may extend far beyond the present bounds of Tarascan speech.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 71b]

438
441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

The market (uašájpikuaju, or "the place where
443 **people sit").**—Sunday is the most important
438 market day for the Tarascans.[183] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[184] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[185] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text Continues top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[185] Formerly Puríbán was one of the largest *tierra caliente—tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fiesta markets are still held in Puríbán however.

[494] [186] Within the last 8 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden buses or taxis to market. Since 1941 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Zirosto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 seem to indicate that the community, largely within itself, constitutes a breeding population. Relatively few outsiders come in. Furthermore, the observer's impression is that the question of ethnic origin was not one vital to relations between members of the community. Recognition is given to individuals of varying status, but no evident biological differences were observed between individuals of the highest and the lowest status. ●184 So far as participation in the culture is concerned, both extremes share the same understandings and values, and those at the lowest extreme are 186 prevented from fully participating only by economic handicaps.

It is recognized by members of the community that some of their activities are akin to those of the city dweller, and pride is taken in these "modernizations." In some of their traditions, however, the ties are with the more isolated Indian communities. There is no apology for what is more Indian in Paracho although informants did comment on the backwardness of some of the "small Indian places." It can be said in general, however, that the dichotomy between Mestizo and Indian reported as extant in other Latin American communities does not exist in Paracho; there is neither stigma attached to being Indian nor prestige conferred for being Mestizo. The town is culturally homogeneous, and the modifications in the way of life are recognized as potentially applying to all within the community rather than characterizing any particular segment of the population. The distinctions made by the respondents concerning the ethnic origin of their parents therefore may be taken to indicate the children's estimation of their parents' participation in the overall cultural mestization of the town.

186 *Summary*: — First, in the community studied, asking about "race" would not be expected to be useful in distinguishing physical types or subgroups within the population because the people do not distinguish each other in such biological terms. Second, it is significant that where children say that their parents are of different ethnic origin more children regard their fathers as Mestizos, their mothers as Indians. Third, younger segments of the population report approximately similar numbers of Mestizo and Indian parents, while older respondents consistently report more parents to be Indian than Mestizo. Fourth, informants' explanations for this or that ethnic categorization are largely based upon birthplace, with linguistic criteria second in importance. Fifth, in considering place of birth and "race" of parents a slight tendency exists to report more parents among individuals who were not native to Paracho to be Mestizo than for Paracho-born parents. Finally, the impression of homogeneity within the community lends additional support to the conclusion that ethnic identification in Paracho is based upon cultural considerations.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than 262 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than minimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vitamin B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories. 556 511

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it [184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 113 ment of Agriculture Circular Nº 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular Nº 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin Nº 707, 1939: and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

565 houses for food. Little could be learned about
554 them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

The nearest approach to class groupings is
565 that persons seem to associate mostly with indi-
571 duals who are their own age mates and of the
185 same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[text continues on p. 100a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.100a]

565 once he understood the words, in classifying
571 the people he knew in these categories. The
185 second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (‡). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).

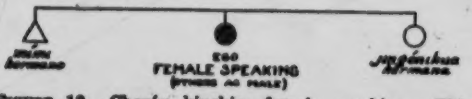

FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[29] is extended to the brothers and

[29] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

632 Persons who are shocked at the procedures
662 at Cherán should seriously contemplate the
666 difficulties in carrying out a formal election with written ballots with a population which is very largely illiterate. In this case economic
212 limitations and lack of imagination prevented carrying out the system used in national elections where the candidates each select a color and separate ballots are printed in the different colors. The voter then asks for his ballot by color and drops it into the ballot box. Not secret, and lending itself to ballot box stuffing, the method is at least an attempt to deal with the problem of an illiterate electorate. In a town such as Cherán the method followed in the election described seems equally efficacious—as long as the officials are responsive to public opinion.

632 That unconventionalities are frequent in elec-
665 tions is further illustrated by the presidential elections earlier in the same year. Many
666 months before the election a group of Almazán followers organized and began an active campaign in the town. The followers of Camacho (the PRM group) remained inactive. At the end of 2 or 3 months a PRM delegation waited on the Almazán followers and pointed out that there had been no interference with their campaign but that nevertheless the bulk of the town favored Camacho. The facts were apparently indisputable, and when the PRM group stressed the fact that further campaigning could only result in creating divisions and dissensions in the town, the Almazán group ceased its campaign. At the election, Cherán cast a unanimous ballot for Camacho.

● 185 Two things of interest emerge from this
666 account. The first is the power of the argument against disunity in the community. Particularly in the Indian community, unity is prized almost above all else. Sophisticated in some ways as Cherán is, this argument is still one of the most potent that can be made. The second point of interest is the bearing this sequence of events has on interpretation of the national election returns in Mexico. What happened in Cherán probably happened in hundreds of other towns in Mexico and helps partly to explain the one-sided results usually reported in Mexican elections.

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.18a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
182 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for
433 consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depend-
433 ing on crafts, to the national and world markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 39.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 229-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 78-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 63-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 72.

575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region
668 of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made
[186] to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
578 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these
626 never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

695 Another case illustrates the handling of minor offenses. A woman was brought before
685 the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

882 from their parents. In an overheard conversation, two young men commented at length on how fast people got old at their ages, while people over 30 did not seem to age at all.

The transition for girls is even less clearly defined than that for boys. As girls are sometimes married even before their first men-
[881] struation, this physiological transition hardly seems to mark a status change. From the age of 6 or 8, girls essentially perform adult labors in assisting their mothers. Youth is essentially a transition to adulthood and marriage. As a
[582] general thing, girls are married soon after the first menstruation.

881 Informants were agreed that most girls experience the first menses at about 14 years of age; whether this is the ideal age or the actual age could not be determined. No cases of failure to menstruate were known. Menstrual disorders apparently do occur sometimes and the aid of midwives is sought in such cases, but no details could be secured. Men, at least, believe that girls are generally ignorant of the menstrual period until they experience the first occurrence, and this belief coincides with a few statements by women. Some girls are said to be a little depressed or frightened, but the experience is not severe. Mothers explain to their daughters that the phenomenon is perfectly natural, and girls never become ill.

882 The mother always informs her husband when the first menstruation occurs. At this time the father increases his admonitions to his wife to watch over the girl. Careful mothers from now on do not let the girls go alone for water or to church or walk about the streets. Care is taken that girls do not see "bad" things. Well-brought-up girls, in fact, are hardly allowed out of the house until they are married, but if this ideal were really lived up to, it is difficult to see how either marriages could be arranged or "stealing" occur. Cherán, though, feels its standards are much above those of other towns and people mention some
[186] of La Cañada towns, especially Tacura, as being very bad. The latter town is said even
[835] to have many cases of sexual relations between father and daughter, which is said never to happen in Cherán.

841 Most women early become regular in their menstrual periods. No devices for keeping

571/ 66 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kinship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

667 Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

[621]

186 578 563 The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26), Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 661 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 186 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from 554 an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[122] Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS[1]

121 A STUDY in a Mexican community provided opportunities for the collection of material for a statistical study of the bases of ethnic identification. In Paracho, a community in the Sierra Tarascan region of Michoacán, it appeared possible that a racial classification of the population might prove useful in the final analysis of certain anthropometric materials. The investigation was to study the effects of migration upon the physical dimensions of returned migrants in comparison with those of non-migrants and a question on the "race" of the subjects' parents was included on the data sheet. After a few records had been taken it became evident that the responses to the "race" question were such that they would be of little aid in the analysis of the anthropometric data, but that they might be of some sociological interest. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the responses to this question with a view to the insights gained into the ethnic categorization of a people by itself.

114 Although much has been written concerning the definition of Indian
121 and Mestizo in Latin America, to the author's knowledge there has been no quantitative study designed to show the degree to which several possible classificatory devices are employed by the natives of a region in categorizing themselves. Furthermore, there has not been any study designed to show which segments of a population manifest changes in attitudes regarding ethnic identification.

121 It has frequently been said that membership in either the Indian or the Mestizo (Ladino) group in Latin America is a matter of socio-cultural
186 rather than biological affiliation.[2] In communities where both Indio and Mestizo are locally distinguished, interaction between these groups is said to be similar to either class-like or caste-like relations.[3]

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[122] [1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

[2] Julio de la Fuente, "Ethnic and Communal Relations" in *Heritage of Conquest*, ed. by Sol Tax (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 77.
Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian" in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 283-305.
Harry Tschopik, Jr., *Highland Communities of Central Peru*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 5 (Washington, 1947), pp. 11-15.

[3] Julio de la Fuente, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 *ff.*

186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo. [101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns — "The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no overt conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those 563 with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans 565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin 563 America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho. 186 563

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration. 125

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized. 124 [114] 128

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking. 186 [563]

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio*, *Indígena*, *Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesciado*, *Cruzado*, *de razon*, Mestizo, half and half, *revueltos*, and white.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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186 mercial transactions and specialized production for sale outside the region), whereas the women, mostly sequestered in their homes, remain conservative, and consequently more "Indian-like." The responses may, however, represent a real sex differential, *i.e.*, more women than men native to the community — with men from elsewhere marrying into the community. In 201 matings where data on the birthplace of both spouses were available, both were from Paracho in 72.6 per cent of cases, 10 per cent of the husbands were from elsewhere, 8.5 per cent of the wives were from other communities, and in 9 per cent of cases both were born elsewhere. Slightly more men than women, therefore, do marry into the community, but this difference is not large enough to explain the sex difference in ethnic attribution.

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TABLE 1

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"RACE" OF FATHER AND "RACE" OF MOTHER

Mothers reported as	*Fathers reported as* Indian	Mestizo	*Total*
Indian	130	33	163
Mestiza	16	61	77
Total	146	94	240[5]

χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 300.28 $P < 0.0001$

Whereas sex of the parents does influence the responses, sex of the respondents seems to have virtually no effect. Females reported 66.9 per cent of 139 parents to be Indian, whereas males reported 63.5 per cent of 386 parents to be Indian. The difference is not statistically significant.

When the data taken from the record sheets are compiled in terms of the age of the respondent (see Table 2) another tendency may be noted. Both relatively and absolutely more Indian parents are reported by older respondents. Those 40 years old or less reported 48 per cent of fathers and 54 per cent of mothers to be Indian, in contrast to 73 per cent and 76 per cent respectively by individuals who were 41 years old or over. Conversely, of course, the percentage of Mestizo parents is approximately the same as that of Indian parents through the 40 year age group, but thereafter the proportions change markedly and membership in the Mestizo group is claimed for far fewer parents.

These age trends may be interpreted in several ways. First, the younger informants, in ascribing to their parents membership in one or the other ethnic group, may reflect an awareness that their current way of life is less Indian than it is Mestizo, and may extend this to their parents. With more education and a wider outlook one would expect to find among youth a greater bias toward being counted as belonging to a larger ethnic entity than that of the region, and to the ethnic group with a somewhat higher education — the Mestizo in both instances. On the other hand, the marked

[5] Some variation in total number from table to table results from the fact that not all respondents gave information on all points. Furthermore, where data on parents rather than on respondents are tabulated information from only one sibling interviewed is included.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

increase in reported Indian parents by the older group may also reflect awareness of the social changes which have been occurring over the decades, and the heavy incidence of Indian parents reported may merely be a reflection of the fact that "things were not always thus." One elderly man, commenting on the changes which he had seen in Paracho since his youth, said, "In that time the people spoke only Tarascan, and the race was *naturalito*, all *Indios* here. Since the burning of the town (in 1917 during the 1910-1920 Revolution) the people speak only Castilian."

TABLE 2

AGE OF RESPONDENT AND REPORTED RACE OF PARENTS

Age of Informant	Fathers		Mothers	
	Indian	Mestizo	Indian	Mestiza
Under 20	5	5	6	4
21-30	20	18	18	20
31-40	28	32	33	27
41-50	36	18	37	17
51-60	30	10	34	6
61 and over	22	4	20	6
Total	141	87	148	80

These explanations are admittedly not biological. Indeed, it can be demonstrated empirically that to the extent to which the question aroused any interest at all, the residents of Paracho are not concerned with genetic (racial) explanations. Of thirty-seven explanations as to why their parents are considered to be Indian the following reasons were given: the parents were "from here in Paracho" in thirteen instances; they were "born in Paracho" in nine instances; they were said to have been born "in an Indian place" in nine instances; they were described as descended (in the male line) from those who had come to Paracho from Paracho Viejo in the 16th century in five instances. The eight other reasons included the following: "Because in 1901 the people were more *Natural* and today they are more civilized"; "parent is *Indigena*, but on the basis of color is with the French or the Spanish"; "All of us are pure people, Indians — we are of this population"; "In that time there were no mixtures"; "More Indian than *de razon*, like it still is, *Natural*, no?" and finally, "Indian, the same as the rest of us."

From the twenty-one explanations concerning Mestizo parents the following tabulation results. In seven instances the parent concerned was said to have been born elsewhere. In four instances the parents are described as Mestizo because they do not, or did not, speak Tarascan. In two cases the parents were "more white." In two responses they were "like ourselves" (*i.e.*, the speakers). And in one instance the parents were considered to be Mestizo because they were born in Paracho. Of the miscellaneous reasons the following are illustrative: ". . . my father is a little Spanish, the Indians don't have a beard." "They were *de razon*, but from the *ranchos*." One man said he did not know how to answer as his parents

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 spoke both Tarascan and Spanish; his wife told him that his father was *de razon* and he said, "Well, my mother was this also." The other 198 individuals in the sample did not consider that any elaboration other than the answer to the question was necessary — another indication of the relative unimportance of the distinction in the town.

Through all of these explanations it can be seen that place of birth is apparently primary in determining the ethnic group with which one will later (if ever) be identified, with the ability to speak the Tarascan language second in importance. There is evidence that Tarascan as the idiom
186 of the community was no longer in favor even several generations ago.
191 Not only is the use of Tarascan in Paracho limited today to members of the oldest generation, but several people showed their dislike for the language and implied that their parents did not teach it to them, or did so only inadequately. Children today are not learning Tarascan, and this tie with Indian culture is rapidly disappearing.

186 The place of birth of the parents may be correlated with ethnic origin to determine to what extent the ethnic composition of the community depends on birthplace. The data indicate that either more Mestizos are coming into Paracho from the outside, or that more of the people who have come to Paracho from elsewhere are considered to be Mestizos. In most instances the places whence the parents had emigrated were small
[166] Sierra Tarascan villages and towns, considered by Parachoans to be "Indian places." In moving to the larger center these individuals had identified themselves (or had been identified by their children) with the more urban, Mestizo, way of life. Among parents born outside Paracho 54.5 per cent of mothers are classed as Mestiza and 58.0 per cent of fathers are reported as Mestizo.

TABLE 3

"RACE" OF FATHER AND MOTHER ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH [6]

Reported as:	*Father born*		*Mother born*	
	Paracho	*elsewhere*	*Paracho*	*elsewhere*
Indian	120	26	143	25
Mestizo	53	36	49	30
Total	173	62	192	55
	χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 14.54		χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 16.33	
	$P < 0.0002$		$P < 0.0001$	

Although a majority of parents born elsewhere are described as Mestizo, others are called Indian. The stereotype of the Indian (not native to Paracho) held by the local citizenry is similar to that reported by other investigators in Mexico.[7] The Indians in near-by communities have the

[6] Parents born in forty-six communities other than Paracho are represented in the total sample.

[7] George Foster, *Empire's Children, The People of Tzintzuntzan*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6 (Washington, 1948), p. 33.
Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 53-54.
Robert Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 75.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

reputation of being ignorant, backward, and mean. We were told that especially when drunk such Indians "get real mean." One qualification of a "real" Indian is a quick trigger finger, for as one man said, "My *compadre* from Arantepáquaro is real Indian . . . and he killed three fellows one time. And another in Aranza he killed eleven cousins in a fight over lands." 186

In recent years there has been an influx to Paracho from towns which also have both Mestizo and Indian elements defined in their population. Some of those interviewed came from Charapan, where a local political upheaval had stimulated emigration, others came from villages made uninhabitable by the eruption of Parícutin Volcano. By no means all parents reported to be Mestizos are from families which have come to Paracho in the last generation, however. On the whole, the relationship between the reported Mestizos and Indians is little altered when the "outsiders" are pooled with the locally-born citizens. [166]

In twenty-two instances it was possible to compare the children's responses with those of their parents. In twelve of these instances the child's categorization of his parent was identical with the parent's categorization of his parents — that is, where the child said his father was *de razon*, the father in turn said that his parents were *de razon*. In five instances there was a complete shift in identification between one generation and the next; in five of these five instances children regarded their parents as Mestizo while the parents regarded *their* parents as Indian. In an additional four instances there was a partial change: for example, the child reported a parent as Mestizo, while the parent concerned reported his father to have been Mestizo and his mother to have been Indian.

It is clear from these comparisons that the responses reflect a variable social attitude rather than any commonly perceivable reality. There is nothing to indicate any presence of the notion that one Indian ancestor automatically makes the possessor Indian (or that one Spanish ancestor makes him Mestizo). Where the criteria for ethnic identification are cultural rather than biological such a notion would not be expected.

It may be said that latent attitudes concerning ethnic differences within the community exist, and the answers to a question concerning these differences are suggestive of the criteria upon which the identifications are based. Such insights are helpful in understanding some of the dynamics involved in social as well as spatial mobility.

The most salient feature, from our point of view, is the lack of any intense feeling concerning ethnic identification. It is not easy for the outside observer to set up any demonstrably valid criteria by which to judge the ethnic make-up of the Paracho community. The fact that some 85 per cent of the people are interrelated, at least by marriages, would

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 seem to indicate that the community, largely within itself, constitutes a breeding population. Relatively few outsiders come in. Furthermore, the observer's impression is that the question of ethnic origin was not one vital to relations between members of the community. Recognition is given to individuals of varying status, but no evident biological differences were observed between individuals of the highest and the lowest status. 184 So far as participation in the culture is concerned, both extremes share the same understandings and values, and those at the lowest extreme are 186 prevented from fully participating only by economic handicaps.

It is recognized by members of the community that some of their activities are akin to those of the city dweller, and pride is taken in these "modernizations." In some of their traditions, however, the ties are with the more isolated Indian communities. There is no apology for what is more Indian in Paracho although informants did comment on the backwardness of some of the "small Indian places." It can be said in general, however, that the dichotomy between Mestizo and Indian reported as extant in other Latin American communities does not exist in Paracho; there is neither stigma attached to being Indian nor prestige conferred for being Mestizo. The town is culturally homogeneous and the modifications in the way of life are recognized as potentially applying to all within the community rather than characterizing any particular segment of the population. The distinctions made by the respondents concerning the ethnic origin of their parents therefore may be taken to indicate the children's estimation of their parents' participation in the overall cultural mestization of the town.

186 *Summary*: — First, in the community studied, asking about "race" would not be expected to be useful in distinguishing physical types or subgroups within the population because the people do not distinguish each other in such biological terms. Second, it is significant that where children say that their parents are of different ethnic origin more children regard their fathers as Mestizos, their mothers as Indians. Third, younger segments of the population report approximately similar numbers of Mestizo and Indian parents, while older respondents consistently report more parents to be Indian than Mestizo. Fourth, informants' explanations for this or that ethnic categorization are largely based upon birthplace, with linguistic criteria second in importance. Fifth, in considering place of birth and "race" of parents a slight tendency exists to report more parents among individuals who were not native to Paracho to be Mestizo than for Paracho-born parents. Finally, the impression of homogeneity within the community lends additional support to the conclusion that ethnic identification in Paracho is based upon cultural considerations.

9: Lasker D-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

145 Alveolar prognathism decreases with loss of teeth in old age and this trait has therefore been excluded from consideration, but extent of jut of the whole face (which is not noticeably affected by age) is not different between Mestizos and Indians. Some important characteristics of hair tend to change with age. Texture, baldness, greying, mustache and beard development and tendency to concurrency of the eyebrows are therefore excluded from detailed consideration; none show any close correlation with ascribed "race," however.

186 144 In summary, one may repeat that in the Mexican community under consideration, practically the whole range of physical types occurs both in individuals whose parents are described as Indians and in those whose parents are considered to be Mestizos or Spanish. It is clear therefore that the physical appearance of the people cannot enter appreciably into their categorization of themselves. This supplements direct evidence that the ethnic identification is considered a cultural and linguistic matter and eliminates the possibility that considerations based on biological race significantly enter into the judgments.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 saint's image and burn a candle before setting out on a journey.

The new *carguero* takes charge of the image the day before Corpus. He goes to the house of the old *carguero*, secures the image, and takes it to church. There it remains in a "box" during the week-long festivities of Corpus. On Monday afternoon of Corpus the musicians of the merchants come to the house of the *carguero* and make it their headquarters during the fiesta until Saturday noon. The musicians, the commissioners, and whatever people attach themselves to the group, breakfast and dine at the house of the *carguero* during the fiesta. If he cannot afford this, the commissioners provide the meals, three or four cooperating in providing each meal. The musicians of this group also greet the honey gatherers when they return from their stay in the woods collecting honeycombs for the fiesta (on Friday, according to the *carguero;* Tuesday, according to all others).

The day of the saint is October 24. The *carguero* pays for a Mass (and presumably candles). In 1940 the Mass was delayed because the priest was too busy and was out of town frequently.

The *carguero* ordinarily is a merchant, but in 1940 he was a fireworks maker. Because he traveled from town to town, the principals had decided he could qualify as *carguero* when he asked for the *mayordomía*. The *carguero* sought the responsibility "for pleasure" and not because of any vow. Incidentally, he is a [191] native of Pichataro and speaks very little Spanish. His wife speaks even less. Perhaps because of this origin they were much the most open and cordial of the *cargueros*.[37]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ANTONIO

[776] San Antonio is patron of the muleteers, the *arrieros*. The new *carguero* receives the image on June 13, the day of the saint, and takes it to

[37] Those desiring the *mayordomía* of San Rafael apply to the principal. The holder of this office in 1940 had occupied it for 18 years, although he had several times tried to resign. Occasionally he calls meetings of the merchants to discuss some expense relative to the saint, such as new garments or altar table. Sometimes money is collected in the meeting in advance for such expenditures. On other occasions the principal spends money out of his pocket and takes up a collection at the meeting to reimburse himself. According to this principal, the new *carguero* goes to the priest during Corpus for benediction. Probably this is true of the other *mayordomías* but the point was not investigated.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 1-B]

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) *in northwestern Michoacán.* Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan-pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siéris) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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102 [1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 64A (Uruapan) of the
131 AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S.
133 Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photography taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arachúnita.	27. Patambicho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojas.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupío.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolás.	30. Turario.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Uoamústacua.
6. Tapan.	19. La Atzcoada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Roserio.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepemal.	34. Yunuén.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tapetate.	35. Turuma.
10. Querándaro.	23. Tajamanil.	36. Urandén Morales.
11. Zaranamera.	24. Paskpetiro.	37. Urandén Morales.
12. San Luis Sarana.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandén Carian.
13. La Jolla.	26. Opeseguio.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1940 census) are not located: Tzintzícha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangamandapio); Las Enzinillas and Las Lauroles (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolución (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itzipanécuaro (municipio of Tzintzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 1c]

131 boundary approximates the México-Guadalajara
101 highway, while the steep escarpment that plunges into the Balsas-Tepalcatepec Basin marks its southern limit. An eastward extension lies south and southeast of the lake and joins with the Sierra de Ozumatlán in eastern Michoacán. Containing
[162] 60 percent of the present indigenous group, the Sierra west of the lake is the modern center of the Tarascans. (2) The Lake Pátzcuaro (Japúndaɹu, Inčámecuaɹu) area contains 19 percent of the
[162] Tarascan population distributed in 13 pueblos and 13 ranchos along the lake shore and on the islands. Formerly one of the political centers of the Tarascan Empire, the lake region, in terms of indigenous speech, has declined rapidly since late colonial times. The speech of the entire south
[191] shore and the towns of Quiroga, Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro is predominantly Spanish. North and northeast of the Sierra lie two small areas of indigenous speech, which appear to be remnants of the once large northern Tarascan zone. One of these is (3) La Cañada (Eráŝeman), a small narrow valley located at the northern edge of the Sierra. This valley was the region of the "onze pueblos" of
[162] colonial days. Today nine towns with 9 percent of the total Tarascan population are clustered along a strip of alluvium within the valley. (4) The other remnant of the northern zone lies north and northwest of Lake Pátzcuaro and contains
[162] seven pueblos and 9.5 percent of the total number of Tarascan-speaking folk.[3] Other regions of Tarascan speech consist of "islands" south of the main area. Cuanajo, located southwest of Morelia in the western[1] extension of the Sierra, is the last fragment of the former indigenous area southeast of Lake Pátzcuaro. San Angel Zurumucapio and the newly formed towns (Caltzontzin and Villa Silva) harboring refugees from the stricken

[3] These pueblos include Tirindaro, Tarajaro, and Naranja on the shore of former Zacapu marsh; Azajo and Comanja on the northeastern edge of the Sierra; Taramendo and Ziplajo at the northern foot of Cerro el Zirate.

1 [Probably should read "eastern", it referring to Tarascan Sierra.—Analyst.]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.2-d]

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
Formerly an important part of the Tarascan
[191] Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Juío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
[166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[8] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[8] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1945), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1945).

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in
241 the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic

[Text continues top of P. 11b—Analyst]

TARASCAN

POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 One of the outstanding developments in Ta-
178 rascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in
171 which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the
191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign
563 tongues existed; these represented colonies settled with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were

[Text continues bottom of P. 11b—Analyst]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12b--ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cusse; Mus. Nac., leg. 99, Rel. de Charo Matlaltzinga.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

[P. 12 a]

A1
131
563
177

MAP 7.—Pre-Conquest and modern boundaries of Tarascan speech.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

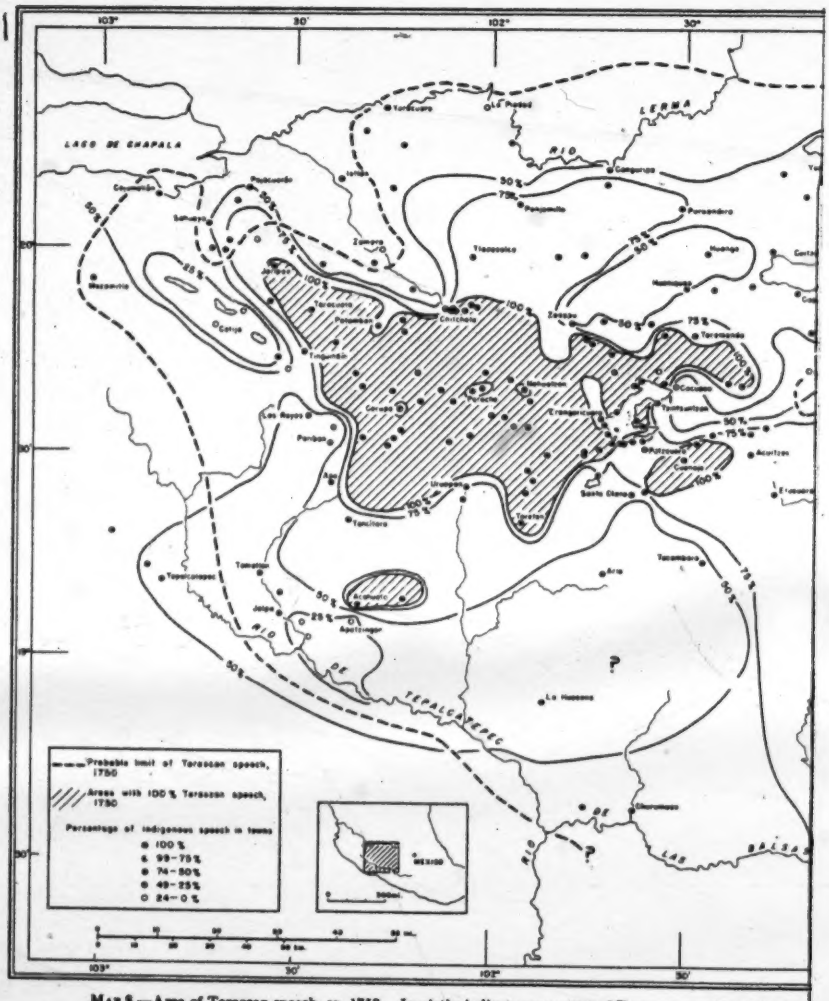
Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
797 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
177 had established themselves in most of the large
191 Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1534 to 1538 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 13a]

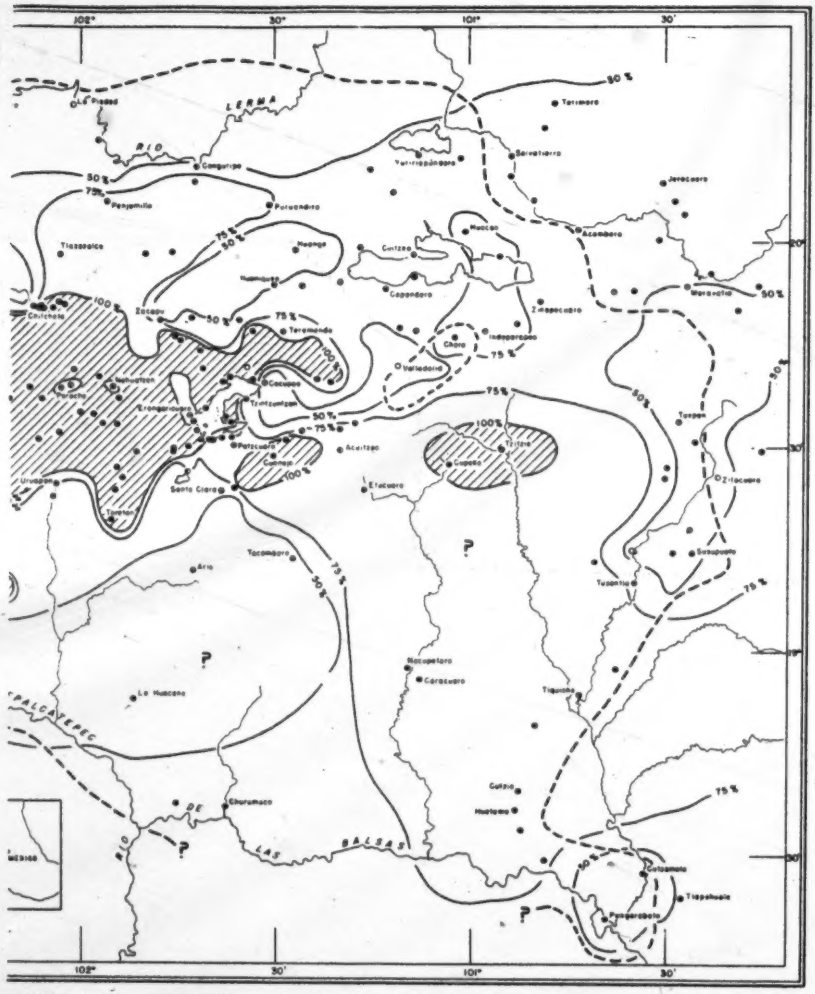
191



MAP 8.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1750. Isopiths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to tot

[Facing p. 12; section A]

191



opleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to total number of inhabitants at any given locality.

TARASCO O - 48 (Face p. 12)

[Facing page 12; section B]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 13-d]

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important
167 agents in substituting Spanish for the native
566 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
[166] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were estab-
[166] lished *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech [23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
[127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1759, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746–48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1808, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

563 **The western area.**—Immediately west of the
191 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern plateau landscape, which, like the North, was
177 early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1850. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1844; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1862.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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563 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers
177 and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large
Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but
191 the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern
[164] plateau. In the former area disease probably decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[35] The mill settlements (*trapiches, ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians
[464] were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, ex-
191 ploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente*
[177] and the establishment of smelting centers in Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[35] In 1840 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Turpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. I, p. 253).

[Text continues top of p. 172---Analyst]

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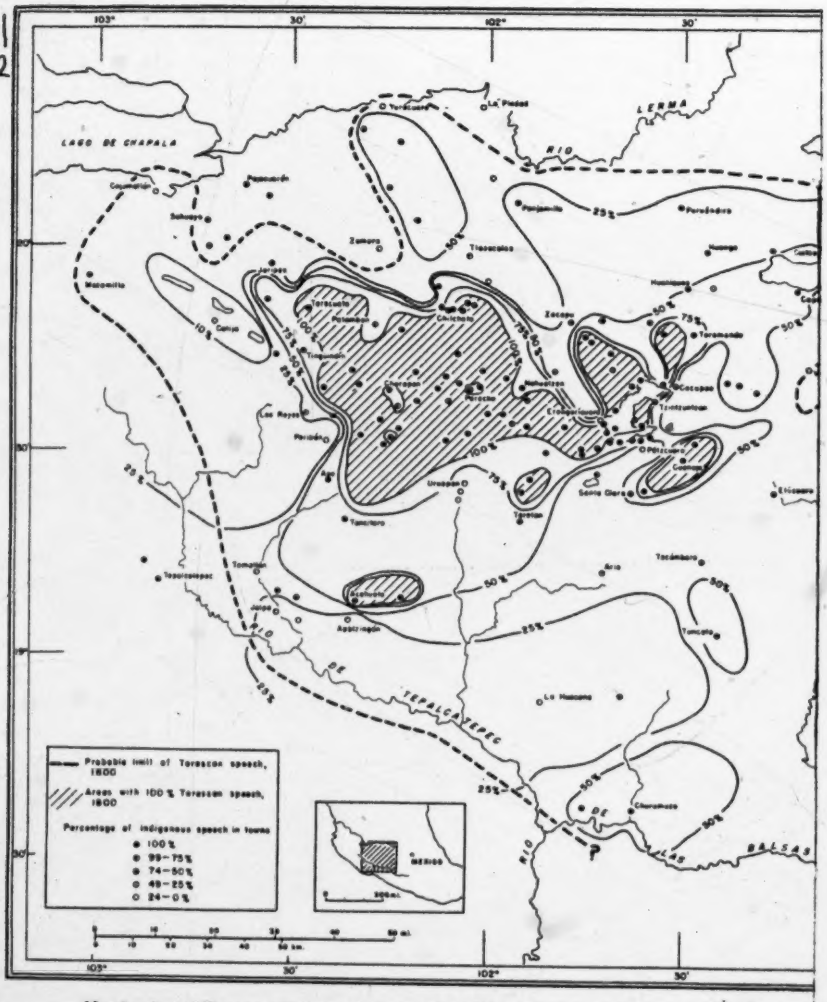

MAP 9.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1800. Isopleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to tot

[Facing page 14; section A]

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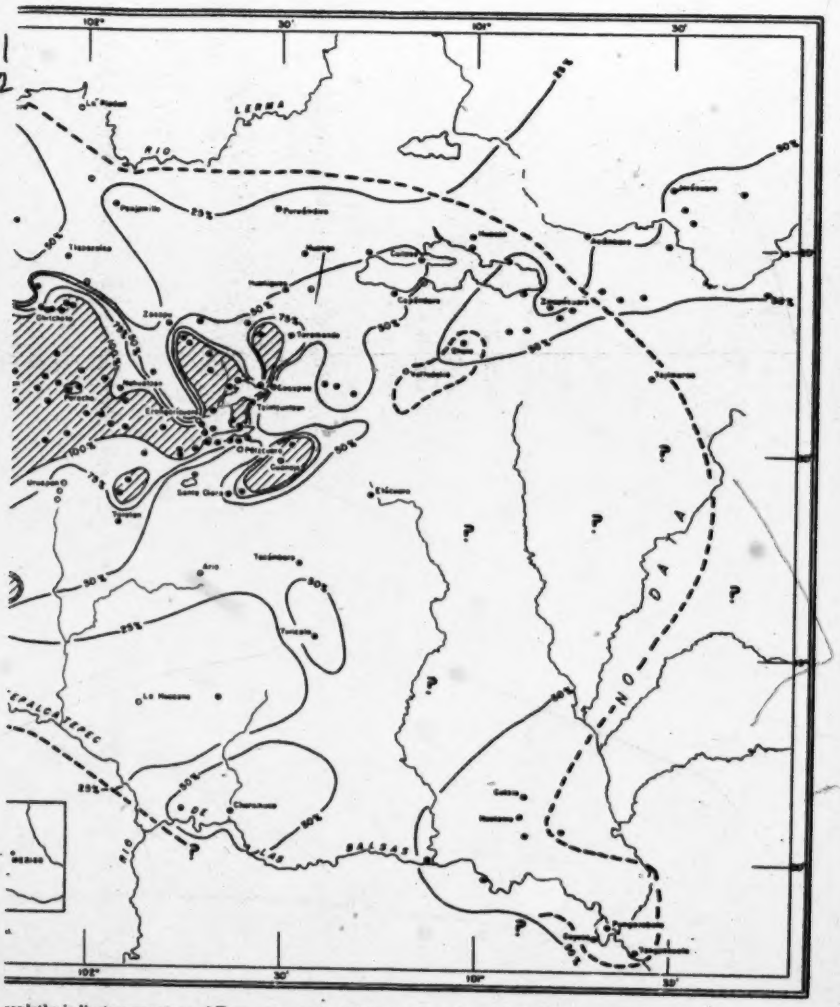
102°
30'
101°
30'
LERMA
RIO
BALSAS
NOAA
Zacapu
Tanhuato
Pénjamillo
Pénjamillo
Tarimbaro
Tacámbaro
Tiquicheo
Tlalpujahua
Zitácuaro
Tlalchapa
Tepalcatepec
Tepalcatepec
Arío
Tumbiscatío
Tumbiscatío
Tuxpan
Tuxpan
Tepalcatepec
Tepalcatepec
Tepalcatepec

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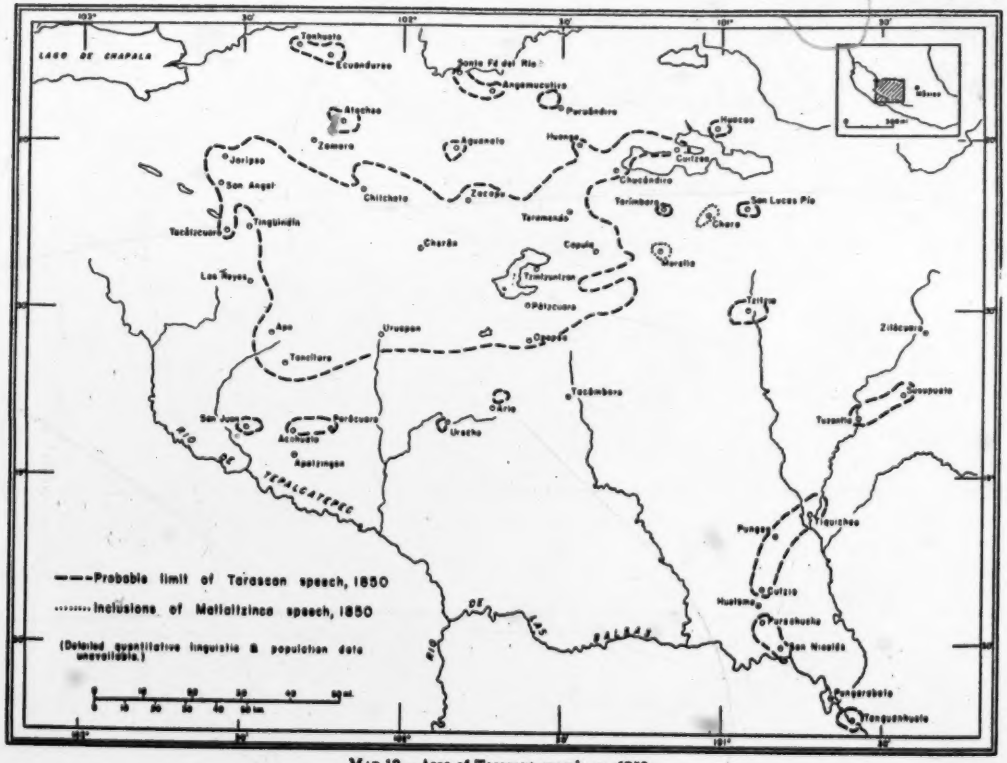
[P. 15]



MAP 10.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1850.

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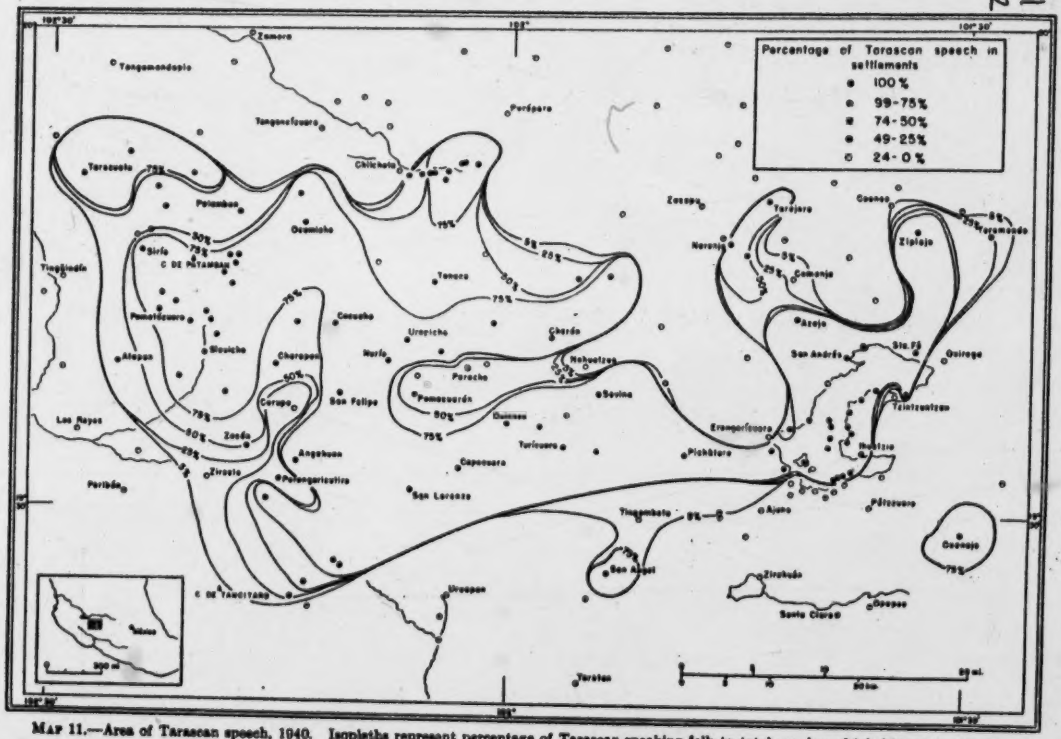
[P. 16]


Percentage of Tarascan speech in settlements
100%
99-75%
74-50%
49-25%
24-0%
Zamora
Tangamandapio
Tangancícuaro
Purépero
Chilchota
Tarécuato
Paracho
Pátzcuaro
Tiripetío
Pátzcuaro
Ihuatzio
Tzintzuntzan
Quiroga
Erongarícuaro
Pichátaro
Ajuno
Tiripitío
Cocucho
Ziracuaretiro
Zirosto
Angahuan
Cherán
Nahuatzen
Sevina
Turícuato
Capacuaro
San Lorenzo
Uruapan
Tingambato
San Angel
Zirahuén
Santa Clara
Ocumicho
Tanaco
Urecho
Charán
Nurio
Cocucho
Sirio
C. DE PAYAMBÉ
Tiripetío
Pomacuarán
Chuyuno
Zacapu
Jiquilpan
Cotija
Tarécuato
Zitácuaro
Tlalpujahua
Ocampo
Tlalpujahua
Ziracuaretiro
Tarécuato
Tarécuato
Tarécuato

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[P. 17-a]

191 Tarascan to Spanish was also low. Only one isolated area of solid native speech existed northeast of Apatzingán (the fruit-growing villages of Acahuato and Parácuaro). The 18th-century population figures for the sparsely inhabited, highly dissected hot country south of Morelia are not extant, but it was probably entirely Tarascan in language. In 50 years percentages of native speech had decreased, but the outer limits of the language remained practically unchanged. In 1850, however, only scattered islands of indigenous speech remained: along the Balsas at the southeastern extremity of the old Tarascan area (Tanganhuato, Pungarabato); a disjunct arc extending from the Balsas northeast to near Zitácuaro (San Nicolás, Purechucho, Cutzeo, Pungeo, Tiquicheo, Tuzantla, and Susupuato); the Acahuato-Parácuaro district; and the pueblo of San Juan de los Plátanos, west of Apatzingán (map 10). By 1940 Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* had entirely disappeared; only the small fruit town, San Angel Zurumucapio, represented the last remnant of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. Again, as in the northern plateau, the sudden collapse of native speech in the south came in the first half of the 19th century. There, the Tarascans have lost most heavily territorially, for the hot country, although a colonial area and probably lightly held in terms of population, comprised more than half of the old empire.

The present distribution of Tarascan speech is confined mainly to the *tierra fría*—Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra. These regions, together with La Cañada, appear to be a resistant core in which the Tarascans are making a last stand against complete loss of their native tongue. In the maps of 1750, 1800, and 1850 these regions stand out as the only large purely indigenous part of Tarasca.
191 The failure of Spaniards and their mulatto laborers to settle in the Sierra and in some sections
177 of the Lake district cannot be attributed to inaccessibility, for those areas are open country with few impediments to horse travel.[28] The Sierra was simply unattractive to Spanish exploitation. Neither it nor the Lake area contained mineral wealth. The pine-oak forests, with little palatable grass and numerous predatory animals, offered few attractions for the stockman.

[487] [28] The *camino real* from México to Nueva Galicia, via Pátzcuaro, traversed the center of the Sierra, passing through Pichátaro, Sevina, Nahuátzen, Cherán, and Chilchota.

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[P. 17-b]

191 Nor was the region's winter climate an induce-
177 ment.[27] The religious had penetrated all Indian settlements in the Sierra and Lake areas; every pueblo was under an absentee *encomendero* to whom tributes in money, grain, or handicrafts were paid periodically. But the Indians had little contact with the Spanish tongue. By 1750, however, some Spanish families, probably traders, had settled in a few Sierra market towns (Patamban, Paracho, Nahuatzen, Corupo), and in 1800 the towns of Charapan and Parangaricutiro also contained one or two Spanish families.[28] A large part of the inhabitants of those pueblos today speak only Castilian (map 12). After independence in 1822, a few Spaniards or mestizos established agricultural settlements on the Sierra, e. g. the *rancho* of Arato, now a pueblo 10 km. west of Paracho.

Although the Tarascan area first to harbor
361 Spaniards was the Lake region (Pátzcuaro, Tzint-
191 zuntzan), some of its pueblos have succeeded in
177 preserving the native tongue. Such towns are located on the islands and in isolated positions on the shore (northwestern edge of the lake, and the Tarıfu-k'éri Peninsula). By 1750 numerous Spanish haciendas and mestizo *ranchos* existed along the southern, southwestern, and northeastern borders of the lake. Cocupao (modern Quiroga), Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro at that time were approximately 50 percent Spanish-speaking, and the city of Pátzcuaro, the colonial administrative and economic center of the Lake area, was less than 25 percent Tarascan in speech. Today the language of the former colonial hacienda districts around the lake is completely nonindigenous. These include the entire southern shore, the northeastern section, and many points along the western border.

The history of the southern shore represents a
191 typical example of the influence of haciendas on
177 the hispanicization of native populations. By the mid-18th century large Spanish holdings had enveloped most of the native pueblos, contrary to laws which insured Indians a block of land (for

[27] The Sierra's unattractiveness to Spanish settlement is aptly described by the Franciscan friar, Diego Muñóz, writing in 1603 on the cultivated land near Capacuaro: ". . . *y no son tierras para mas que yndios criados alli que las tienen curados y experimentados; que españoles las aplicen poco por ser templa rriguroso al mas frio de machocaen acrecentandolo el ayre cuyo ordinario desabrido rrecio y delgado y la yerua es aspera, yautil para ganado.*" (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14).

[28] AAM, siglo XVIII, leg. 225 (1746); leg. 277 (1756). In 1798, 19 *gente de razón* lived in Charapan, 6 in Parangaricutiro, 40 in Corupo (AAM siglo XIX, leg. 175).

191 177 buildings) measuring 600 yards (*varas*) in each cardinal direction from the village church. Deprived of land, most of the men of the pueblos sought work in the sugar plantations in the *tierra templada* around Ario and Tacámbaro, returning only occasionally to their homes. Others became peons in the adjacent haciendas, working with mulatto and mestizo labor (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–306). Consequently, the decreased use and subsequent loss of the native language was inevitable. Only the fishers inhabiting the small Urandén Islands immediately offshore, who were unaffected by the haciendas, were able to preserve their native tongue.

MODERN LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTIONS

191 The modern Tarascan area is in no sense a solid block of indigenous speech (table 1). The inhabitants of only 32 of the 66 Tarascan towns and 31 of the 50 indigenous *ranchos* all speak the native tongue (map 12). Nearly 25 percent of the population within the present area is composed of mestizos who know only Spanish. Such people are mainly merchants and *arrieros* living in most of the Indian pueblos and farmers inhabiting nonindigenous *ranchos* scattered throughout the Sierra and the Lake district. Fifty years ago native market centers, the towns of Nahuatzen and Tingambato now contain but a handful of people who have retained the indigenous language. [162] According to 1940 census figures, only 35 percent of the inhabitants of Patamban are Tarascan in speech, 38 percent of those of Parangaricutiro, 30 percent of those of Paracho, 20 percent of those of Sirosto, and 10 percent of those of Corupo.* Moreover, in 1940, 18 mestizo *ranchos* were scattered between Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra. In addition to mestizo merchants and farmers, many Spanish-speaking lumbermen inhabit the ephemeral sawmills prevalent in the Sierra forests. Hence, infiltrating mestizo settlement has shattered the once-continuous indigenous area in the Sierra and Lake district into small islets of purely Tarascan speech. The more notable of these 191 islets are: (1) seven towns in La Cañada, (2) 361 the pueblos and *ranchos* grouped around the flanks of Cerro de Patamban, (3) the Tarecuato district, (4) a string of villages east of Cerro de

* The percentage for Corupo is open to question. Although no actual statistical sampling was done, an impression of a much greater percentage of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants was obtained by the writer when he visited that town in 1946.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 18-b]

191 361 Quinceo, and (5) the islands and adjacent shore settlements of Lake Pátzcuaro (map 11). (See table 1.)

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940* [1]

[Data from official census, 1940]

THE SIERRA

191 162 961

Locality [1a]	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Charapan:			
Charapan (p)	1,715	1,311	76.4
San Felipe (p)	887	796	89.5
Huancho (r)	20	20	100.0
Rancho Nuevo (r)	24	19	63.0
La Palma (r)	161	0	.0
Municipio of Cherán:			
Cherán (p)	3,286	2,969	87.6
Cocumo (r)	195	81	41.0
Tripiatiro (r)	34	29	83.7
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Huécato (r)	127	0	0
Los Nogales (r)	306	0	0
Rancho Seco (r)	60	0	0
El Pedregal (r)	118	0	0
Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Canas (r)	26	0	0
Porumbo (h)	49	0	0
La Zarzamora (r)	92	0	0
Zincíro (r)	413	0	0
Municipio of Los Reyes:			
Atapan (p)	1,601	357	35.6
Jesús Días (Siris) (p)	696	696	100.0
Pamatácuaro (p)	1,323	1,372	99.2
Sicuicho (p)	839	709	84.5
Zacán (p)	876	420	80.1
Cherato (r)	271	261	96.3
La Providencia (r)	95	96	100.0
San Benito (r)	253	253	100.0
San Luis Sorena (r)	64	64	100.0
La Tinaja (r)	154	154	100.0
El Tropezón (r)	84	84	100.0
Uringuitiro (Juaquitiro) (r)	267	267	100.0
Zarzamora (r)	120	120	100.0
Querándaro (r)	60	60	100.0
La Mesa (r)[2]	[3] 120	120	100.0
San Marcos Arachécuria (r)[2]	[3] 80	80	100.0
La Jolla (r)[2]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tapan (r)[2]	[3] 80	80	100.0
Tierras Blancas (r)[2]	[3] 85	85	100.0
Venado (r)[2]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Nahuatzen:			
Nahuatzen (p)	3,046	25	.7
Aranícpacua (p)	600	600	100.0
Cumachuán (p)	1,059	1,039	98.2
Sevina (p)	821	375	98.4
Turicuaro (p)	749	749	100.0
La Mojonera (p)	821	0	0
El Padre (r)	94	0	0
El Pino (r)	132	0	0
San Isidro (r)	845	9	.1

[1] This table does not necessarily include statistics for all settlements within a given municipio. The boundaries of many municipios listed, such as Los Reyes and Pátzcuaro, extend beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech; in such cases many purely mestizo towns and ranches have been omitted. However, all settlements containing Tarascan-speaking inhabitants are listed.

[1a] In this column (c)=ciudad; (v)=villa; (p)=pueblo; (r)=rancho; (rr)=railroad station; (h)=hacienda.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 19a --- Analysis]

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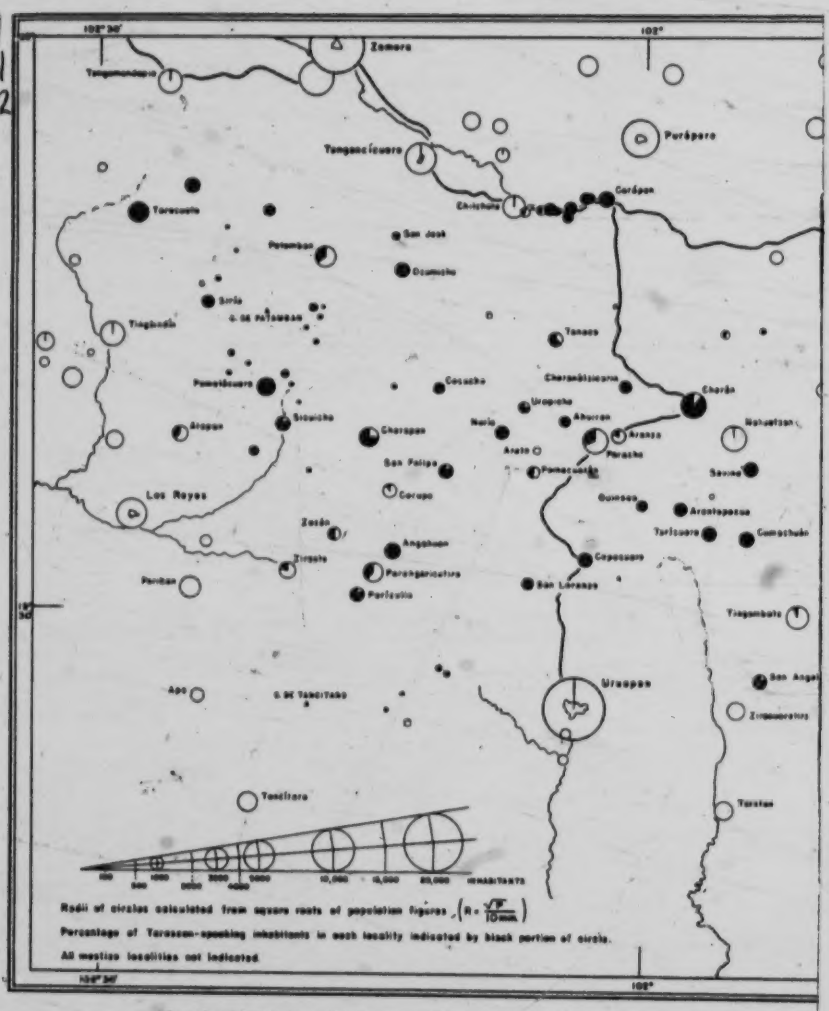

MAP 12.—Distribution of Tarascan speech by settlements, 1940. Based on official 1940 census da

[Facing page 18; section A.]

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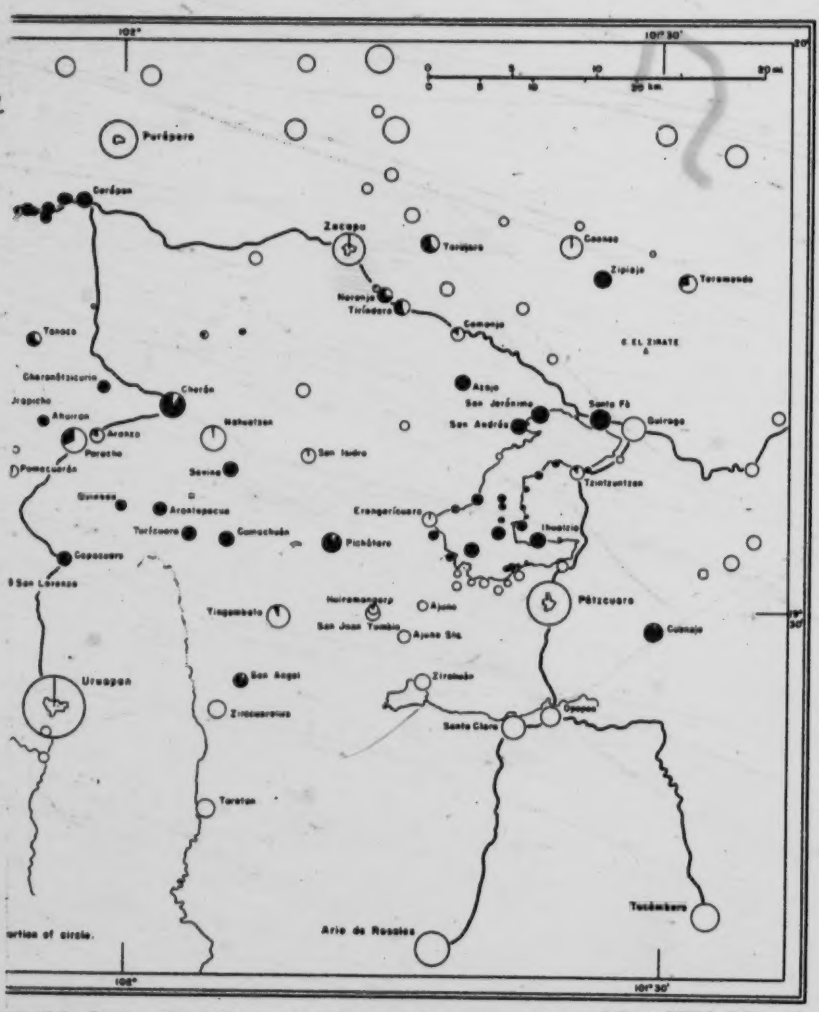

ints, 1940. Based on official 1940 census data. A few small Tarascan ranchos are not indicated.

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[Facing page 18; section B]

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[P. 19-a]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Parácho:			
Parácho (v)	3,304	1,005	30.4
Ahuirac (p)	593	593	100.0
Aranza (p)	792	136	17.1
Arato (p)	233	0	0
Cocuche (p)	584	584	100.0
Cheranátzieurin (p)	751	751	100.0
Nurio (p)	810	784	96.7
Pomacuaran (p)	628	288	45.8
Quineco (p)	482	482	100.0
Tanaco (p)	949	629	66.3
Urapicho (p)	541	422	78.0
Paréipitiro (r)	107	23	21.5
El Tejocote (r)	81	74	91.3
Municipio of Parangaricutiro:			
Parangaricutiro (p)	1,895	726	38.2
Angahuan (p)	1,098	1,098	100.0
Cerupo (p)	813	85	10.4
Paricutín (p)	733	620	84.6
Zirosto (p)	1,314	269	20.5
La Alberca (r)	81	[4](?)	(?)
La Atascada (r)	74	[4](?)	(?)
Barranca Seca (r)	89	4	4.5
Canoa Alta (r)	21	0	0
Las Canoas (r)	113	0	0
La Cantera (r)	59	40	67.8
Las Cocinas (r)	[5] 0	0	0
Los Desmontes (r)	23	0	0
El Estudiante (r)	26	8	30.7
Huanondio (r)	80	0	0
Los Lobos (r)	29	0	0
Sipicha (r)	20	0	0
El Tejamanil (r)	84	0	0
El Tepemal (r)	51	44	90.0
El Tepetate (r) [3]	[5] 50	22	45.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Cuanajo (p)	1,735	1,682	97.0
Huiramangaro (p)	540	17	3.1
San Juan Tumbio (p)	887	0	0
Ajuno (p)	540	0	0
Ajuno Sta. (rr)	719	0	0
Municipio of Tanéitaro:			
Tanéitaro (v)	1,858	6	.3
Apo (p)	876	0	0
Municipio of Tangamandapio:			
Tangamandapio (p)	2,573	12	.5
Tarecuato (p)	2,146	2,146	100.0
La Cantera (r)	962	962	100.0
Las Encinillas (r)	78	78	100.0
Los Laureles (r)	8	8	100.0
Uzuarán (r)	308	0	0
Municipio of Tangancícuaro:			
Ocumicho (p)	1,040	1,013	97.8
Patamban (p)	2,333	809	34.9
San José de Gracia (p)	170	147	86.4
Agua Escondida (r)	32	32	100.0
Aranza (r)	54	21	39.0
Camécuaro (r)	37	2	5.4

[3] Locality not listed in 1940 census. Names obtained from local inhabitants.

[5] Estimated population.

[4] Entirely mestizo according to census, but 100 percent Tarascan according to officials in San Juan Nuevo (Los Conejos) in 1946.

[5] Uninhabited in 1940, but estimated population in 1946 around 35, all Tarascan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 196]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tangancicuaro—Continued			
Las Cañas (r)	81	20	39.2
Guarachanillo (r)	22	9	40.9
Rancho Nuevo (r)	38	3	8.0
Las Trojes (r)	14	0	0
El Tenguecho (r)	471	450	95.5
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Pichátaro (p)	1,877	1,740	92.7
Municipio of Tingüindín:			
Tingüindín (v)	2,897	15	.5
Tacátzcuaro (p)	1,456	7	.4
Las Trojes (r)	45	0	0
Municipio of Uruapan:			
San Lorenzo (p)	575	575	100.0
Capacuaro (p)	785	775	98.1
Charangueran (r)	120	0	0
Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo) (p) [6]	(7)	(7)	(7)

THE LAKE AREA

Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Erongarícuaro (p)	1,209	14	1.1
Arócutín (p)	211	211	100.0
Jarácuaro (p)	575	575	100.0
Napízaro (p)	239	214	[7] 89.5
Puácuaro (p)	498	498	100.0
Uricho (p)	461	461	100.0
Nocutzepo (p)	409	0	0
Técuaro (p)	188	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	214	0	0
Opongnio (r)	175	15	8.5
Revolución (r)	10	10	100.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Pátzcuaro (c)	9,557	[8] (7)	(7)
Janitzio (p)	771	748	97.0
Ibarra (Pátzcuaro Sta.)	829	13	1.5
Huecorio (p)	499	0	0
Tzentzenguaro (p)	268	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (p)	412	0	0
Primo Tapia (p)	369	0	0
San Pedro Pareo (p)	294	0	0
Carián (r)	37	37	100.0
Tecuena (r)	73	73	100.0
Urandén Morales (r)	39	39	100.0
Urandén Morelos (r)	164	164	100.0
San Pedrito (r)	14	14	100.0
Yunuén (r)	118	118	100.0
Yuretzie (r)	170	14	8.2
Municipio of Quiroga:			
Quiroga (v)	3,039	4	.1
San Andrés (p)	1,179	1,165	98.8
San Jerónimo (p)	1,537	1,513	98.1
Santa Fé de la Laguna (p)	2,056	2,056	100.0
Atzimbo (r)	179	0	0
Chupícuaro (r)	31	0	0
Ichácato (r)	240	0	0
La Tirimiosa (r)	88	0	0
Tzirandagatzio (r)	24	0	0

[6] Inhabited 1944. Official census figures not available.

[7] In 1948, according to local inhabitants, Napízaro was only 30 percent Tarascan.

[8] Owing to loss of original census data, the number of Tarascans in Pátzcuaro could not be calculated. The percentage would probably be extremely low.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 20-a]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE LAKE AREA—Continued

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361
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Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tzintzuntzan:			
Tzintzuntzan (c)	1,077	33 (° 156)	3.2(° 12.7)
Cucuchucho (p)	206	279	94.5
Ihuatzio (p)	1,208	1,206	100.0
La Pacanda (p)	247	240	97.1
Coenembo (r)	451	0	0
Los Corrales (r)	177	0	0
Las Cuevas (r)	89	0	0
Las Granadas (r)	92	92	100.0
Ichupio (r)	162	162	100.0
Itzíparámuru (r)	46	15	36.9
La Noria (r)	33	0	0
El Ojo de Agua (r)	104	104	100.0
Patambicho (r)	261	0	0
Las Pilas (r)	67	0	0
Santa Cruz (r)	178	0	0
Taverio (r)	201	194	96.5
El Teocolote (r)	12	0	0
El Tigre (r)	119	0	0
Ucasanástacua (r)	110	110	100.0
La Verdolaga (r)	78	0	0
La Vinata (r)	71	71	100.0
THE NORTHERN PLATEAU REGION			
Municipio of Coeneo:			
Coeneo (v)	3,450	6	.2
Azajo (p)	1,097	1,088	99.2
Comanja (p)	806	91	11.3
Zipiajo (p)	1,311	1,302	99.4
Bellas Fuentes (h)	876	1	.1
Laredo (r)	345	1	.3
Matugeo (r)	484	0	0
Tungultiro (r)	749	2	.2
Municipio of Zacapu:			
Zacapu (v)	6,189	14	.2
Cantabria (p)	1,123	0	0
Naranja (p)	1,082	763	70.5
Tarejero (p)	1,457	891	61.1
Tirindaro (p)	1,282	695	54.8
Buenavista (h)	224	7	3.1
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	151	2	1.3
San Antonio (r)	989	0	0
Municipio of Morelia:			
Morelia (c)	44,304	32	.07
Teremendo (p)	1,331	379	28.4
Tres Puentes (r)	176	6	3.4
LA CAÑADA			
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Chilchota (p)	2,479	9	.4
Acachuén (p)	717	712	99.3
Carapan (p)	1,389	1,340	96.5
Huáncito (p)	768	759	98.8
Ichán (p)	776	776	100.0
Santo Tomás (p)	285	282	99.0
Tacuro (p)	445	445	100.0
Tanaquillo (p)	439	194	44.0
Urén (p)	339	135	39.6
Zocopo (p)	339	339	100.0

° Number and percentage of Tarascans in Tzintzuntzan, 1945, according to ethnographical census. The percentage was calculated on the basis of 1,321 inhabitants in Tzintzuntzan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 20-b]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

LA CAÑADA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Chilchota—Continued			
La Cofradía (r)	89	0	0
Tzintzicha (r)	117	48	41.0
Municipio of Tangancícuaro:			
Tangancícuaro (v)	4,792	10	.2
Etúcuaro (p)	871	9	1.0
TIERRA TEMPLADA			
Municipio of Ziracuaritiro:			
San Angel Zurumuapio (p)	970	822	84.7
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Tingambato (p)	2,768	204	7.3
Municipio of Uruapan:			
Uruapan (c)	20,583	111	.5
Jucutácato (p)	509	5	1.0
La Rosa de Castilla (r)	60	2	3.3
Toreo Alto (r)	240	3	1.2
Caltzontzin (p)[a]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Ario de Rosales:			
Villa Silva (p)[a]	(?)	(?)	(?)

[a] Inhabited 1943. Official census figures not available.

191 **Distribution of monolingual Tarascans.**—In
162 spite of continued areal recession of native speech and infiltration of mestizos, monolingualism still exists in many parts of Tarasca. According to calculations from 1940 census data, approximately 38 percent of the Tarascan population is monolingual. Personal field experience, however, would indicate that a smaller proportion (probably 20 percent) speak only Tarascan. The monolinguals are composed principally of conservative women and girls and the older men living in the more isolated pueblos and *ranchos*. Pronounced monolingual centers are scattered through the Tarascan area and correspond to the islets of purely indigenous speech mentioned above (map 13). One center includes the *ranchos* around the Cerro de Patamban and also the majority of women in the pueblos of Pamatácuaro, Sicuicho, and Sirío, nearby. (According to data from the 1940 census, approximately 67 percent of the Tarascan population of this area is monolingual. Following percentages in this paragraph are calculated from the 1940 census.) Another center includes Tarecuato and the adjacent *rancho* of La Cantera (66 percent monolingual). Still another area is situated southwest of Nahuatzen, and consists of the pueblos of Quinceo, Turícuaro,

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 22b—ANALYS]

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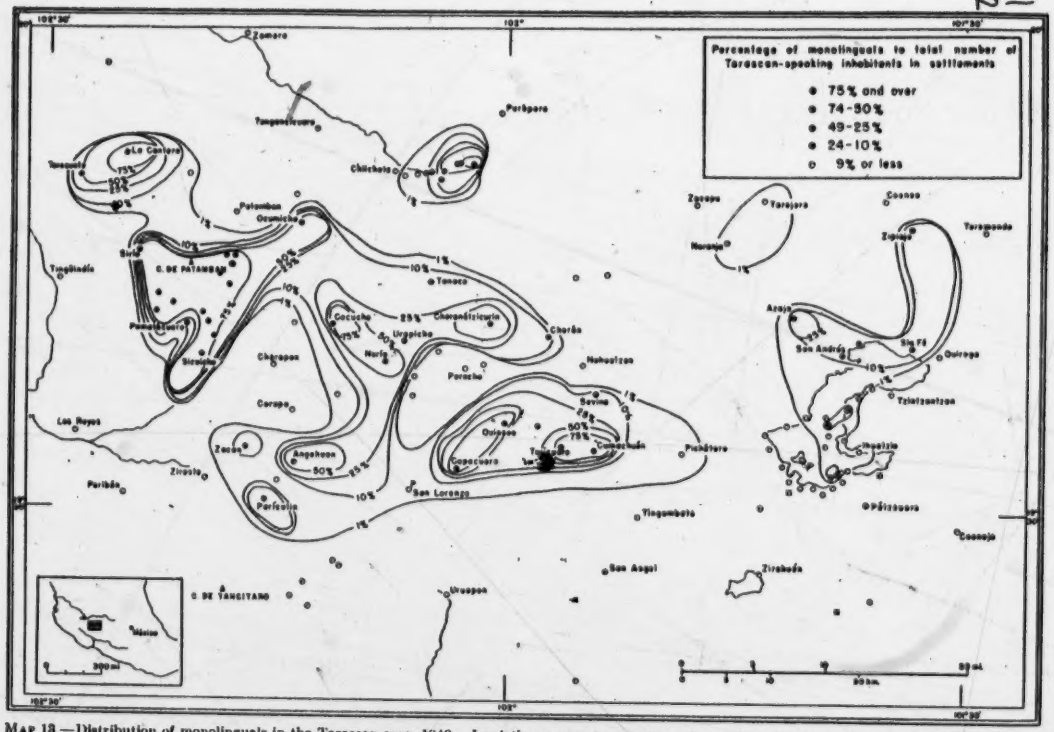
[P.21]



MAP 13.—Distribution of monolinguals in the Tarascan area, 1940. Isopleths represent percentage of monolinguals to total number of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants in the area. Based on official 1940 census data.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 22-b]

191 and Cumachuén (62 percent monolingual). Moreover, the pueblos of La Cañada, adjacent to modern transportation facilities, are surprisingly monolingual (59 percent). Other scattered, ultraconservative towns, such as Angahuan, Cocucho, and Cheranátzicurin in the Sierra, contain a large number of monolinguals.

731 **Effects of Paricutin Volcano.**—The eruption of
166 Paricutin Volcano early in 1943 caused the redistribution of some of the Tarascan population.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-c]

161 **Possible future trends in Tarascan population.**—Judging from the long-range trend in both
191 areal recession and actual numerical decrease in Tarascan-speaking folk, it would appear that the Tarascan language is headed toward extinction. Figure 1 indicates the terrific human toll taken by the European epidemics during the first 50 years of Spanish occupation, and the leveling off of the downward curve [21] until after 1920, when increases are reported by the 1930 and 1940 censuses. In the period 1930–40 the rate of increase in Tarascan population equaled that of the mestizo element. This period of increase is too short to conclude

[21] At the end of the 18th century, decrease in Tarascan population was still outstanding enough to be reported officially to the central government in Mexico City. Commenting on the population increase in the diocese of Michoacán from 1700 to 1793, an official reports: "*Hay al considerable aumento de 58,149 vecinos . . . pero debe advertirse que esto segun las noticias comunicadas por los subdelegados, é informes recividos en el asunto, es de españoles, mulatos, y demas castas, pues en la de los Indios se experimenta mucha decadencia o diminución originada en unos pueblos de la mezcla de estos con distintas calidades; en otros de las graves y continuas enfermedades, que han padecido; en otros de las pensiones, que cargan insoportables a su felicidad, quando es corto el numero de los obligados a ellos; y en otros finalmente a la escasez de tierras para su precisa subsistencia, sobre lo qual para no confundir el estado antecedente se acompaña uno, que manifiesta los Pueblos, a quienes faltan aun de 500 varas, que por cada viento las asigna la ley . . .*". (AGN Historia, vol. 72, exped. 1 (1793)).

that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b—ANALYST]

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[22] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b—ANALYST]

[22] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of villa or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,677 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 24-b]

161 appear. Such cultural changes—improved trans-
191 portation, more frequent contact with modern
life, increased educational facilities both within
191 the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the
Government alphabetization program—all aid
177 to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease
the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

361 men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo
621 Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

361 **Settlement sites.**—The few available early descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[33] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[33] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castello (1939-46); many documents concerning the congregations of 1598-1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 186 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from 554 an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their performance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally 533 performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[122] Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

increase in reported Indian parents by the older group may also reflect awareness of the social changes which have been occurring over the decades, and the heavy incidence of Indian parents reported may merely be a reflection of the fact that "things were not always thus." One elderly man, commenting on the changes which he had seen in Paracho since his youth, said, "In that time the people spoke only Tarascan, and the race was *naturalito*, all *Indios* here. Since the burning of the town (in 1917 during the 1910-1920 Revolution) the people speak only Castilian."

TABLE 2

AGE OF RESPONDENT AND REPORTED RACE OF PARENTS

Age of Informant	Fathers		Mothers	
	Indian	Mestizo	Indian	Mestiza
Under 20	5	5	6	4
21-30	20	18	18	20
31-40	28	32	33	27
41-50	36	18	37	17
51-60	30	10	34	6
61 and over	22	4	20	6
Total	141	87	148	80

These explanations are admittedly not biological. Indeed, it can be demonstrated empirically that to the extent to which the question aroused any interest at all, the residents of Paracho are not concerned with genetic (racial) explanations. Of thirty-seven explanations as to why their parents are considered to be Indian the following reasons were given: the parents were "from here in Paracho" in thirteen instances; they were "born in Paracho" in nine instances; they were said to have been born "in an Indian place" in nine instances; they were described as descended (in the male line) from those who had come to Paracho from Paracho Viejo in the 16th century in five instances. The eight other reasons included the following: "Because in 1901 the people were more *Natural* and today they are more civilized"; "parent is *Indigena*, but on the basis of color is with the French or the Spanish"; "All of us are pure people, Indians — we are of this population"; "In that time there were no mixtures"; "More Indian than *de razon*, like it still is, *Natural*, no?" and finally, "Indian, the same as the rest of us."

From the twenty-one explanations concerning Mestizo parents the following tabulation results. In seven instances the parent concerned was said to have been born elsewhere. In four instances the parents are described as Mestizo because they do not, or did not, speak Tarascan. In two cases the parents were "more white." In two responses they were "like ourselves" (*i.e.*, the speakers). And in one instance the parents were considered to be Mestizo because they were born in Paracho. Of the miscellaneous reasons the following are illustrative: ". . . my father is a little Spanish, the Indians don't have a beard." "They were *de razon*, but from the *ranchos*." One man said he did not know how to answer as his parents

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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186 spoke both Tarascan and Spanish; his wife told him that his father was *de razon* and he said, "Well, my mother was this also." The other 198 individuals in the sample did not consider that any elaboration other than the answer to the question was necessary — another indication of the relative unimportance of the distinction in the town.

Through all of these explanations it can be seen that place of birth is apparently primary in determining the ethnic group with which one will later (if ever) be identified, with the ability to speak the Tarascan language second in importance. There is evidence that Tarascan as the idiom
186 of the community was no longer in favor even several generations ago.
191 Not only is the use of Tarascan in Paracho limited today to members of the oldest generation, but several people showed their dislike for the language and implied that their parents did not teach it to them, or did so only inadequately. Children today are not learning Tarascan, and this tie with Indian culture is rapidly disappearing.

186 The place of birth of the parents may be correlated with ethnic origin to determine to what extent the ethnic composition of the community depends on birthplace. The data indicate that either more Mestizos are coming into Paracho from the outside, or that more of the people who have come to Paracho from elsewhere are considered to be Mestizos. In most instances the places whence the parents had emigrated were small
[166] Sierra Tarascan villages and towns, considered by Parachoans to be "Indian places." In moving to the larger center these individuals had identified themselves (or had been identified by their children) with the more urban, Mestizo, way of life. Among parents born outside Paracho 54.5 per cent of mothers are classed as Mestiza and 58.0 per cent of fathers are reported as Mestizo.

TABLE 3

"RACE" OF FATHER AND MOTHER ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH[6]

Reported as:	Father born Paracho	Father born elsewhere	Mother born Paracho	Mother born elsewhere
Indian	120	26	143	25
Mestizo	53	36	49	30
Total	173	62	192	55
	χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 14.54		χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 16.33	
	$P < 0.0002$		$P < 0.0001$	

Although a majority of parents born elsewhere are described as Mestizo, others are called Indian. The stereotype of the Indian (not native to Paracho) held by the local citizenry is similar to that reported by other investigators in Mexico.[7] The Indians in near-by communities have the

[6] Parents born in forty-six communities other than Paracho are represented in the total sample.

[7] George Foster, *Empire's Children, The People of Tzintzuntzan*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6 (Washington, 1948), p. 32.
Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 53-54.
Robert Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 75.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure. [192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iauárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought 333 from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the [492] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town. [324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of

[continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ¢arímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas- [335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones 335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*" [3] (pí¢ekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*

[continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "*purias*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*uaxi*).

[P. 3]
[P. 2 contains no text]

PREFACE

The author wishes to express his thanks to the Wenner-
122 Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (formerly The Viking Fund) for a predoctoral fellowship under which the library research and a substantial part of the writing of this paper were done, as well as to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant which allowed the completion of the manuscript.

In writing Tarascan words we use the alphabet approved
104 by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas in 1939. It follows
194 Spanish usage in so far as possible.

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in Spanish. ʌ is a high central vowel.

The consonants b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, p, s, t have Spanish values.

ȼ is pronounced like Spanish *ts*
č is pronounced like Spanish *ch*
z is pronounced like English *dz*
ǰ is pronounced like English *j*
ŋ is pronounced like English *ng* in sing.
In the Lake dialects it becomes *n*.
r appical flap, like Spanish *r* in *cara*
ɹ coronal flap
š is pronounced like English *sh*
p',t', etc. are aspirated

PEDRO CARRASCO

March, 1952

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[P. vi]

PHONETIC NOTE

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The phonetic symbols used conform to the Tarascan alphabet approved by the Congreso de Filólogos y Lingüistas of México in 1939 and employed by the Tarascan Project of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The alphabet is based on standard Spanish usage insofar as possible, with additional symbols added for Tarascan and with some clarification of the Spanish symbols as indicated below.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have Spanish values. The vowel ʌ is intermediate between Spanish *i* and *u*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t* have regular Spanish values. In addition the following symbols are used:

- ʧ is the equivalent of English or Spanish *ts*.
- č is the equivalent of English *ch*.
- ŋ is used for the sound of English *ng* in "sing."
- ǰ is the equivalent of French *j*.
- ʌ is intermediate between Spanish *l* and *r*.
- ř is the equivalent of Spanish *rr*.
- š is the equivalent of English *sh*.
- ž is the equivalent of English *z*.
- ʧʰ, čʰ, kʰ, pʰ, and tʰ are aspirated forms of the consonants given above.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883]

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Kolíṗs atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskákua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurínṗkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *rs* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "l" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *kolíṗs* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him
159 as the leader of a bloody riot.

As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

An entirely different type of organization is
474 the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed
[578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still
474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás-
159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically
[195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

The organization of the cooperative would
474 give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest
313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress.
[864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave mis-
736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
[195] when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 About 25 percent of the boys go to school at ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are
871 ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

Actual participation in adult work begins at
868 about 8 years for boys. At this age they accompany their fathers to the woods and help
857 carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

HOUSE
FURNISHINGS

342 The terms "house," or "*troje*," and "*cocina*" as
343 employed in the Sierra refer to the construction
196 of the house rather than to its use. Normally, each family has a house and a kitchen. In the kitchen, the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The house serves as a storage place for all types of property. In it also is kept the image of the family saint. Sometimes in place of a "*troje*," a "*cocina de torito*" is floored and used for storage. Despite this shift in use, the structure is still called a "*cocina*," or kitchen.

343 The "*troje*" contains a minimum of furnishings.
353 The loft is used purely for crop storage and usually
774 has no furnishings whatever. The lower floor

[p. 21c]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and
224 the amount of game taken forms an inconsiderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Corpulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or
164 incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

105 To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the [263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*, [278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is collected from November to May. [252] The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, 412 the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in Italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

527 The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on Saturday, but the main events take place on
543 Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make quantities of miniature breads about an inch
[436] and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
543 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a special high-pitched cry used on no other occa-
198 sion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Aríjeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 122a]

527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
198 of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 Often a group of young men will ask per-
541 mission of the municipal authorities to collect the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
796 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 The Octava occurs a week after Easter
443 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
541 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

583 after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

Opportunities for courting and for making
584 arrangements are few. The boy may visit the girl's house only on rare occasions, such as the *melebris* before Christmas, although he may occasionally have accompanied his parents on a visit. He also may speak to the girl at the door of her courtyard or exchange a word or two when she is on the streets with her mother carrying water. The best opportunities are the rare occasions when the girl may be allowed on the streets alone in the daytime to visit a relative or to run an errand nearby and especially when she has been allowed to go somewhere with other girls. Sunday afternoon is the main time for courting. A boy uses a
[198] special whistle to attract the attention of a girl. If she is with other girls, all stop, and the boy uses signs to indicate which one he wishes to talk to. The other girls go on slowly and the indicated one, if she is interested, lingers behind for a few minutes' conversation.

The standards for choice of spouse by a boy
581 are several. A boy wants an attractive-looking girl who is fairly tall and of medium build and who also is industrious and of good family. This means her family is not completely poverty-stricken, her father not a drunkard, and her mother not "perverse" (apparently meaning "immoral"). Also, the girl should be
582 either the same age or a year or two younger than the boy. In a few instances the girl is a
587 year or two older. No cases were reported of widows marrying younger men, but sometimes a widower marries a younger woman. One case cited is a man of over 65 who has a wife

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

483 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
[602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

343 A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The
342 simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína
335 tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (aɣájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.93a]

THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in *barrio*—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18–30 (17–30 for *barrio* III)	29	16	62	86	193
31–40	24	13	55	35	157
41–50	17	15	62	62	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	12	26	15	60
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
[212] Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	73	47	124	63	307
[463] Laborer	6	5	119	133	265
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker	.....	2	.....	1	3
Mason	1	.....	3	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2	.....	.....	3
Musician	1	1	2	.....	4
Maestro	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Shoemaker	.....	1	6	1	8
Tilemaker	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Various or none given	4	7	3	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 Additional incomplete but interesting data 217 on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 54).

608 The *compadres* both have the duty of visiting one another when one of them is sick or has encountered some difficulty and, if it is possible, help him in some form. When one of the *compadres* has a duty (that is, a wedding, funeral, *mayordomía*, house roofing, house moving, or fiesta duty), it is the duty of the other to accompany him as many days as may be necessary. (The same mutual obligation exists between godparents and godchildren.)

When a godson kidnaps a girl with intention of marrying her, it is the duty of the father of the youth, before all else, to go to the house of the godfather of the youth, that is his (the father's) *compadre* and give him the news so that they may present themselves together in the house of the bride. This is a duty of the godfather. This duty (the father) has toward the three godfathers, of baptism, confirmation, and crown.

The duties of the marriage *compadres* are limited solely to accompanying each other when one has some obligation (such as wedding, *mayordomía*, etc.), the moving or termination of a house, and the duty of saluting each other with the name of "*compadre*."

Method of selecting *compadres*. In selecting the *compadres* some of the following characteristics are taken into consideration:

1. When a family wishes to have *compadres*, in general if it is rich it endeavors to find *compadres* in the same category.

2. If the family is poor, it tries to have a *compadre* in its same category, as it has been seen that sometimes when a poor person seeks a rich man as *compadre*, the latter accepts but afterwards he is ashamed to say "*compadre*" to the other who is somewhat poor. For this reason the latter (rich *compadres*) are not common.

3. Many times they (the parents) try to find a *compadre* who knows how to read. They say this is
[212] with the object that the infant will also be intelligent and know how to read. This is a belief among many, but it is not universal.

4. On other occasions efforts are made to find a *compadre* who is distinguished as a valiant person, in the sense of having bravery or, better, to be bold to fight when occasion offers—this, in general, indicates what among us is meant when a person is called "valiant"—with the object that the child will grow up and may be equally valiant as his godfather.

5. There are also cases in which a godfather is selected because he has done a favor on some past occasion or because of hope to receive some favor in the future. In general, this is the method of selecting a godfather. All usually try to find their *compadre* in an equal (social) category with these exceptions already noted.

The marriage *compadres:* In order to recognize one
608 another as *compadres* of marriage, it is necessary to
585 perform a certain act or ceremony in the moments when the last act of the marriage is about to terminate. This act takes place in the house or the kitchen (usually the latter) of the bridegroom. Present are the t'árepiti diosv tandari (marriage manager), the parents

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.110b]

632 Persons who are shocked at the procedures
662 at Cherán should seriously contemplate the
666 difficulties in carrying out a formal election
212 with written ballots with a population which is very largely illiterate. In this case economic limitations and lack of imagination prevented carrying out the system used in national elections where the candidates each select a color and separate ballots are printed in the different colors. The voter then asks for his ballot by color and drops it into the ballot box. Not secret, and lending itself to ballot box stuffing, the method is at least an attempt to deal with the problem of an illiterate electorate. In a town such as Cherán the method followed in the election described seems equally efficacious—as long as the officials are responsive to public opinion.

632 That unconventionalities are frequent in elec-
665 tions is further illustrated by the presidential
666 elections earlier in the same year. Many months before the election a group of Almazán followers organized and began an active campaign in the town. The followers of Camacho (the PRM group) remained inactive. At the end of 2 or 3 months a PRM delegation waited on the Almazán followers and pointed out that there had been no interference with their campaign but that nevertheless the bulk of the town favored Camacho. The facts were apparently indisputable, and when the PRM group stressed the fact that further campaigning could only result in creating divisions and dissensions in the town, the Almazán group ceased its campaign. At the election, Cherán cast a unanimous ballot for Camacho.

185 Two things of interest emerge from this
666 account. The first is the power of the argument against disunity in the community. Particularly in the Indian community, unity is prized almost above all else. Sophisticated in some ways as Cherán is, this argument is still one of the most potent that can be made. The second point of interest is the bearing this sequence of events has on interpretation of the national election returns in Mexico. What happened in Cherán probably happened in hundreds of other towns in Mexico and helps partly to explain the one-sided results usually reported in Mexican elections.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division.
425 Then each heir is required to sign (or someone signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

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THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in barrio—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18-30 (17-30 for barrio III)	29	18	62	86	195
31-40	24	12	55	33	157
41-50	17	15	52	62	146
51-60	15	10	27	18	70
61-70	7	13	26	13	60
71-80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	73	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	4	3	0	11
[212] Able to read	26	40	51	26	143
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	73	47	124	62	307
[463] Laborer	6	5	119	133	265
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker		3		1	3
Mason	1		2	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2			3
Musician	1	1	2		4
Maestro	1				1
Shoemaker		1	6	1	8
Tinsmaker			1		1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 Additional incomplete but interesting data
217 on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1933, p. 54).

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[p.93b]

162 the municipal records, which probably are rela-
217 tively complete and moderately accurate. The data have been worked up into tables 11 and 12 by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, one of the collaborators in the study.

TABLE 11.—*Births in Cherán, 1936-39*[1]

163
162

Year and month of birth	Total births	Boys	Girls	Percentage of boys	Percentage of girls
1936					
January	9	6	3	1.7	0.9
February	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
March	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
April	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
May	11	3	8	.9	2.3
June	26	11	15	3.2	4.4
July	23	11	12	3.2	3.5
August	21	12	9	3.5	2.6
September	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
October	9	2	7	.6	2.0
November	12	7	5	2.0	1.5
December	6	1	5	.3	1.5
1937					
January	3	2	1	.6	.3
February	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
March	15	5	10	1.4	2.9
April	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	19	13	6	3.7	1.7
July	21	9	12	2.6	3.5
August	13	6	7	1.7	2.0
September	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
October	12	6	6	1.7	1.7
November	15	7	8	2.0	1.7
December	22	9	13	2.6	3.8
1938					
January	13	8	5	2.3	1.5
February	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
March	6	3	3	.9	.9
April	24	14	10	4.0	2.9
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	5	2	3	.9	.9
July	11	5	6	1.4	1.7
August	22	10	12	2.9	3.5
September	10	7	3	2.0	.9
October	12	5	7	1.4	2.0
November	10	3	7	.9	2.0
December	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
1939					
January	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
February	13	5	8	1.4	2.3
March	20	9	11	2.6	3.2
April	23	12	10	3.7	2.9
May	24	13	11	3.7	3.2
June	18	16	2	4.6	.6
July	22	13	9	3.7	2.6
August	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
September	15	4	11	1.2	3.2
October	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
November	17	7	10	2.0	2.9
December	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
Total	690	347	343	100.0	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

163 Birth records are probably correct for all live births. There is some possibility that many stillbirths were not reported either in the birth statistics or the death statistics. Although a
[686] fine is levied against persons known to have buried a still-born child without registering the fact in the *municipio*, the fine is nominal, and municipal authorities believe that probably the majority of stillbirths are not reported.

632 He is in charge of the slaughterhouse; the collection of proper taxes and prevention of "black market" slaughtering are his responsibility. He supervises all questions of inheritance and the properties connected therewith, seeing that the heirs receive their due share of property. In cases of quarrels over inheritance, wounds [693] inflicted with knives or pistols, and murders, the *síndico* makes the initial investigations and prepares the papers for submission of the cases to the judge. The *síndico* receives no pay.

Secretary.—The secretary is named by the 632 mayor with the approval of the *ayuntamiento* 217 without a fixed term being set. His duties are to make all classes of documents and to maintain the municipal archives. These include the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. The secretary is paid $1.50 a day. He may augment this sum by preparing private documents for a fee. The office is fairly new; in the childhood of fairly young men there was no secretary. The present incumbent is not a native of the town.

632 *Veedor.*—The veedor is named by the *síndico* with the approval of the mayor. He is supposed to see that the water supply is functioning properly and to report any illegal acts. Apparently he receives no pay.

Treasurer.—The treasurer receives all the 632 town funds from various sources, including 651 fines above 1 peso, taxes, assessments, and funds from State and Federal sources. He is responsible for the collection of the small tax on vendors at the markets. He pays all bills of the *municipio* and must keep detailed accounts which are inspected by State officials. The office of treasurer is also new. His pay is 25 percent of the income. There is no term to his office.

Judge.—The judge and his *suplente* are 693 usually elected every 2 years but if the office is 632 satisfactorily filled, the election may not be held for 3 or 4 years. The judge hears all cases certified to him by the *síndico*. He may order brief imprisonment or fines, which are paid to the treasurer, but all serious cases are referred to the district court at Uruapan after a preliminary hearing. This is particularly true of murder cases or serious crimes. The judge reviews all cases of inheritance in which quarrels arise, and all land sales must be authorized

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and [437] begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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[p. 216]

THE FARMING CYCLE

221 241 A clearer picture of the agricultural cycle may be given by a monthly summary.

January: Little to do; second plowing of maize lands may begin.

February: Second plowing of maize lands.

March: Maize planting begins.

April: Maize planting; first cultivation of early maize at end of month; planting of vegetables and maize in *solares*.

May: Wheat harvest; second cultivation of maize.

June: Second cultivation of maize; some wheat threshing (continued in dry weather throughout rest of year).

July: Fairly free month; weeding of maize begins; second cultivation of maize continues.

August: Plowing for wheat.

September: Planting wheat; cutting maize fodder.

October: Plowing for maize; rains usually end; cutting maize fodder; wheat threshing nearly finished.

November: Maize harvest (if lower lands planted); plowing.

December: Maize harvest on higher lands; plowing.

SOIL PREPARATION

241 Land is prepared for field and garden crops (except for small kitchen gardens of cabbage and herbs) by plowing one or more times (pl. 4, upper left). The plow used is usually a wooden type (fig. 3). The Government has given some 30 steel plows to the *municipio*, which lends them to farmers; although these are all in use, they care for only a small part of the plowing.

231 241 492 Regardless of the type of plow, it is almost always drawn by oxen. Mules, and perhaps horses, undoubtedly are used sometimes, but not as frequently as in adjoining Aranza; in the entire season of 1940–41 no single instance was observed on Cherán lands. If the wooden plow is used, the long plow beam is attached to the ox yoke directly. Steel plows are attached to the ox yoke by a chain. An ox goad of wood, often with a chisellike metal butt (for sticking in the ground), is employed.

[427] A great many farmers own oxen; if they do not, they must rent them at 75 centavos to 1 peso a day, depending on the demand. If drivers are hired, 50 centavos a day is usual. On the other hand, if a man has rented his land on shares, he must make sure his tenants plow at the right time. Usually land is plowed twice before planting, but the depth rarely exceeds 6 inches.

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fun-
[262] gus. The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

243 672 685 Trespass by domestic animals and theft must be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 Unseasonal frost often damages corn, par-
[132] ticularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated (*"escarda"* also *"trozando"*) by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded
[412] *"chaponeado."* This is done by hand with a short machete, called *"os,"* with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

243 221 674 As soon as grain is well formed on the ears, some maize is used for food, usually roasted. At this time, also, guards must be set in the fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder (*"rastrojo"*) is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-[482] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which [285] miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 464 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

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[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans
105 appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

In this section are described the techniques of
128 the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the
[263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*,
[278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is col-
[252] lected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly
412 of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

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[p.13b]

105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 412 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 388 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing woolens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

222 237 *Honey gathering.*—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two [776] groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *boya* (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940). [104]

222 237 ing. The combs found here are round and hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravo*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon [752] juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If [481] the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk with a small special-type ax, tying himself with [412] a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

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[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain
no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the
larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is
to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt.
The latter method is said to be especially tasty,
but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of
these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and
eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the
native bee but is a little larger and makes its
nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.)
or more. No other animal food is collected and
the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied
with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three
mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs
and lavas are employed for house building,
foundations, and fences. The materials occur
either in the town itself or in barrancas within
a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic
cinders are also quarried out of the sides of
barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails,
streets, and yards. The supply of materials
far exceeds demand, and the public domain
affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from
a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa
Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within
the village. Most of the rock is prised out of
the upper face of the quarry in large pieces,
which usually are broken up in the fall to the
foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then
placed in piles, which later comers will not
molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abun-
dant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on
burros with ropes, while small pieces may be
placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used
only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient sup-
ply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[184] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

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[p.214a]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

245 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for
262 export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicuiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

Three varieties of squash are cultivated.
244 Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all
262 consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 The principal wild plant used for food in
262 Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and
443 Sunday, and the main sales take place on
262

423 hectares in size,[46] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[46]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33b]

[804]

[46] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a piece of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[46] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 224 gathering, although now of small importance, is 222 still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 33b]

262 is eaten only on Sundays or on fiesta days by those
252 who can afford it. On festive occasions, such as weddings, a whole mutton is stuffed with cleaned entrails and head and roasted in a large oven. (The roast is called *tatemado*, or uirikata.) On less prominent occasions pieces of mutton are often cooked with vegetables to make a kind of čuípu.

Pork is always eaten fresh; cured pork, such as ham, bacon, and sausage—all old Spanish meats—, has no place in modern Tarascan diet. Pieces of fresh pork are fried on the *comal*, or boiled with vegetables. A popular pork dish, especially in the Sierra, is *chicharrones* (cracklings), which consist of pieces of fresh pig skin well-cooked in a large copper caldron.[115] *Carnitas*, pieces of meat and fat, including spareribs, side meat, leg, etc., are also cooked in the caldron in many pueblos, and are commonly served in the markets of the large mestizo towns nearby.

FOOD-GATHERING ACTIVITIES

222 Tarascan women and children gather various
262 wild herbs, fungi, and fruit to supplement agricultural products. Among these the most important are the annual greens, or šakuá,[116] collected during the rains from June through September. They are usually found in disturbed ground, e. g. within and on the edges of wheat or maize fields. The women in some Sierra pueblos recognize more than 15 varieties of šakuá that are habitually gathered.[117] These are boiled with chile and
[252] salt to make atápakua. Although eaten in all modern Tarascan villages, such greens are of greater importance in the Sierra, where the garden vegetables common in the Lake and La Cañada areas are infrequently cultivated.

Mushrooms (terékueča) are collected in all Tarascan towns, and, like the annual greens, appear only in the rainy season. They are found in the fields, in the forest growing under decaying logs,

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[115] In the spring of 1946 a *chicharrón* cooking was observed in Pamatácuaro. After killing a hog the local butchers or others set up a caldron in the plaza to cook the skin. By the time the cracklings were well done, a large group of villagers had gathered to buy them at a few centavos each. The lard so rendered was sold to one of the local stores. The cooking of *chicharrones* is also common in many mestizo towns in central and northern Mexico.

[116] Šakuá is the Tarascan equivalent of the Nahuatl "quelitl," which has been hispanicized to *quelite*, the general term now used in Mexico for any kind of wild annual used for greens.

[117] Unfortunately, the Sierra was visited during the dry season, and consequently specimens of šakuá plants could not be collected for botanical classification. Verdolaga (*Portulaca oleracea*) and tender amaranth shoots, however, are common šakuá varieties.

222 and even in sheltered spots in the village streets.
262 Again, collecting is done by women and children, though men may bring home a mess of mushrooms found while cutting wood. Eight to ten edible varieties are known in most towns. Children are trained early to recognize the poisonous kinds, called uaríč-terékua (ghost mushroom). Terékueča are prepared by boiling and then frying
[252] in lard; they are also roasted with salt on the *comal* or over live coals; sometimes they are boiled and mixed with chile sauce. A *tamal* nákatamal-terékua) is often filled with boiled mushrooms. Aside from mushrooms, the fungus growth on maize ears is likewise called terékua (the *cuitlacoche* (*Ustilago maydis*) of the Aztecs), and is similarly prepared and eaten.

In the Sierra acid fruits, particularly berries, are other food items collected. The fruit of the native blackberry bush (*zarzamora*, ¢'tún), which grows best in disturbed ground along hedgerows and on edges of fields, is gathered in May and June. The berries are eaten fresh with salt and are used to flavor atole (*atole de zarzamora*, ¢'tún-kamáta). Other fruits commonly gathered include piníki, an orange-colored berry often carried to mestizo markets; *tejocote* and *capulín*, both gathered wild or semicultivated in hedgerows; wild grapes; the cherry tomato (šapíndikua), which grows along the edges of cultivated fields.

The buds (šamáš) of a wild *mezcal* type of agave is another food item commonly gathered in the Tarascan area and in most parts of Central Mexico. The buds and lower fleshy ends of the
262 leaves of the plant are roasted in a hole about 1
252 meter deep and 1 to 2 meters across, which is usually dug on the forested slopes where the wild agave is available. A fire is built in the hole, and after it has died down somewhat rocks are placed on top. When the stones become hot, the agave is placed in the hole and covered with maguey leaves and earth. After 3 days the cooked agave is taken out and carried to various markets where it is sliced and sold. Roasted agave is often termed *mezcal* (siuáta), but it must be distinguished from the distilled liquor (s'áku) of the same name. The former is rich in starch and is possibly one of the more ancient foods of Mexico.

Aside from food plants, the coarse roots of
222 zacatán grass (*Muhlenbergia macroura*) are collected by men throughout the Sierra. Called *raíz de paja* or *raíz de zacatón*, the dried roots are sold in

222 mestizo towns nearby for the manufacture of scrubbing brushes. This activity is not peculiar to Tarascans, for it is carried on by both mestizos and Indians in high altitudes of the Mesa Central where the grass grows in abundance.

263 Before the eruption of Parícutin in 1943, honey gathering was an important collecting activity in
222 the Sierra. The heavy fall of volcanic ash killed or drove away all wild bees in the area, terminating the ancient trade of the *panaleros*, or honey gatherers. Formerly there were 15 *panaleros* in Urapicho, and several in Cherán and Tanasco. In the spring of 1946 it was rumored in some pueblos farthest from the volcano that a few swarms of bees were returning. (See Beals, 1946, pp. 13–14, for a description of honey collecting in the Sierra.)

HUNTING ACTIVITIES

224 In pre-Conquest times hunting formed a significant part of the food quest among the Tarascans. Deer, rabbit, and grouse were hunted in the Sierra, while migratory waterfowl, chiefly ducks, were taken in the Lake area (Relación de Michoacán, p. 15). Today only duck hunting on Lake Pátzcuaro still has economic importance, and there it is limited chiefly to fishers—the islanders and some *rancheros* on the Tarío-k'eri Peninsula. Nine varieties of migratory ducks (principally of the genera *Nyroca*, *Mareca*, and *Nettion*) are recognized by the fishermen. Customarily bird hunting starts on the Día de los Muertos fiestas (October 31 and November 1), when as many as 100 ducks are killed by a single hunter, and continues until the departure of the flocks in late March. The p'atámu, or spear propelled with the
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224 In the Sierra, hunting is looked upon as a
[517] pastime by most modern Indians. Men and boys often hunt deer, squirrels, and rabbits with flintlocks and some modern rifles. Game, however, is largely depleted in the Sierra. Beals

[Text continues bottom of P. 52b--Analysis]

314 negligible. Turpentine is produced at any season of the year. The first cut in trees is made about 20 or 25 cm. (8 or 10 in.) from the ground, with a small ax called gúrbia. The initial cut is one-half cm. vertically and 10 cm. horizontally. At the base of the cut a small copper or pottery cup is fastened. The initial cut is lengthened upward each year until, after about 10 years, the cut is 1.50 to 1.70 m. in height. A cut is then started on the opposite side of the tree. Formerly it was the practice to leave the cup for collecting the resin at the bottom of the cut. This wasted considerable resin, and now the cup is raised as the height of the cut is increased. In order to lead the resin into the cup, a small sheet of metal is driven into the tree just above the cup. The cup is emptied every 3 days and the cut cleaned or enlarged.

The collected resin or *brea* is cooked in special stills. An *olla* of resin is placed above a fire-
[323] box (fig. 2). The cover and "coil" are made of pottery (in the village of Patamban), and the turpentine is caught in another vessel. Before the decline in turpentine prices caused by World War II, a kilo of resin sold at 8 centavos in the woods and a 5-gallon tin of turpentine
[435] sold at 18 pesos. In 1941, prices were 4 or 5 centavos for a kilo of resin with a corresponding drop in turpentine prices.

HUNTING

Probably no one in Cherán derives any con-
224 siderable part of his livelihood from hunting. Some men hunt casually because their farms or lumbering activities take them where game is more plentiful. Others hunt a good deal because they enjoy it. Finally, sometimes people hunt because they are poor and thus can augment their food supply or income.

The most commonly hunted animals are deer, peccary (guákin), squirrels (both ordinary, kuíniké, and flying squirrels), rabbits, quail, pigeons, and less commonly, armadillos. Other local wild animals are not eaten. Heavy rifles
[411] are used for large animals, usually .30 or .32 caliber, and .22 caliber rifles for squirrels.

Deer are sometimes trapped in pits in the mountains. Squirrels are caught in snares. Horsehair threads are used to make snares to
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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price of beef. It is said not to be liked very well.
438 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons
262 at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village.
[463] Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 1946]

857 Boys and girls play together a good deal until
524 aged 8 or 10. Varieties of tag games are common. Boys also play among themselves frequently. For small boys at present, small home-made wagons with four wheels, usually with no method of steering, are one of the more popular playthings. Older males in the household make the wagons. Balls made of rags are also used. They are thrown and, at times, are used with a hockeylike game in which the ball is hit with curved wooden sticks. The street is used as a field and the object is to hit the ball past opponents (Beals and Carrasco, 1944). January is a favorite time for this game. Small boys amuse themselves by roping pigs, and about the time of the fiesta of the patron saint they may attempt to ride the pigs.

The most popular boys' game probably is marbles. The common marble game is "follow the leader." It is sometimes played for centavos. The rainy season is the most popular time, because the rain lays the dust and provides clean, hard surfaces. Quite popular is top spinning, which is most played in June and July. Top fighting is a common form. The first player throws his top at a ring. If he misses, his opponent attempts to hit the top with his own. He may split the first top, for the points are sharpened, or win it.

857 Stilts are made, especially in October and
481 November. They are small, peeled pine trees with one of the branches left projecting near the bottom. This is almost exclusively a boy's amusement, but one girl was seen walking on stilts. Hunting birds with sling shots (mostly
[223] of the rubber-band type) is most common in May and June. A ring and pin game, made of
[524] wood in Paracho, is played by all ages.

A favorite sport from March through May is
857 kite flying. Kites of small boys are about 7 by
524 9 inches; those of larger boys are about 2 by 3 feet. They are six-stick kites made with sticks all the same length and requiring a tail. They are commonly in bright colors. Big boys tie razor blades on the tails of their kites and fight each other. They try to maneuver their kites into the top position where they can be dropped and cut the strings of the other kites. There is a slight element of danger in this; one boy got his cheek laid open in 1940.

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[p. 12 b]

136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an incon-
224 siderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Cor-
164 pulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

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231 the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the
231 more common animals in Cherán. Often kept
492 in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not
[262] castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the
[281] hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or
231 perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals"
[551] such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, sheepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Parícutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squir-
[224] rels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five
places sell meat remaining from Sunday
through most of the week. No distinction is
made in price between meat with bone and
meat without bone, but on request one will be
served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the
buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is pre-
ferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers;
those of swine either are made into cracklings
or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with
chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only
semiprofessional, fishing when they have time
and selling the catch only if they have more
than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical
or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black
or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole
de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls)
and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature
corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
curious custom exists in that anyone may help
262 himself to these greens, entering into wheat
fields belonging to others either with or without
permission. Anyone objecting would be severely
censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made
from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed
with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for
this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is
placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred
frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle,
the water drained off, and the flour dried.
Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently
delivered, when it is cooked in water, either
plain or sweetened with honey. The plain
boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-a]

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Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33b]

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[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

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[Text continues bottom of P. 52b--Analysis]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 525b] Pátzcuaro

224 (1946, p. 19) mentions the use of pit traps and snares in Cherán.

FISHING

226 A large part of pre-Conquest Tarasca was inhabited by fishers, most of whom were part-time farmers.[118] There were two important fishing areas: (1) the northern plateau region, dotted with lakes and marshes, and (2) the central lakes, Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén. Fishing was also practiced in the shallow lagoons in the Cotija graben west of the Sierra and in the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers in the *tierra caliente*. In the above-named areas fishing continued unchanged throughout most of the colonial period, but during the last 150 years it has declined mainly in the northern and western sections, owing to desiccation and draining of marshes.[119] In Lake Pátzcuaro, fishing has been declining since the mid-18th century. By 1789 all the inhabitants of the south-shore pueblos had ceased to fish (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–302v), and today Lake Pátzcuaro fishers are limited mainly to the islands and a few small *ranchos* on the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula. Only vee-

[118] The Nahuatl name for the Tarascan area (particularly the section around the central lakes) was Michnacán, meaning the land of the fishers.

[119] The desiccated areas where fishing was once significant included the basins of Zacapu, the Tarimbaro lowland north of Morelia, the Tangancuaro Basin, the lowlands southeast of Lake Chapala, and the chain of lakes (Guadalupe, San Juanico, Magdalena, Tacátzcuaro) in the Cotija graben. Some fishing is still practiced by mestizos in Lakes Turicia and Cuitzeo, although the waters of both are constantly receding, and the latter occasionally dries up completely. The western portion of Lake Chapala, formerly Tarascan territory, is still fished. There are some nine mestizo fishermen at Zirahuén, and carpa are still caught in the *tierra caliente* streams. This fish is dried and carried to the Sierra towns for consumption on fast days.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.214b]

La Cañada

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but on request one will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A curious custom exists in that anyone may help
262 himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[Text Continues Top of P. 33b]

[804]

[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands 224 within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 222 gathering, although now of small importance, is still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[Text Continues bottom P. 33b]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 525b] Pátzcuaro

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FISHING

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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 52-C] Pátzcuaro

226 tiges remain in some of the mainland towns, where a few farmers fish part-time along the shore to supply local demand (map 19).

The fish resource.—The native fishes of Lake
136 Pátzcuaro are common to most lakes and streams of the western part of the Mesa Central. Most of the commercially important species belong to the genus *Chirostoma* (Atherinidae), which vary in length from 2 to 12 inches. *C. estor* is the famed *pescado blanco* (kurúča urápiti) of Pátzcuaro; *C. bartoni*, the *charal* or č'arári, is a tiny species that is sun-dried and sold over a wide area; *C. grandocule* is called k'uerépu, although this term is usually applied to the young of other species. Other genera include small fish, notably akúmaıa, or *sardina* (*Algansea lacustris*), čéua (*Allophorus robustus*), and t'íru, which includes at least four genera of the Goodeidae family (*Goodea luitpoldii*, *Neoophorus diazi diazi*, *Allotoca vivipara*, *Skiffia lermae*). Around 1930 a black bass (*Micropterus* (*Huro*) *salmoides*), called *trucha* or *carpa*, native to eastern North American streams, was introduced into Lake Pátzcuaro presumably to increase a failing fish reserve. The *trucha*, however, upset an established biotic equilibrium by feeding on the small littoral fish, almost exterminating the t'íru and diminishing the stock of čéua and č'arári. In addition to fish, freshwater shrimp (šapitu) and frogs (kuanása, *Rana pipens*) inhabit the lake and are often caught and eaten.[120]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 549]

[120] A large literature exists on the fish resources of Lake Pátzcuaro. The more important works are Ancona et al. (1949), Osorio Tafall (1944), and De Buen (1943, 1944).

226
162

MAP 19.—Distribution of fishers around Lake Pátzcuaro, 1940. Data from official census, 1940.

227 **Fishing techniques and associated tools.**—Fishing with native Tarascan nets predominates in Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén. Both the net and the hook were employed in pre-Conquest times,[121] but at present the latter is of secondary importance. The large *chinchorros* (uarúka) and the smaller čerémekuas are the only nets used today. The former is a seine, employed for catching *pescado blanco* and *trucha* in midlake, while the latter, a gill net with a fine mesh, is placed along shore to trap the small č'arári and k'uerépu[122] (pl. 8). Prior to the introduction of the *trucha* the picturesque *mariposa* or butterfly nets (k'oruеča) were commonly employed for catching t'íru. Owing to the near extinction of this fish, these nets are no longer seen, except in Janitzio, where they are displayed to tourists. The hand net (*cuchara*, uirípu, ćiúru) has likewise practically disappeared. All nets used by the Pátzcuaro fisherman are home-woven.

Other fishing tools include the spear (*arpón*, atárakua), now used to kill *trucha* in shallow water, and the hook (*anzuelo*, jupíkata-tárakua).[123] Shore traps are occasionally used by a few fishers of Uricho and Puácuaro. Fish poisons are not employed. To improve habitat conditions of open-water fish, such as *pescado blanco*, portions of the lake bottom are often cleared of aquatic grasses (*zacate*, pućúrini) with the uarómatárakua, a pole 3 m. long with a sickle attached to the end.

501 An indispensible fishing tool and means of water transport is the Tarascan canoe, a flat-bottom dugout hewn from a pine or fir log. Owing to the

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226 [121] According to the Relación de Michoacán, Tarascan officials oversaw the net fishermen and those who fished with hooks (p. 16). Moreover, ". . . *de noche pescan con red y de día con anzuelo*" (p. 149).

[122] The *chinchorro* often measures 100 to 150 m. long and 8 m. wide. In the center is a pocket (*bolsa*) of fine mesh. Four people are necessary to handle the net in midlake, and it is usually operated from the boat. The net is manipulated by ropes (*[illegible]*), 50 to 60 m. long attached to its two ends. Once the net is cast, it is formed in a semicircle and slowly pulled forward and upward, while the catch settles into the bolsa. The čerémekua is usually 6 to 8 m. long and 40 cm. wide. This net is used somewhat like a trap. It is fastened to poles in shallow water near the shore and left for 2 or 3 hours. When lifted, the net usually contains several small littoral fish, their heads caught in the fine mesh. [illegible] type of čerémekua can be operated by one person. A longer čerémekua (from 100 m. in length) with a coarser mesh is sometimes used to catch pescado blanco in deep water offshore. Like the smaller variety, it is operated by one person, who attaches the top of the net to log floats and one end to his canoe. The net and boat are permitted to drift in midlake usually through the night, while the attendant gathers in the trapped fish from time to time.

[123] The atárakua is composed of a stalk of *carrizo* 4 m. long, to the end of which is attached a long barbed-iron point (20 cm. long). The spear is buried either above or beneath the water. Regarding the use of the *anzuelo*, the cord supporting the hook is usually attached to a piece of *carrizo* or *ciste*, 1 m. long, a series of which is permitted to float on the water. A strike is indicated by the tilting of the stick, which is immediately picked up by the boatman.

501 drying up of lakes in the northern and western sections of Tarasca, the distribution of the dugout has decreased in area during the last 100 years. At the present time the Tarascan boat is used on Lakes Pátzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Chapala; two old dugouts on the small pond at Tarejero represent the remnants of the once extensive canoe traffic in the Zacapu lagoon.[124] Most of the Lake [438] Pátzcuaro boats are made in the Sierra settlements of Cumachuén, Capacuaro, and in the highlands to the south, mainly around the *rancho* of Santa Juana. The boats are dragged to the lake shore, where they sell for 100 to more than 600 pesos each. They are said to last for 3 to 5 years before becoming waterlogged. Two sizes of boats are seen on Lake Pátzcuaro—the small ičáruta for two to four persons, used for shore fishing, and the larger tepári, which carries from four to eight individuals and is employed in midlake fishing and for transport.[125] The smaller boat is paddled with the *pala* or šótakua, which has a round blade of pine (25 × 28 cm.) attached to a handle of oak or *tejocote* varying in length from 30 cm. (for children) to over 2 m. The larger canoes are both paddled and rowed. Sierra folk from Cumachuén and Capacuaro manufacture oars and paddles, which they market in Erongarícuaro and Pátzcuaro.

226 **Fishing methods.**—In most parts of the lake, fishing is done in the early morning hours between 5 and 10 o'clock. Fishing is seasonal, most activity occurring during the dry season (November to May). *Chinchorreros* usually operate in groups of four; often blood relations, the group divides the catch equally. An owner of a net and boat often hires *peones* to help with the *chinchorro*, paying wages or dividing the catch. The wife and children occasionally help set the čerémekua along the shore, and often women aid with the *chinchorro*. Midlake fishing is open to all inhabitants of the Lake area, who pay a federal license of 1.50 pesos annually. By custom, however, the people of a particular settlement have exclusive fishing rights along the shore of their lands; those from other pueblos may not fish the shores of

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[124] As late as 1872 heavy canoe traffic is described between Tarejero and Zacapu (Pérez Hernández, 1872, p. 119). Late in the 16th century small reed balsas were used on Lake Chapala (Ponce Relación, vol. 2, pp. 19-20).

[125] Measurements of the dugouts: The Ičáruta has a length of 2.5 m. to 6.5 m., width of 60 cm., and depth of 40 cm.; the tepári ranges from 6.5 to 11 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 50 cm. deep.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55-d] Pátzcuaro Sierra

226 another without permission from the authorities of the latter.

252 **Fish preparation.**—*Pescado blanco, trucha,* and akúmara are usually taken to market fresh, although the latter is sometimes fried on the *comal* before being sold. The tiny k'uerépu and č'arári, however, are invariably sun-dried, the catch being spread on a petate, which is placed near the door of the dwelling where it can be easily watched [439] (pl. 11). Since pre-Conquest days dried č'arári has been one of the main exports of the Tarascan lakes. It was distributed into the *tierra caliente,* the Sierra, and as far east as Toluca.

LUMBERING ACTIVITIES

313 The Tarascans, possibly more than any other aboriginal group of Mexico, have been exploiters of forest products since pre-Columbian times. During the Empire period one of the important officials of the *caltzontzin* at Tzintzuntzan was in charge of "the keepers of the forests," who cut beams and made planks for public, and probably private, use.[126] Not only were large beams and logs used in the construction of temples, but also in the building of forts against Aztec raids. During the colonial period the pine forests on the northern flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán were heavily exploited by Tarascan woodmen for beams, planks, and shakes for the Guanajauto and Zacatecas mining districts.[127]

Much of the timber resource of northern Michoacán was depleted by the end of the 18th century. Relatively untouched by colonial exploitation, the pine and fir forests of the Sierra de los Tarascos, although constantly diminishing, have remained the principal source of timber for the indigenous population. There are few contemporary Sierra Tarascan men who cannot handle an ax or lumber saw. When the maize fields do not demand their attention, the family head and his sons are usually in the forest cutting timber or gathering resin. The Sierra Indian is consequently both a farmer and a lumberjack. Some are professional woodsmen, who live in the village but seldom engage in agriculture. Little lumber-

[126] Relación de Michoacán, p. 17: ". . . *diputado sobre los que guardaban los montes que tenían cargo de cortar vigas y hacer tablas y otra madera de los montes . . .*"

[127] This exploitation began immediately after the Guanajuato mines were opened ca. 1554, and extended into the post-colonial period. After the exhaustion of the local wood supply, Zacatecas began to draw on the northern Michoacán lumber reserves during the first part of the 17th century (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 1, p. 215).

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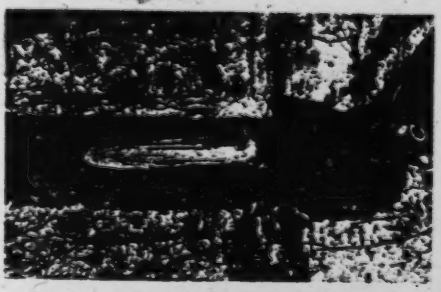
[314]

[133]



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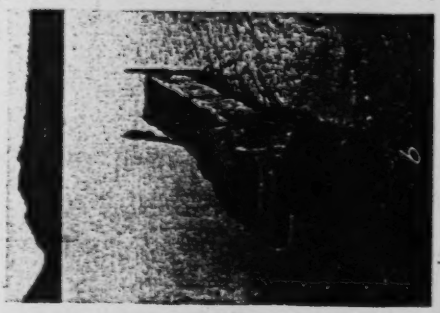

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[313]

PLATE 8.—Pleistocene Great Lakes shorelines. *a*, Chicago and Grafton on La Porte Moraine, Lake Michigan. *b*, The small Marsh deposit, Lake Michigan. Note pebbles stranded in rear of dune. *c*, Dune, shoreline deposit of Lake Chicago, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *d*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *e*, The small Marsh deposit, Lake Michigan. Note pebbles stranded in rear of dune. *f*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *g*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *h*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *i*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *j*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *k*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *l*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *m*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *n*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *o*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *p*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *q*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *r*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *s*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *t*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *u*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *v*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *w*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *x*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *y*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana. *z*, Lake Chicago beach ridge, 1 mile east of Hobart, Indiana.

[End-plate 8]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 216]

THE FARMING CYCLE

221 A clearer picture of the agricultural cycle
241 may be given by a monthly summary.

January: Little to do; second plowing of maize lands may begin.

February: Second plowing of maize lands.

March: Maize planting begins.

April: Maize planting; first cultivation of early maize at end of month; planting of vegetables and maize in *solares*.

May: Wheat harvest; second cultivation of maize.

June: Second cultivation of maize; some wheat threshing (continued in dry weather throughout rest of year).

July: Fairly free month; weeding of maize begins; second cultivation of maize continues.

August: Plowing for wheat.

September: Planting wheat; cutting maize fodder.

October: Plowing for maize; rains usually end; cutting maize fodder; wheat threshing nearly finished.

November: Maize harvest (if lower lands planted); plowing.

December: Maize harvest on higher lands; plowing.

SOIL PREPARATION

Land is prepared for field and garden crops
241 (except for small kitchen gardens of cabbage and herbs) by plowing one or more times (pl. 4, upper left). The plow used is usually a wooden type (fig. 3). The Government has given some 30 steel plows to the *municipio*, which lends them to farmers; although these are all in use, they care for only a small part of the plowing.

Regardless of the type of plow, it is almost
231 always drawn by oxen. Mules, and perhaps
241 horses, undoubtedly are used sometimes, but
492 not as frequently as in adjoining Aranza; in the entire season of 1940–41 no single instance was observed on Cherán lands. If the wooden plow is used, the long plow beam is attached to the ox yoke directly. Steel plows are attached to the ox yoke by a chain. An ox goad of wood, often with a chisellike metal butt (for sticking in the ground), is employed.

A great many farmers own oxen; if they do
[427] not, they must rent them at 75 centavos to 1 peso a day, depending on the demand. If drivers are hired, 50 centavos a day is usual. On the other hand, if a man has rented his land on shares, he must make sure his tenants plow at the right time. Usually land is plowed twice before planting, but the depth rarely exceeds 6 inches.

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in the house. Most black corn is consumed as [252] roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved [796] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands [231] are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat [821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread 231 in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent 556 of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

Cattle are raised for several economic uses: 231 meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

Relatively few cows are milked, and most 234 families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

231 492 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

231 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán [184] but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in [435] adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

[232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

231 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes
232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
[422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[438] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but
[252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A
[364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

Although some persons in Cherán were said
[232] to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep
[262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool
[435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are
[234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese.
[438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat
[262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and
[492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same
[184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing,
[241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor
[435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses be-
[556] long to well-to-do men and primarily are indicators of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and
[232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses.
[422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses
[552] are given names similar to those used by
[262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse
[281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im-
[492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

231 the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the
231 more common animals in Cherán. Often kept
492 in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not
[262] castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the
[281] hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or
231 perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals"
[552] such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, sheepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Paricutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squir-
[224] rels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the god- [262] father. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch
[825] the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are special-
232 ists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[184] [11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Paricutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Paricutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

243 433 427 cropping basis. The number of sharecroppers in Cherán is unknown, but probably is considerable. Small landowners often farm additional lands on this basis, and some fairly prosperous families are sharecroppers.

The rental paid by sharecroppers is usually one-half the crop. In the case of our average hectare this would mean the owner received 7½ to 10 *fanegas* of maize worth from $37.50 to $60.00. This might well be equal to more than a 50 percent return on the investment in land. As even the most exorbitant interest rates on cash loans from banks would not exceed 15 percent, it would appear to be a very good business to borrow money to buy land for rental on a sharecropping basis. Yet such a procedure, so far as could be discovered, is seldom if ever followed. Moreover, persons with money will lend on land as a security, receiving only interest, instead of buying land which would appear to offer a relatively larger return. (But short-term loans are at a much higher rate of interest. See p. 63.)

231 243 427 434 A number of factors still have not been treated in the foregoing discussion. It should be observed that the hypothetical farmer could still further decrease his cash outlay if he owned his own ox team. Such a team would be worth from $100 to $120, depending on size. Ownership of a team would save about $30 a year in rental in cultivating a hectare. In addition, there might be opportunities to rent the team at $1 a day for perhaps 30 days to work on maize lands and perhaps for another 30 days during the wheat season. As there is less demand in the latter time, the rental probably would be only 75 centavos a day. The returns from rentals, however, would possibly be $52.50 a year. If the saving of $30 for rentals on the farmer's own land were included the investment in an ox team obviously would be a very good one.

Ownership of livestock, however, involves the problem of feed. Mostly the feed is secured by cutting the *rastrojo* or corn fodder. Wheat straw is also fed. Part of the year animals may be grazed on the common pastures. Rarely, however, is enough feed produced, and in a bad year there is always danger of losing animals during the latter part of the dry season. Ownership of oxen also increases the

231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or
3 days while in pasture.

427 The question may be raised why horses or
434 mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

	Days	
Labor:		
First plowing	10	
Second plowing	10	
Sowing and harrowing	2	(or less)
Harvesting	4½	
Total labor	26½	

Costs:	
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00
Taxes	1.00
Seed	1.00
Total production costs	$28.92
Interest on capital investment	11.00
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92

241 434 511 maize. Case 3 owns a store run by his children, but he regards himself as a farmer by preference. Even without his store, he would be well off by Cherán standards, although not a "rich man." In 1940 he produced nearly enough maize for his family and sold over $300 worth of wheat. In 1941 he probably was able to sell not less than 35 *fanegas* of maize above his family's food needs (less if he raised pigs or fattened beef for butchering). Case 4 is a widow. Her land is cultivated by a nephew, but under what circumstances is not known. If the nephew lives with her, the amount of maize is a little inadequate; on the other hand, if she lives alone, the quantity is more than enough for one person.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 434 It is virtually impossible to secure useful data on labor costs or profits in relation to animals. Under agriculture I have mentioned some of the facts about oxen. No data were collected on chicken raising; probably no one in Cherán knows how much grain he feeds chickens or how many eggs a year he gets. [435] Prices vary from 2 to 6 centavos per egg. The situation about pigs is little better.

Virtually everyone keeps pigs; no one has any idea of the total amount of grain fed except during the fattening period. Shoats have little value and are frequently given away. Data on labor are lacking, yet the labor cost cannot be negligible when the animal is being fattened and its pen is cleaned frequently. A

231 434 pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to fatten, valued at from $5 to $7. According to size, the animal may bring from $30 to $75, a [435] gross profit on the fattening process of from $12.50 to $70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos less if the pig was bought. If an adequate market were developed, or if sales and transport facilities at a distance were to be developed, pig raising might be a more important activity, although an increase in the number of pigs would decrease the amount of foraging possible and would require more feeding.

236 434 Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few. The reliability of the major informants is suspect, but the evidence suggests that sheep raising is profitable. The major expense is the initial cost of the flock and the wages of a shepherd. Sheep are worth $2.50 to $5.00 [435] apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of the flock, but probably rarely exceed $20 a month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep [465] for food; most shepherds receive considerably less, often only $5 a month without food. Often several small owners merge their flocks and hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and payments to have the flocks bedded on farm land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year (this seems low but the sheep are of poor [435] quality), which sells for $1 to $1.25. A fair-size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for [262] meat outside the village; almost no lamb or mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were secured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high, but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an investment of $750 in theory although it probably was built up by natural increase from a smaller flock. The shepherd receives $20 a month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least $5, and a sheep worth, on an average, $3.75, or a total of $28.75 a month ($345 a year). Wool would produce $200 to $250 a year. Bedding on farm lands would produce probably 50 centavos a night for this flock for 110 days (estimated) or $55. Total income from these sources would be $255 to $305 a year. The natural increase may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at $2.50 apiece, they would bring in $187.50 a

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

231 The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
434 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433 WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

253 15 *arrobas* (375 pounds) $90
433 14 *arrobas* (350 pounds) 65
434 16 *arrobas* (400 pounds) 92

Retail price (per kilo) ..... .70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo) ..... .40–.45
Price of pigs ..... 30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week 7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig 3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 *Field watchers:*
434 Wages:
In maize ..... 1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize) ..... $60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 *Water carrying:*
434 Charge for two 25-liter cans $0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

● 231 *Beekeeping:*
433 12 hives produced:
434 15 liters of honey at $0.60 ..... $ 9.00
3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50 6.70–10.00
Wax:
1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth 3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth 9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles 18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 *Fireworks making:*
433 Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán
434 proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts seem reasonable.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

863 sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

633 A larger subdivision than the block is
103 furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúkutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúkutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keíku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalúkua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Parícutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

The *barrios* show very few differences.
633 Parícutin is less populated, has larger lots, and
184 is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest,
[231] the dogs of Parícutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

633 Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.[27]

[27] On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

354 In some house yards there are large domed
[421] ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

[p. 206]

243 to the lower point of the frame. This instrument
412 stirs, rather than turns, the soil to a depth of less than 6 inches. Within the last 50 years many Tarascans have used a small adaptation of the North European moldboard plowshare for breaking new land and for first and second plowings. For planting and cultivating maize the moldboard (which is slipped over the end of the plow frame) is replaced by the *reja*. As mentioned above, in recent years the Mexican government has supplied a number of American steel plows to various
243 Tarascan municipios.

[231] Oxen are used almost exclusively to pull the plow, to which they are hitched by the horn yoke. Mules and horses sometimes supplement oxen during maize cultivation, when the work must be done quickly. Before being planted, maize fields are plowed, this operation being called *barbecho*. In the Sierra the *humedad* maize lands in the plains are plowed twice, once in late summer and again in late winter. Temporal maize fields located outside the Sierra undergo only one plowing—in late May or early June, immediately before the rains. For planting, rows are formed with the plow equipped with the straight *reja*. Usually rows follow the contour on slopes. Two to three seeds are dropped at 1-foot intervals into the furrow by a boy following the plow and driver. Often the boy covers the seed with earth to a depth of 3 or 4 inches with a sweep of his foot. If animals are available, the first plow is followed by a second, which covers the grain by throwing earth from the interfurrow ridge (pl. 5). This plow is often equipped with a horizontal beam (*orejera*), placed back of the *reja*, which rakes earth into the furrow. Maize is normally cultivated (earth thrown toward the plant and weeds eradicated) twice with the plow, once when the plant is about 1½ feet high (*escarda*) and again when the plant begins to tassel (*segunda*). Thereafter, fields are weeded by hand or with the hoe.
[412] Zacatón (a form of Johnson grass) is cut with the *judá*, a machetelike sickle, similar to the *garabato* of the *tierra caliente*.[88]

412 Several forms of the pre-Columbian planting
243 stick are still used in the maize fields of the Sierra (fig. 3). These instruments, called meiánta-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 38a - ANALYSIS]

[104] [88] The Sierra Tarascans use many terms to describe maize in its various stages of growth. When the plant is about 4 inches high (2 weeks after planting), it is called pirán; at 1½ feet (ready for the *escarda*), kání or tasíta; when in tassel, pípita; when ears are in hair, tanání or tastíti.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 40-a]

262
252 the above-named foods is the highly colored flour types grown in the house-lot gardens.

Pinole has the widest distribution and is possibly the most ancient of the maize foods in the New World. Among the Tarascans usually yellow maize from the *desmontes* is employed for pinole. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then dry-ground on the metate, piloncillo being mixed in during the grinding process. *Pinole* is used almost exclusively for food on long trips. *Esquite* is prepared also by toasting whole grains of dried sweet or black *elote* corn on the *comal*, but it is not ground.

The preparation of tamales, pozole, atole, and tortillas among the Sierra Tarascans is discussed by Beals (1946, pp. 49–52). In preparing all four types, hard-shelled maize is first soaked and cooked in lime water to soften or remove the hard outer shell that covers each grain. (Beals mentions the use of oak ashes in soaking corn for pozole.) For tamales, atoles, and tortillas the soaked grains are wet-ground on the metate or in power-operated grinding mills (*molinos de nixtamal*). The fact that they form an essential part of fiesta and ritual foods of most Mexican Indians suggests that tamales and atoles may be more ancient than tortillas. The latter are commonplace in each of the two or three daily meals and carry no ritual significance. Moreover, the varieties of both tamales and atoles are numerous. Beals describes 10 atoles habitually made in Cherán; 11 kinds were noted in Sicuicho, only 5 of which were similar to those in Cherán. The varieties of atole are ordinarily distinguished by the addition of some flavoring, such as ground blackberries or herbs.

● 231 *Animal feed.*—Maize grain is commonly fed to livestock, notably for fattening hogs. Yellow corn, mainly Mountain Yellow, is considered the best for feed, as it has the highest oil content of all Tarascan corns; moreover, apparently the yellow color gene is associated with proper vitamin content for animal growth and fattening.[a]

439 *Sale of maize.*—The Tarascan Sierra is primarily a subsistence area in terms of maize, but when crops are good surplus grain is sold to buyers from Zamora, Tangamícuaro, Uruapan, and Zacapu. The surplus maize districts are

[a] According to Edgar Anderson (personal communication), in Jalisco the Yellow Mountain maize brought down from the highlands sells at a premium in the lowlands districts south of Guadalajara.

244 addition to the gardens of Lake Pátzcuaro,
312 commercial truck farming is also carried on in La Cañada and in Atapan, but on a smaller scale. There, fields are irrigated by diverting water from streams, a technique probably learned from Europeans.[103]

244 The native chile, *jitomate* (tom-kuaraki), *tomate*, and green beans (*ejotes*) and the Old World onion, garlic, cabbage, and lettuce are the principal products of the commercial gardens. Chile is the most significant of these, in terms of both acreage and market value. The fruit of this plant, a vitamin-rich gastrin, has always been important in the aboriginal diet. Two species of *Capsicum* are cultivated: *C. annuum*, the common herbaceous annual, and *C. fructescens*, the perennial shrub (*chile de árbol*). The latter is cultivated mainly in the house gardens. Both species re-
244 quire a long growing season and abundant water;
438 consequently chile cultivation is absent from the Sierra, but is found in the surrounding well-watered areas. Chile, therefore, has ever been a
[439] trade article between the Sierra and its borderlands.[104] Tarascan Puácuaro, Uricho, Arúcutin, and mestizo Tócuaro and Erongarícuaro are the main chile producers of the Lake. Most of the La Cañada pueblos raise some chile for export into the Sierra, but Etúcuaro, outside the valley, is the largest producer of that general district. All these areas raise *chile verde*, rather than the *chile seco* of the *tierra caliente* and Lake Cuitzeo district.[105] In both the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada areas chile and tomatoes are first planted in the *almáciga*, or hotbed, in December.[106] Replanting in the gardens is done in March, and the vegetables are harvested from June through September.

STOCK RAISING AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

231 Modern Tarascans raise most of the European animal domesticates. Most households own a team of oxen for plowing and one or two burros for hauling wood and carrying produce to market.

[text continues top of P. 49a-Ind.39]

[103] In several formerly Tarascan towns in the northern plateau area vegetables are cultivated on a commercial scale. The truck farming around Ziricícuaro, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, was significant during the latter part of the 18th century. Tarascan horticulturists of this pueblo carried vegetable produce as far as the Toluca market (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 265).

[104] The Tarascan name for Chilchota is *tirápu*, which means green chile. The Sierra people have always thought of La Cañada as a producer of chile, as well as other vegetables and fruits.

[105] The chief varieties of *C. annuum* in the Lake district are *lumbrillo (verde)*, *amarillo*, and *relleno (bell chile)*. *Chile seco* from the *tierra caliente* reaches the Sierra through the markets at Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes.

[106] The *almácige* is likely a European introduction, although it was pre-Columbian in the *chinampa* district in the Valley of Mexico.

293 During the summer months boys and girls are
[883] the full-time shepherds, driving herds up the mountain slope each morning and down to the folds near the house at evening. The elders perform the semiannual shearing and often tend the flocks in the cornfields during the winter. Professional shepherds are sometimes hired by sheep owners to care for their flocks.

The sheep of the Tarascans are small, scrawny animals, descendants of the 16th-century Spanish breeds. In a given flock about half the animals are black, the rest white (pl. 7). Often a few goats graze with the flock. The Indians are usually financially unable to improve the breed with new blood; in only one case did the writer
236 observe a merino ram. The Tarascans raise sheep mainly for wool. The *rancheros* around Cerro de Patamban shear their animals with hand clippers every 6 months. Some wool is obtained also by the girl shepherds, who pluck from the backs of sheep while the animals are grazing; as she plucks, the girl spins the wool on a whorl spindle, completing a ball of yarn as large as the fist at the end of day. In many villages local wool is used for weaving, many weavers possessing their own flocks. Otherwise the wool clip is sold to people from other villages or to mestizo wholesale buyers.

231 The hog was the first European animal domesti-
177 cate that the Spaniards brought into the Tarascan area in quantity, and was possibly one of the first of the new animals adopted into Indian culture. As early as 1525 Spaniards were raising large droves of hogs in the vicinity of Pátzcuaro in order to supply food to placer operations in the Balsas (Millares Carlo and Mantecón, 1945, p. 32).[110] Indians were used as swineherds. Throughout the colonial period large numbers of hogs were fed in the marsh areas north of the Sierra and droves were periodically driven to Toluca and the valley of Mexico (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 180). Today the hog is common in
231 every Tarascan village. Practically every household owns two or three animals, which serve as scavengers, running the streets by day; enough maize and scraps are fed the animals to induce them to return at night to the proper pen in the

[110] The hog appears to have been the first Old World animal raised on a large scale in New Spain. Moreover, hog culture was intimately connected with gold placering in Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Michoacán (1831–36). Droves were driven along with the shifting placer camps, the animals feeding on fallen tropical fruits (e. g. the *ciruela*), roots, and wild tubers in the *tierra caliente*. "*Carne de puerco*" was the chief "energy" food given the Indian labor gangs.

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kurúka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ɨ́ikata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the
[263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax
[237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat
262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded.
252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čurípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uirɨ́kata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *cazuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kurúku is apparently onomatopoeic; ɨ́ikata-ambás or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ɨ́ikata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čurípu, uirɨ́kata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

241

[492]
[231]

[493]

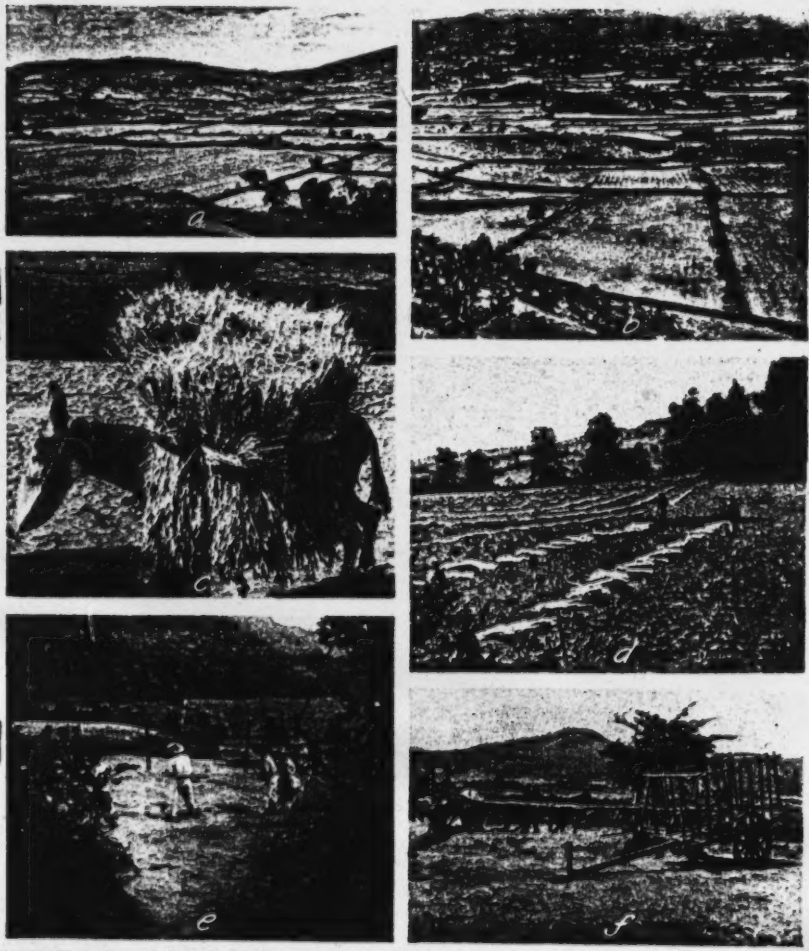

PLATE 6.—Wheat culture. a. Irrigated wheat fields near Chihuta, La Cañada. b. Temporal wheat fields on the northern edge of the Sierra, near Tirindaro. c. Method of hauling wheat bundles to the threshing floor, Ajos. d. Cutting wheat with the sickle, near Pátzcuaro. e. Threshing wheat with fatted fowls. f. Threshing wheat in the ere with horses, at Cocucho. The carreta (right) is used in many parts of Tarasco to haul wheat bundles and maize fodder.

[End-plate 6]

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231
[342]

[406]
[312]

PLATE 7.—Horticulture and domestic animals. a, Large planted citrus, San Felipe. Note mains [pan siphoning trap]. b, Small patch of cabbage in house lot, San Felipe. c, Vines of chayote in citrus, Tamaquilla, La Cañada. d, Irrigated vegetable plot[illegible] west shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, near Ajuscuato. e, Dilapidated well and poles (t'apanzáhuaro) used to lift water from ditch to irrigate fields. Near Uriaba. f, Sheep grazing in harvested maize field, near Tzintzuntzan. g, Herding sheep near summit of Cerro de Pátzcuaro. The flock is from the ranchs of Uringuitiro. h, Sow hived in house lot, Arajo.

[End-plate 7]

234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

231 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they 492 also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

231 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Ani- [184] mals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in [435] adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

[232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

231 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes
232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
[422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[438] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but
[252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A
[364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

Although some persons in Cherán were said
[232] to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent,
[262] sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep
are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early
summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool
[435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to
$1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white
(as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are
[234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats
are milked, and the milk is made into cheese.
[438] The most important use of goats is to sell them
[262] for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat
is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold
uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and
[492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack
animals. Riding and pack gear are the same
[184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other
[241] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing,
this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor
[435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses be-
long to well-to-do men and primarily are indica-
[556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and
[232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any
knowledge of treating illnesses of horses.
[422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses
[552] are given names similar to those used by
[262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse
[281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im-
[492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals,
but occasionally they are ridden or used with
the plow.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to
[825] happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

232 *Curing of animals.*—A few men are specialists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family
[184] has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Paricutín only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Paricutín contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

●232 common. If wounds are bound, carefully washed lard mixed with sugar may be applied or wet dressings may be used, dampened at frequent intervals with salt water.

Rabies is believed to be caused by the bite of some other animal, by inadequate food, or by heat. There is no cure.

Dysentery, *"posición,"* in horses and burros is believed to be caused by cold or *"salitre,"* a very salty mineral-bearing earth. The animal is fed pills of coffee, lemon, and bicarbonate of soda.

"Onia" is caused by overwork, but the symptoms were not recorded. Treatment is bleeding the side of the neck and rest. (In general, [753] overwork is regarded as an important cause of sickness.)

Sore feet result from the feet becoming full of blood. The bottom of the foot is bled and the animal must rest until well.

"Roncha" is a disease caused by mosquito bites; if it is not cured within 24 hours, the animal usually dies. Symptoms and treatment were not recorded.

"Pirojon" is very dangerous and kills in 24 hours. It is believed to be caused by mosquitoes or flies that have bitten a dead animal already putrefying. One curer burns the bites with a magnifying glass.

Evil eye, *malojo,* may affect animals that refuse to eat. There is no cure. The best thing is to sell the animal to the man who cast the evil eye (at his price usually); the animal then recovers.

[825] Bats are reported to bite animals at night and make them bleed. Nothing is done to prevent this. As it is said bats never bite humans, and as Cherán probably is above the range of vampire bats, the report may be folklore.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

In the previous sections were described the 128 technological processes which involve the exploitation of the environment and the extraction therefrom of raw materials. The present section will describe techniques by which the raw materials are processed and made ready for consumption. Obviously, such classifications must be somewhat elastic. No doubt, good reasons could be advanced against including domesticated animals under exploitative activi-

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232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
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● 233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 465 The average wages of sheepherders are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent mis- [626] behavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

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Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

239 In spite of unfavorable environment for stock raising, many families possess small herds (10–25 head) of cattle, which roam the Sierra forests.[107] During the latter part of the dry season some cattle die of starvation, and the springs and wells barely afford sufficient water for existing herds. The fatter animals are occasionally sold to the local butcher or home-killed for meat. Only the more wealthy have riding horses, and few except *arrieros* possess mules. When in use oxen and burros are often stabled in the house lot. All livestock is turned into the fields after harvest to graze on stubble and to fertilize the land. The small animals, such as sheep and pigs (*ganado menor*) are common throughout present Tarasca.[108] In almost every village a few families own sheep, flocks ranging in size from 50 to 1,000 head. The greatest number of flocks are found around the higher mountains of the Sierra, such as Tancítaro,[109] Patamban, and Quinceo, where summer pastures (bunchgrass) are abundant near the summits. In
[242] winter, flocks are grazed in harvested cornfields, for this is a recognized method of soil fertilization. Most of the inhabitants of the *ranchos* around Cerro de Patamban are shepherd-farmers, at least half of their time being devoted to sheep raising. During the summer months boys and girls are

177 [107] Few data exist concerning the introduction of cattle into the Sierra. The original land title of Pamatácuaro, dated June 1532, mentions the possession of European domestic animals by the Indians of that village. "*Tienen los naturales como pobladores las prehemineencias necessarias de pueblo, Iglecia, campanas sonoras, tementherio; chrias de todas clases de ganados, Bacas de vientre, Bueyes, asnos, ovejas y bestias mulares y caballeros . . .*" Again, from the same document: ". . . *los animales y ganados son omos y de compalenis tamaño . . .*" These data were taken from a certified copy (1937) of the original document; the latter is reported to be in the *jefatura* of Pamatácuaro. If the document is correct, European animals were taken into the native culture at an extremely early date. The Ponce Relación (1572, vol. 2, p. 123) mentions herds belonging to natives pasturing on the slopes of Cerro de Tancítaro and watering at the lake on its summit in 1584. Around 1700 the people of Cheranátiacurin possessed a *sitio de ganado mayor* (pasture for large animals such as horses and cattle) near the village (AGN Tierras, vol. 967, exped. 5). In the northern plateau and *tierra caliente* regions, where colonial cattle *estancias* were numerous, many Indians quickly became *vaqueros*, but probably few acquired their own herds.

[108] Tarascans quickly adopted the sheep. By 1580 many Indians around the shores of Lake Cuitzeo possessed flocks numbering from 300 to 400 head. ". . . *crian sus carneros con tan buen orden y concierto como en España . . .*" (Mss. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cuitzeo). A great number of Indians living near the northern plateau pastures were forced to tend flocks of Spanish *encomenderos*. The Lake and Sierra Tarascans also likely acquired sheep at an early date. In many parts of Mexico the Indians rapidly took to sheep raising soon after the Spaniards introduced the animal early in the 16th century. During the colonial period Indians were the chief sheep raisers in New Spain, either as hired shepherds or as owners of flocks. Possibly the annual or semi-annual wool clip and the fact that the smaller animals are more easily herded than cattle, prompted the natives to adapt themselves readily to sheep raising.

[109] Most of the flocks on Tancítaro and other areas adjacent to Paricutin were destroyed by heavy ash fall during the spring and summer of 1943. Formerly, some Tarascans in that area owned flocks as large as 5,000 or 6,000 head. One man in Nurio is reported to have had 20,000.

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[883] the full-time shepherds, driving herds up the mountain slope each morning and down to the folds near the house at evening. The elders perform the semiannual shearing and often tend the flocks in the cornfields during the winter. Professional shepherds are sometimes hired by sheep owners to care for their flocks.

The sheep of the Tarascans are small, scrawny animals, descendants of the 16th-century Spanish breeds. In a given flock about half the animals are black, the rest white (pl. 7). Often a few goats graze with the flock. The Indians are usually financially unable to improve the breed with new blood; in only one case did the writer
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177 cate that the Spaniards brought into the Tarascan area in quantity, and was possibly one of the first of the new animals adopted into Indian culture. As early as 1525 Spaniards were raising large droves of hogs in the vicinity of Pátzcuaro in order to supply food to placer operations in the Balsas (Millares Carlo and Mantecón, 1945, p. 32).[110] Indians were used as swineherds. Throughout the colonial period large numbers of hogs were fed in the marsh areas north of the Sierra and droves were periodically driven to Toluca and the valley of Mexico (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 180). Today the hog is common in
231 every Tarascan village. Practically every household owns two or three animals, which serve as scavengers, running the streets by day; enough maize and scraps are fed the animals to induce them to return at night to the proper pen in the

[110] The hog appears to have been the first Old World animal raised on a large scale in New Spain. Moreover, hog culture was intimately connected with gold placering in Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Michoacán (1521–30). Droves were driven along with the shifting placer camps, the animals feeding on fallen tropical fruits (e. g. the *zirauela*), roots, and wild tubers in the slave collects. "*Carne de puerco*" was the chief "energy" food given the Indian labor gangs.

241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread 231 in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent 556 of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

Cattle are raised for several economic uses: 231 meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

Relatively few cows are milked, and most 234 families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

231 492 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

231 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán [184] but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in [435] adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

[232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what
[273] little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast
[757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made
[556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into *jojóke*, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when [262] a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. [438] Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kuɾúka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ǵíkata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the
[263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax
[237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat
262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded.
252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čuɾípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uiɾíkata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *cazuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kuɾúka is apparently onomatopoeic; ǵíkata-ambás or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ǵíkata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čuɾípu, uiɾíkata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

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231 pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to
434 fatten, valued at from $5 to $7. According to
size, the animal may bring from $30 to $75, a
[435] gross profit on the fattening process of from
$12.50 to $70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos
less if the pig was bought. If an adequate
market were developed, or if sales and transport facilities at a distance were to be developed, pig raising might be a more important activity, although an increase in the number of pigs would decrease the amount of foraging possible and would require more feeding.

236 Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few.
434 The reliability of the major informants is suspect, but the evidence suggests that sheep raising is profitable. The major expense is the initial cost of the flock and the wages of a shepherd. Sheep are worth $2.50 to $5.00
[435] apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of the flock, but probably rarely exceed $20 a
[465] month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep for food; most shepherds receive considerably less, often only $5 a month without food. Often several small owners merge their flocks and hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and payments to have the flocks bedded on farm land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year (this seems low but the sheep are of poor
[435] quality), which sells for $1 to $1.25. A fair-size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for
[262] meat outside the village; almost no lamb or mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were secured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high, but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an investment of $750 in theory although it probably was built up by natural increase from a smaller flock. The shepherd receives $20 a month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least $5, and a sheep worth, on an average, $3.75, or a total of $28.75 a month ($345 a year). Wool would produce $200 to $250 a year. Bedding on farm lands would produce probably 50 centavos a night for this flock for 110 days (estimated) or $55. Total income from these sources would be $255 to $305 a year. The natural increase may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at $2.50 apiece, they would bring in $187.50 a

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[p.696]

236 434 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year. Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be [124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

231 434 The evaluation of the role of the burro is as difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they [427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

313 434 The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary form to bring out the essential factors of capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433

WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

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231 The hog was the first European animal domesti-
177 cate that the Spaniards brought into the Tarascan area in quantity, and was possibly one of the first of the new animals adopted into Indian culture. As early as 1525 Spaniards were raising large droves of hogs in the vicinity of Pátzcuaro in order to supply food to placer operations in the Balsas (Millares Carlo and Mantecón, 1945, p. 32).[110] Indians were used as swineherds. Throughout the colonial period large numbers of hogs were fed in the marsh areas north of the Sierra and droves were periodically driven to Toluca and the valley of Mexico (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 180). Today the hog is common in
231 every Tarascan village. Practically every household owns two or three animals, which serve as scavengers, running the streets by day; enough maize and scraps are fed the animals to induce them to return at night to the proper pen in the

[110] The hog appears to have been the first Old World animal raised on a large scale in New Spain. Moreover, hog culture was intimately connected with gold placering in Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Michoacán (1531–35). Droves were driven along with the shifting placer camps, the animals feeding on fallen tropical fruits (e. g. the *ciruela*), roots, and wild tubers in the *tierra caliente*. "*Carne de puerco*" was the chief "energy" food given the Indian labor gangs.

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[p.13b]

105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire
412 family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing wool-
388 ens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting tech-
222 nique still important in Cherán is gathering
237 wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two
[776] groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), bayu (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[104]

[p. 14a]

222 237 ing. The combs found here are round and hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravo*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon [752] juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If [481] the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk with a small special-type ax, tying himself with [412] a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack-boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[144] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch
[825] the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are special-
232 ists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[184] [11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Parícutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Parícutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

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322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra
[461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work
[462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

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527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

While all the occupations in the town are 527 represented in the fiesta, only the more impor- 463 tant ones take official part. These are the 624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey 527 gatherers take the two images of their patron 237 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on
527 Saturday, but the main events take place on
543 Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make quantities of miniature breads about an inch
[436] and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday,
527 Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
543 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a
198 special high-pitched cry used on no other occasion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Arijeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

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443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but *on request one* will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

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252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	Barrio
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

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252 262 237 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidfied. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or uánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pondomperi*, and one *espitomero*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

796 624

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kuɪúka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ɨíkata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the [263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax [237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat 262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded. 252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čuɪípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uirɨkata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *casuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kuɪúka is apparently onomatopoeic; ɨíkata-ambás or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ɨíkata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čuɪípu, uirɨkata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow: 171 526 [101]

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári*. 526 [237]

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *sirángua*. An official called the *kiéni*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéni*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7] [624] [796]

Akúčperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atásutákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. [104]

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period. [171]

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13| ritory is close to the railroad which runs
through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
10| The southern boundary might be defined
roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan
and thence close to the railway from Uruapan
to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from
Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs
just inside the northern limits and in others,
just outside. Within or near the borders of
the present-day Tarascan area occur a number
of old Mexican towns closely associated with the
historic Tarascans and their contemporary cul-
ture, which provide the administrative centers
and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los
Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
[563] towns of local importance have arisen more
recently, towns which were once Tarascan but
are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated
Tarascans. A good example of such a town is
Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may
be characterized generally as an elevated tem-
perate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic
soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood
forests. In detail there are differences, and a
number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake
Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages
are either on the shore or upon islands in the
lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to
cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but
is concentrated in the summer months. The
climate is temperate and cool even in mid-
summer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile
valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about
by hills and mountains covered with forest.
Although there is but little difference in eleva-
tion from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warm-
er and some tropical or subtropical plants such
as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of
Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada.
Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[912] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas,
and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

[p. 7a]

13 West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about
133 equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcu-
[361] aro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

Except for occasional marginal farm clear-
137 ings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where
[311] relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

Wherever the land is sufficiently level to per-
311 mit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smal-
311 ler extent, wheat, are almost the only field
241 crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

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311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

The town of Cherán has a population of
632 about 5,000. The community is unique among
162 Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherias. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherias or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the
632 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
311 a large area. Much of this area is mountain
578 and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan
361 agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU36 Tarasco NU36

223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price
438 of beef. It is said not to be liked very well.
262 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village.
[463] Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Cilantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (haba)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

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241

Maguey (agave)	Crab apples
Chayote	*Zapote blanco*

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but [438] grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

311 The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans all have soils almost exclusively composed of 134 volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

311 Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called "*joyas*," consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

[423] The so-called "plains" consist of several large areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are 241 the principal crops grown. The "plains" are 311 cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

311 The largest "plain," usually referred to simply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

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THE FARMING CYCLE

221 A clearer picture of the agricultural cycle
241 may be given by a monthly summary.

January: Little to do; second plowing of maize lands may begin.

February: Second plowing of maize lands.

March: Maize planting begins.

April: Maize planting; first cultivation of early maize at end of month; planting of vegetables and maize in *solares*.

May: Wheat harvest; second cultivation of maize.

June: Second cultivation of maize; some wheat threshing (continued in dry weather throughout rest of year).

July: Fairly free month; weeding of maize begins; second cultivation of maize continues.

August: Plowing for wheat.

September: Planting wheat; cutting maize fodder.

October: Plowing for maize; rains usually end; cutting maize fodder; wheat threshing nearly finished.

November: Maize harvest (if lower lands planted); plowing.

December: Maize harvest on higher lands; plowing.

SOIL PREPARATION

Land is prepared for field and garden crops
241 (except for small kitchen gardens of cabbage and herbs) by plowing one or more times (pl. 4, upper left). The plow used is usually a wooden type (fig. 3). The Government has given some 30 steel plows to the *municipio*, which lends them to farmers; although these are all in use, they care for only a small part of the plowing.

Regardless of the type of plow, it is almost
231 always drawn by oxen. Mules, and perhaps
241 horses, undoubtedly are used sometimes, but
492 not as frequently as in adjoining Aranza; in the entire season of 1940–41 no single instance was observed on Cherán lands. If the wooden plow is used, the long plow beam is attached to the ox yoke directly. Steel plows are attached to the ox yoke by a chain. An ox goad of wood, often with a chisellike metal butt (for sticking in the ground), is employed.

A great many farmers own oxen; if they do
[427] not, they must rent them at 75 centavos to 1 peso a day, depending on the demand. If drivers are hired, 50 centavos a day is usual. On the other hand, if a man has rented his land on shares, he must make sure his tenants plow at the right time. Usually land is plowed twice before planting, but the depth rarely exceeds 6 inches.

MAIZE

241 Except in the garden plots and a few other highly favored places, corn is never planted on the same ground on two successive years. Garden plots are more carefully cultivated and are fertilized to some extent by depositing organic refuse of all kinds and, if available, manure. Good farmers will even carry surplus manure
241 to the fields, but some are lazy and simply
133 throw it in one of the arroyos. It is then carried down to the "plain" west of town. As a

[p. 22a]

133 result, a part of the "plain" where the water
241 sinks into the ground can be farmed every year.

The basin, of which the "plain" forms a part, has no outlet. So porous is the volcanic soil that streams run only briefly after heavy rainfall. The drainage of the entire basin collects on the Cherán–Aranza boundary, where it sinks into the soil within a few hours after a storm. The entire sink area is cultivated and is highly
241 fertile. No rotation of crops is ordinarily practiced on the plain; but in the mountains,

[Text continues on page 23 a]

[p. 23a]

241 when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

243 Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may [804] be planted. Maize rows are about 1 *vara* (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work [462] is done by men. There is no exchange of labor [476] or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (ʼirá̧ki) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

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[p.28b]

245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and preserves. A few are used locally.
[252]
[439]

Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote*." Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

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241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread 231 in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent 556 of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

Cattle are raised for several economic uses: 231 meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

Relatively few cows are milked, and most 234 families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

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236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other [241] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

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256 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* pro-
243 duces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds
434 of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or
438 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 One agricultural activity for which few data
438 were obtained is fruit growing. No informa-
434 tion was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

434 Another view of farming activity may be
24 gained by examining the income of individual
511 farmers. These data are probably somewhat unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

241 434 511 maize. Case 3 owns a store run by his children, but he regards himself as a farmer by preference. Even without his store, he would be well off by Cherán standards, although not a "rich man." In 1940 he produced nearly enough maize for his family and sold over $300 worth of wheat. In 1941 he probably was able to sell not less than 35 *fanegas* of maize above his family's food needs (less if he raised pigs or fattened beef for butchering). Case 4 is a widow. Her land is cultivated by a nephew, but under what circumstances is not known. If the nephew lives with her, the amount of maize is a little inadequate; on the other hand, if she lives alone, the quantity is more than enough for one person.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 434 It is virtually impossible to secure useful data on labor costs or profits in relation to animals. Under agriculture I have mentioned some of the facts about oxen. No data were collected on chicken raising; probably no one in Cherán knows how much grain he feeds chickens or how many eggs a year he gets. [435] Prices vary from 2 to 6 centavos per egg. The situation about pigs is little better.

Virtually everyone keeps pigs; no one has any idea of the total amount of grain fed except during the fattening period. Shoats have little value and are frequently given away. Data on labor are lacking, yet the labor cost cannot be negligible when the animal is being fattened and its pen is cleaned frequently. A

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TABLE 2.—*Data on farm income*

[Data for 1940, obtained; for 1941, estimated.]

Case No.	Land cultivated			Yield			Value of crop		Total income for year		Combined income for 1940-41
	Number of parcels	Number of hectares	Value	Crop	1940	1941	1940	1941	1940	1941	
1[1]	2 1	3	$140	Maize do	20 fanegas	.....	$100-140	.....	$100-140	.....	$180-240
						10-15 fanegas		80-100		80-100	
2[2]	1 1	4 Town lot	350	Maize Peas	35 fanegas 10-100's	.....	175-200	.....	175-200	.....	175-200
						6-100's					
3	1 1 1 1 1 1	6 1 1 ½ Town lot 3 ½	1,350	Wheat Maize do Peas Maize	17 ½ cargas 7 ½ fanegas 7 ½ fanegas 35-100's	.....	[3]315-371 40 40 10	.....	449-481	.....	733-1,391
						35-100's 55-110 fanegas		10 275-660		285-670	
4	1 1 1	½ ½ ½	120	Wheat Maize do	1 carga 6 fanegas	.....	24 44	.....	80	.....	135
						6 fanegas		55		55	

[1] Value of fodder or wheat straw not included.
[2] Land rented; crop values represent owner's share (one-half).
[3] Cost of threshing deducted.
[4] Value not included in $1,350.

[p. 68c]

253 433 434

15 *arrobas* (375 pounds)	$90
14 *arrobas* (350 pounds)	65
16 *arrobas* (400 pounds)	92
Retail price (per kilo)	.70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo)	.40–.45
Price of pigs	30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week	7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig	3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 434

Field watchers:

Wages:

In maize	1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize)	$60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 434

Water carrying:

Charge for two 25-liter cans	$0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 433 434

Beekeeping:

12 hives produced:

15 liters of honey at $0.60	$ 9.00
3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50	6.70–10.00

Wax:

1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth	3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth	9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles	18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 433 434

Fireworks making:

Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts seem reasonable.

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121 made can a practical program be formulated for Cherán. Anthropological studies by themselves offer no easy and golden pathway to the solution of Indian problems. The most thorough study of the Tarascans must be ineffective practically if the necessary administrative objectives are not clearly defined. The data of an anthropological study such as this can do no more than offer hints as to the "soft" spots of the culture, the areas in which change can most easily be introduced, as well as the *costumbres*, the points of resistance, such as ceremonies (not necessarily including religion), dress, dances, weddings, and death customs. The study can likewise indicate some of the major problems of Cherán, such as the underproductivity of the soil and agricultural technology, the inadequate mechanization, the probable existence of an overly large population to permit any marked rise in economic status, the need of creating new attitudes in spending (for Cherán could finance many public improvements itself), the inadequacy of the water supply, the lack of public health facilities, and the shortcomings of the educational system.

In relation to these problems, further studies are needed in which the anthropologist is aided by technicians in soil use, farming, forestry, and animal husbandry techniques. Scientific-

[text continues on top of p.213b]

APPENDIX 1

DATA ON FOOD PLANTS AND FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

The following data were collected by Silvia
121 Rendón in the pueblos of La Cañada, the next valley to the north of Cherán. As the valley is at a lower elevation than is Cherán, some differences are noticeable in techniques and in plants grown. Unless otherwise specified, the data are from Chilchota; although far from complete, they are included here because they afford some interesting comparisons, the more so in that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today.

Plants cultivated: All of the plants culti-
241 vated in Cherán as well as many others, are
262 found in La Cañada. Black maize is grown in the fields, rather than in the house lots, but, as in Cherán, it is kept separate in storage and is used only for certain types of tamales and

[text continues on middle of p.213b]

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[p.213 b]
Sierra Tarascans
. La Cañada

121 ally, such studies should be of great aid also, permitting better understanding of the fundamental limitations on Cherán culture.

Once a set of definite objectives has been established, the data of the anthropological study will be of considerable use in formulating a concrete program and in developing Tarascan cooperation. Moreover, the introduction of a program in itself, creates changes in the cultural situation. The dynamic quality of culture makes it important that administrative programs be accompanied by further study and be flexible enough to adapt to the changing situation.

Despite these remarks on the practical problems of government in the Tarascan area, it should be emphasized that the present study is primarily concerned with scientific objectives. These objectives happen to be closely related to practical considerations, for administrative objectives in Mexico call for culture change in some measure. Cultural processes and the function and interrelation of the parts of a culture emerge most clearly from dynamic situations rather than from static studies without temporal extension. Not only practical but scientific objectives can be served by the study of Cherán culture in transition.

APPENDIX 1

FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

241 atoles. Wheat is sown twice a year; one planting is in June and it is harvested in December;
262 the second is in November, in the house lots, and it is harvested in May. Beans are grown more extensively than at Cherán; the harvest is exclusively by women.

Among the plants generally grown in Chilchota is amaranth (*bledos*). The cultivation is not commercialized, each family growing a little for its own use. Amaranth is used by Indians of La Cañada for making sweets; in Chilchota it is employed in sweets, certain atoles, and in an uncooked tamale resembling a tortilla which is sold in Capacuaro.

245 A considerable number of fruits are culti-
262 vated in Chilchota. Mangoes of the *criollo* and

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

175 fitted into the class system of colonial
621 Mexico.

[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 The other main type of social unit in
621 rural Mexico was the privately owned estate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can
423 be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, i. e. "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 The colonial village community was the primary economic unit, to some extent self-
621 sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the
423 main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the
175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]

[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of
[463] most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they
[438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 For various reasons differences in wealth came to exist within the community: The
556 Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-8.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 2.

175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting
621 of the villages into opposite parties in relation to the conflicts unleashed by the
578 Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have
[651] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
● 241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

> "The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 32-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 33; Beals, 1946, 31, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 170-1.

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

[609] Given this system of cultivation, the resistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
182 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for
433 consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1945, 20.
48. West, 1948, 30.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

438 Handicrafts are very important to the economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field. Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 227.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. Ibid., 64.
57. Ibid., 65.
58. Ibid., 70-71.
59. Ibid., 69.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.20b] NU34 Tarasco NU34

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[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada,
669 Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of
175 farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not
423 been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

67. *Ibid.*, 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 385–88.
69. *Ibid.*, 262–4.
70. *Ibid.*, 263.
71. *Ibid.*, 281; Sáenz, 1936, 22.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 121.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.23b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, *i. e.*, those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater ac-
177 culturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has
[241] a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are light-
[821] ed to them. There are also a number of
[824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and
[754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although
[177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in
241 the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11b--ANALYST]

TARASCAN POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 One of the outstanding developments in Ta-
178 rascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in
171 which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the
191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign tongues existed; these represented colonies settled
563 with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 11b--ANALYST]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the
161 frightful toll taken by the contagious European diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12b--ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cusso; Mus. Nac., leg. 99, Rel. de Charo Matlalzingo.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33b]

[804]

[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands 224 within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 222 gathering, although now of small importance, is still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT Continues bottom P. 33b]

423 311 [656] Before the promulgation of the Federal forest laws (1930's), all members of the pueblo reserved the right to cut wood and lumber in the *monte* with permission of the *representante*. Today a Federal tax must be paid (but is often evaded) by each pueblo for lumber rights. Small plots of land (*desmontes*) may be cleared and planted in any part of the forest, but the farmer must first gain permission of the *representante* and his committee. In addition to the *monte* many pueblos possess certain croplands, called *tierras de la comunidad*, which are not assigned permanently to individuals, but are worked communally, usually by landless farmers, who receive a portion of the harvest as remuneration. The remainder of the crop is often stored in the pueblo as communal property to be sold by the *representante* for the town treasury or to be used as food in time of shortage.

TARASCAN
ECONOMY

241 177 still forms the leading crop complex, but the European grains—wheat, barley, the broadbean and lentil—have become intimately associated with Tarascan agriculture. European fruits are grown with native types; Old World vegetables, mainly cabbage, have become an integral part of native food habits. But the modern Tarascan considers such crops, most of which were introduced over 400 years ago, as part of his aboriginal culture. Furthermore, although Tarascans still practice pre-Columbian shifting agriculture on steep slopes, the Old World plow has transformed indigenous cultivation on level and gently sloping lands.

Agricultural acculturation continues constantly. Tarascan *braceros* returning from the United States have brought in apple cuttings from the Yakima Valley, grapevines from California, corn from Iowa. Within the last three decades a South American *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*) has been introduced in the Sierra south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Again, alfalfa cultivation is slowly penetrating into many parts of the Sierra. Recently the Federal Government introduced a few steel plows in some Tarascan villages, and here and there one sees engine-powered threshing machines slowly replacing the ancient European threshing floor and flail. [654]

241 The Tarascans, like many aboriginal groups
177 strongly influenced by European culture, engage in two types of agriculture: field agriculture and horticulture. The former comprises extensive cultivation of grains in comparatively large fields with the plow and in small hillside plots with the hoe. Tarascan horticulture includes mainly the intensive cultivation of grains, vegetables, medicinal plants, and fruits in the house-lot gardens (ekuáru, sing., ekuárueča, pl., hispanicized to *ecuaro*); it also includes specialized truck gardening, such as that practiced on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

FIELD AGRICULTURE AND ASSOCIATED CROPS

241 There are three basic native food crops of
261 Mexico: maize (starch and oil), beans (protein), and squash (vegetable vitamin), all of which are now associated with field agriculture. In most Indian and many mestizo communities this complex forms the principal elements in the common diet; the three crops are planted together in the same field, cultivated together in the same manner, and harvested about the same time.

Maize culture.—The earliest record of maize in
243 the Tarascan area is found in the charred ears
[172] encountered in a lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia. The date of the flow is unknown, but maize was probably known to the Tarascans when they settled in the Sierra and the northern plateau.

The provenience of maize cultivated by the early Tarascans is but a small part of the complex and obscure movements of corn from a secondary center of origin in southern Mexico or northern Central America.[50] Anderson (1946 a) has described three distinct races of *Zea mays* in central Mexico: (1) the Mexican Pyramidal, centering in the eastern highlands; (2) Mexican Narrow Ear, found in western Mexico, particularly in both cold and hot lands of Jalisco and Nayarit; and (3) Mountain Yellow, a high altitude maize (usually above 7,000 ft.) encountered in purest form in the highlands of western Mexico.[51] Located between

[50] See Mangelsdorf and Cameron (1942) on the hybridization of South American primitive maize and *Tripsacum* in Middle America.

[51] Following is a brief description of the above races as given by Anderson (1946 a, p. 171): (1) Mexican Pyramidal. Ears short, tapering regularly butt to tip; row number high to very high (16-24). Kernels dented and pointed. Color prevailingly white and pale yellow. Plants short, pronounced interveinal red or purple coloring. Shallow root system, leaves broad and pubescent. Tassels with few or no branches. (2) Mexican Narrow Ear. Ears narrow, long, irregularly long-tapered, compressed at butt. Low row num-

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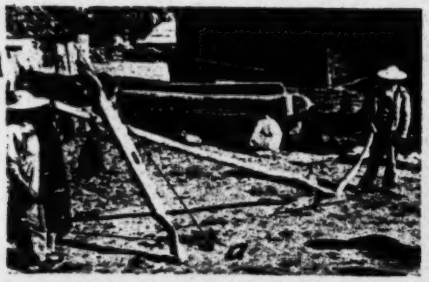
[412]



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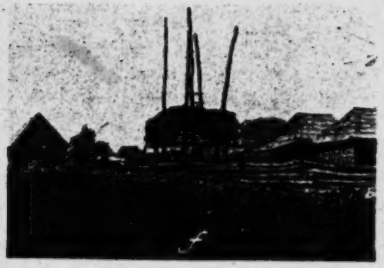

PLATE 5.—Maize culture. *a*, The Egyptian plow, still widely used in Mexico (Yuriria). Note straight steel tip (*reja*) which slips over cutpiece of plow (*rejo*) and good near end of tongue; leather strap used to fasten yoke to horns of oxen. *b*, Planting maize near Cuernavaca. The first plow, which opens the furrow, is followed by two small boys, who drop seeds at regular intervals. The second plow covers the seeds. *c*, Cultivating plowing near Cuernavaca. Field of young maize. *d*, Hill of maize and beans in bee land near Chichicasta. Plants are about 1 week old. *e*, Newly burned clearings near Ajos. Note wood ash, which will be mixed with underlying soil. *f*, Platform on which maize fodder (*zacate*) is stored. Zacatecas.

[End-plate 5]

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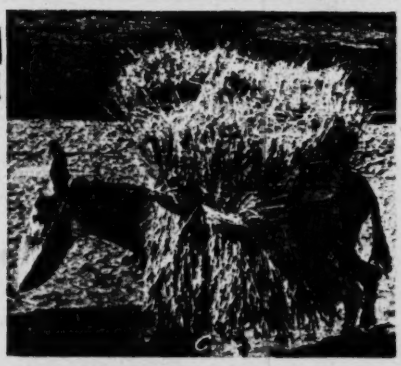
[231]



[493]

PLATE 6.—Wheat culture. *a*, Irrigated wheat fields near Cilicuta, La Cañada. *b*, Temporal wheat fields on the northern edge of the Sierra, near Tirindaro. *c*, Method of hauling wheat bundles to the threshing floor, Ajo. *d*, Cutting wheat with the sickle, near Pátzcuaro. *e*, Threshing wheat with foals, Sirio. *f*, Threshing wheat in the ox with horses, at Comanja. The *carreta* (right) is used in many parts of Tarasco to haul wheat bundles and make fodder.

[End-plate 6]

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

252 The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

245 *Pears.*—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (ɛarápiti), and t'ačani (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

245 Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-
242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

[1944] [10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as quiote; the leaves are called ítkua, the stalk or bud, ámaŝ. Mentioned Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

243 is often retarded until the following December or January.

Fodder, consisting of that part of the maize
246 plant above the ears, is cut in September, when
251 the plant is still green and the ears well formed. In the Sierra, fodder is often stored on platforms constructed in trees. Normally it is taken to the village and placed in sheds or on log platforms in the house lot (pl. 5).

243 Since the late fall maize harvest of Cherán, described by Beals (1946, pp. 24–25), is typical of most of modern Tarasca, no attempt will be made to repeat the data here. In only one area—the [493] Zacapu Basin—are four-wheeled wagons (*guallines* made of the frame and wheels of abandoned autos) used to haul maize from the fields to the village. In all other areas burros haul the ears [492] in sacks (*costales*) or nets. Ears of maize are 251 stored in the lofts of the main house; shelled corn is never stored. The ekuaru corn that is kept for seed and food is hung by the husks in bunches (*piña*, sandáŋgata) or in rows over poles inside the house or on the veranda.

242 *Crop rotation and fallowing.*—Except in ex-
243 ceptionally fertile lands, field maize is rarely grown for two consecutive years on the same ground. In the basin plains of the Sierra, corn is often planted without fallow in spots refreshed by annual deposits of alluvium, as at the base of alluvial fans and in sink areas in the center of basins. The soils of the recently drained lacustrine plain of Zacapu are so rich that they support annual maize crops without rotation or application of fertilizer. Generally in the Sierra, maize fields in the basin plains and lower slopes are fallowed for 10 or 12 months every other year. In such fields only maize is planted. Usually during a given year, half of the plains land belonging to a village and a portion of the slopes are fallowed, the rest being planted; when the village possesses more than one basin plain, cultivation and fallow are alternated from one to the other. Ordinarily in the *desmontes* and *jollas* wheat or barley are rotated with maize (one year wheat, one year maize, one year fallow). In the temporal lands surrounding the Sierra customarily two crops per year, one of maize, the other of wheat or barley, are obtained from a given piece of ground. The land is then fallowed 8 to 12 months. (Wheat planted in November, harvested following April or May; maize planted in June, harvested in

242 November; land fallowed until following Novem-
243 ber.) Often fallow and planted fields are alternated between the slopes and the plains in the temporal lands.

Fertilization in field agriculture.—Tarascans make little or no attempt to apply fertilizer to maize fields. Occasionally animal manure (*estiércol*) from the stables in the house lots is spread over small parts of fields nearest the village.[86] Sheep and cattle, however, are turned into the fields after harvest, and shepherds are often paid to bed flocks in the fields. No commercial fertilizer is used, owing to its high cost. As mentioned above, new *desmontes* are fertilized by wood ash from freshly burned brush.

Uses of Maize—*Food.*—As in all indigenous
262 areas of Mexico, maize is the principal foodstuff
252 of the Tarascans. Six types of maize foods are common among modern Tarascans: (1) green corn, or roasting ears (*elote*, tirípu); (2) toasted kernels ground to powder and mixed with sweetening (*pinole*, japúmata); (3) maize dough wrapped in maize leaves and boiled (*tamal*, k'uúnda); (4) maize gruel, or dough dissolved in water (*atole*, kamáta); (5) boiled maize kernels with shell removed (*pozole*, máskuta), similar to North American hominy; (6) thin cooked griddle cakes of maize dough (*tortilla*, ičúskuta), at present the most important single food item.

Elote foods.—Green corn is prepared by parching and by boiling. Without removing the inner husk, ears are often parched in the direct flames or under burning coals. Corn so prepared is called uirfkan in the Sierra. Ears roasted with husks removed are termed "uirfkata." Boiling with husks removed (jáman) is also common. Green ears are preserved by boiling and drying in the sun for many weeks. In the dried form they are called uačákata, and the consistency of fresh corn is revived by soaking and reboiling. Other types of maize foods are made from *elote:* a tamal (učépu) from early green maize; various atoles (atole de grano, atole de t'okéri, de uačákata, etc.); maize which is between the green and mature states (t'okéri) is often ground, shaped into small cakes, and boiled. The maize most frequently used for

[86] In only one instance did the writer observe systematic application of manure. This was near the new Tarascan town of Cahcontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan. In planting maize, the planter was followed by an individual who dropped a handful of manure over the seed. A plow followed, covering the seed and manure.

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by
177 missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent
797 had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit
[242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting
[242] of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly
438 for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *cumuiuu*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chats*, *mariowa*, *chats de tierra* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *mardiana* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1790 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (A.O.N. Historia, vol. 73, f. 330). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 49-a]

239 In spite of unfavorable environment for stock raising, many families possess small herds (10–25 head) of cattle, which roam the Sierra forests.[107] During the latter part of the dry season some cattle die of starvation, and the springs and wells barely afford sufficient water for existing herds. The fatter animals are occasionally sold to the local butcher or home-killed for meat. Only the more wealthy have riding horses, and few except *arrieros* possess mules. When in use oxen and burros are often stabled in the house lot. All livestock is turned into the fields after harvest to graze on stubble and to fertilize the land. The small animals, such as sheep and pigs (*ganado menor*) are common throughout present Tarasca.[108] In almost every village a few families own sheep, flocks ranging in size from 50 to 1,000 head. The greatest number of flocks are found around the higher mountains of the Sierra, such as Tancítaro,[109] Patamban, and Quinceo, where summer pastures (bunchgrass) are abundant near the summits. In [242] winter, flocks are grazed in harvested cornfields, for this is a recognized method of soil fertilization. Most of the inhabitants of the *ranchos* around Cerro de Patamban are shepherd-farmers, at least half of their time being devoted to sheep raising. During the summer months boys and girls are

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[107] Few data exist concerning the introduction of cattle into the Sierra. The original land title of Pamatácuaro, dated June 1832, mentions the possession of European domestic animals by the Indians of that village. "Tienen *los naturales como pobladores las preeminencias necesarias de pueblo, Iglesia, campanas seneres, cementerio: chivas de todas clases de ganados, Bueyes de vientre, Bueyes, asnos, asnas y bestias mulares y caballeras . . .*" Again, from the same document: ". . . *los animales y ganados son ocnos y de compadrazgo . . .*" These data were taken from a certified copy (1937) of the original document; the latter is reported to be in the *jefatura* of Pamatácuaro. If the document is correct, European animals were taken into the native culture at an extremely early date. The Ponce Relación (1872, vol. 3, p. 133) mentions herds belonging to natives pasturing on the slopes of Cerro de Tanciítaro and watering at the lake on its summit in 1584. Around 1700 the people of Cherantátzicurin possessed a *sitio de ganado mayor* (pasture for large animals such as horses and cattle) near the village (AGN Tierras, vol. 867, exped. 6). In the northern plateau and *tierra caliente* regions, where colonial cattle estancias were numerous, many Indians quickly became seneres, but probably few acquired their own herds.

[108] Tarascans quickly adopted the sheep. By 1580 many Indians around the shores of Lake Cuitzeo possessed flocks numbering from 300 to 400 head. ". . . *crian sus carneros con tan buen orden y consierto como en España . . .*" (Mun. Nac., leg. 163, Rel. de Cuitzeo). A great number of Indians living near the northern plateau pastures were forced to tend flocks of Spanish encomenderos. The Lake and Sierra Tarascans also likely acquired sheep at an early date. In many parts of Mexico the Indians rapidly took to sheep raising soon after the Spaniards introduced the animal early in the 16th century. During the colonial period Indians were the chief sheep raisers in New Spain, either as hired shepherds or as owners of flocks. Possibly the annual or semi-annual wool clip and the fact that the smaller animals are more easily herded than cattle, prompted the natives to adapt themselves readily to sheep raising.

[109] Most of the flocks on Tancítaro and other areas adjacent to Parícutin were destroyed by heavy ash fall during the spring and summer of 1943. Formerly, some Tarascans in that area owned flocks as large as 5,000 or 6,000 head. One man in Nuric is reported to have had 20,000.

241 when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

243 Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may [804] be planted. Maize rows are about 1 *vara* (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work [462] is done by men. There is no exchange of labor [476] or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (ʼirá$_7$ki) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

243 although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of
[262] the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter, apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and
[263] chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color
243 variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types.
824 Red ears are called čóču and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called čústika and a coiled shape called tokére čústika.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest.
243 All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shell-
[821] ing is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fungus. [262] The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

243 672 685 Trespass by domestic animals and theft must be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 [132] Unseasonal frost often damages corn, particularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated (*"escarda"* also *"trozando"*) by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded *"chaponeado."* [412] This is done by hand with a short machete, called *"os,"* with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

243 221 674 As soon as grain is well formed on the ears, some maize is used for food, usually roasted. At this time, also, guards must be set in the fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

243 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine
221 tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set
674 firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder
246 (*"rastrojo"*) is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also
[462] glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-
[482] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which
[285] miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the
464 infirm, everyone works, either on his own har-
466 vest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 Most of the harvest is carried to town and
the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to
492 hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are
[493] used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

243 492 [427] wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize or money equal to the rent is usually made. Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

243 632 The time of the harvest varies in different places. If the "plain" west of town is planted, the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

243 527 692 273 As the harvest is a time of joint work, even though not communal in character, it also is a rather festive and social occasion. Moreover, many workmen have more money than at any other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

243 In 1940 the following schedule of harvests was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

251 243 White maize and yellow maize are stored unshelled in the lofts of *"trojes."* Little effort is taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in the house. Most black corn is consumed as [252] roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved [196] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands [231] are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat [821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. [462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in [407] 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Tarataro, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

Beans.—The soil of Cherán is said not to be 244 good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [775] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

Some further insight into production prob- 433 lems may be gained by detailed studies of 434 specific activities. These data throw light 128 upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi- 433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so 124

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.64b]

124 much secrecy or misleading information given.
243 Three sources of information were used: (1)
433 Data from farmers about their own activities. All this information is suspect, even after eliminating obviously false answers. (2) Data from Agustín Rangel, who was interested in establishing himself as a farmer and probably was a good and relatively unbiased observer. (3) Observation of farm practices and participation in harvests on roughly measured fields. Actual measurement of fields was undesirable and would have caused trouble.

243 In table 1 are given the various data collected
433 on farm yields. The average of figures given by farmers is about the top figure given by Rangel for average land in a poor year. It is slightly above the figure for the yield of average land in a poor year as secured by participation in the harvest. The cross checks suggest the figures given by farmers are on the whole plausible although probably low. The figures given by any individual farmer, however, may be quite incorrect. This should be borne in mind throughout the discussion.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*

ESTIMATE BY OWNERS

Number of hectares cultivated	Yield (per hectare) in—		Value of crop
	Cargas	*Fanegas*	
2½	40	30	.....
10½	180	135	.....
¼	[1] 20	5¼	.....
¼[2]	20	15	$90–110
¼[3]	10	7½	60– 70
¼[2]	5	3¾	25
¼[2]	10	7½	65
¼[3] (early-frost area)	3	2¼	15
4	90	70	350–400
1	10	7½	40
1½	10	7½	40
½	12	9	55
½	12	9	55
Average	...	14¾	.....

ESTIMATE BY AGUSTIN RANGEL

Type of land and year	Average yield per hectare	
	Cargas	*Fanegas*
Best land:		
Average year	40	30
Bad year	15–25	11¼–18¾
Average land:		
Average year	30	22½
Bad year	5–20	3¾–15
Poor land	.....	1½

[1] An exceptionally rich "joya," a fertile depression in the mountains fertilized by drainage from surrounding slopes.

[2] This is a stupendous yield, if true, but the land is said to be exceptionally located, with fertilization from adjoining slopes.

[3] Data in this line are typical of information from owners. One area given as ½ hectare yields a crop to be expected of a full hectare; on inspection, it proved to be nearly 3 hectares.

[124]

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[p.65a]

243
433

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*—Continued

ESTIMATE BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AT HARVEST

Type of land	Yield in *fanegas* per hectare	Remarks
Poor to average land	3	Maize badly damaged by early frost.
Average land	12	Maize slightly damaged by frost.

243
433
461

In addition to securing data on yield, i.e., income, for maize, an effort was made to secure data on production costs. General statements as to the amount of time put in on farm work proved worthless. Usually the time given would scarcely provide for a single weeding. The best figures were secured by breaking down the different steps and getting experienced farmers to estimate the time necessary for cultivating 1 hectare. A summary of such data gives the following:

	Days
Labor of owner:	
First plowing	10
Second plowing (at right angles)	10
Sowing	3
First cultivation (with plow)	4
Second cultivation (with plow)	3
First weeding (with sickle or machete)	3
Second weeding (often omitted)	3
Harvest	1
Carrying maize to house (estimated average)	5
Total	42
Hired labor:	
Sowing (2 peons)	3
Harvesting (3 peons)	1

Costs:

[465]

Owner's labor (42 days valued at $0.45 a day outside of planting and harvesting time)	$18.90
2 peons for 3 days	3.00
3 peons for 1 day	1.50
Total	$23.40

On the assumption that a man will own sufficient land to require hired labor, the summary given above includes 9 man days of hired labor at a cost of $4.50 or a total of 51 man days of labor worth $23.40. To this must be added $30 for hire of an ox team if one is not owned, probably $1 in taxes, and $2.50 for the value of the seed corn (one-half *fanega*), or a total of $56.90. If this is about an average piece of land, the yield will be 15 to 20 *fanegas* of shelled

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.65b]

243 433 461

maize, for which the farmer should receive from $75 to $120, or a profit of $22.10 to $63.10. From this, in theory, should be deducted interest on the investment in land and equipment as well as a depreciation allowance on the equipment. If the land is worth $90 (above average), it would seem fair to allow at least $11 for these charges, which still leaves a profit of $11.10 to $52.10.[23]

As will be seen in later discussions, this makes maize farming on average or better land probably one of the most worth-while businesses in Cherán. Obviously there are elements of risk. Farmers on poor land, moreover, probably get no profits at all on this basis, for labor and expenses would be reduced very little relative to reductions in yield. The second weeding and part of the harvesting expenses might be eliminated. But if the yield is as low as 1½ *fanegas* (as has been reported) a man would get virtually no return at all. If he had his own ox team and did all his own work (with the help of sons or his wife), he might get $4 to $5 worth of maize for his effort after deducting the costs of seed and taxes. From the standpoint of our economy, there is obviously a very considerable net loss.

To view the agricultural situation in Cherán only from the standpoint of our economy, however, would be grossly misleading, for to do so does not take into account numerous cultural factors. The Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits, and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage house. I have already mentioned that harvest workers refused an increase in wages from 50 centavos to $1 if the right to glean were rescinded. Most observers agree that the amount of maize obtained from gleaning in a day is less than can be bought for 50 centavos. At $1 the workman could therefore buy more corn than his wife could obtain by gleaning. The large farmers would get a more thorough harvest and would not have to employ supervisors. On a bookkeeping basis, everyone would benefit. But the harvest hand would not have a load of maize, small though it might be, to carry home from a day's work; he would have only an inedible silver peso in his pocket.

[23] Charges for animals to carry the crop and for watchmen and storage facilities are not included.

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243 433 461 In the case of the farmer who slaves at producing a scanty crop on submarginal land, similar considerations are important. The farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

243 433 153 Even in the case of the average or somewhat better than average case cited in detail, the calculations made on the basis of our economic viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

184 433 243 In case maize is raised for sale on any scale, however, the farmer encounters new marketing problems. The local market prefers yellow maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

243 433 427 From the statements given above it should not be concluded that the idea of a return for land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

243 cropping basis. The number of sharecroppers
433 in Cherán is unknown, but probably is con-
427 siderable. Small landowners often farm additional lands on this basis, and some fairly prosperous families are sharecroppers.

The rental paid by sharecroppers is usually one-half the crop. In the case of our average hectare this would mean the owner received 7½ to 10 *fanegas* of maize worth from $37.50 to $60.00. This might well be equal to more than a 50 percent return on the investment in land. As even the most exorbitant interest rates on cash loans from banks would not exceed 15 percent, it would appear to be a very good business to borrow money to buy land for rental on a sharecropping basis. Yet such a procedure, so far as could be discovered, is seldom if ever followed. Moreover, persons with money will lend on land as a security, receiving only interest, instead of buying land which would appear to offer a relatively larger return. (But short-term loans are at a much higher rate of interest. See p. 63.)

231 A number of factors still have not been
243 treated in the foregoing discussion. It should
427 be observed that the hypothetical farmer could still further decrease his cash outlay if he
434 owned his own ox team. Such a team would be worth from $100 to $120, depending on size. Ownership of a team would save about $30 a year in rental in cultivating a hectare. In addition, there might be opportunities to rent the team at $1 a day for perhaps 30 days to work on maize lands and perhaps for another 30 days during the wheat season. As there is less demand in the latter time, the rental probably would be only 75 centavos a day. The returns from rentals, however, would possibly be $52.50 a year. If the saving of $30 for rentals on the farmer's own land were included the investment in an ox team obviously would be a very good one.

Ownership of livestock, however, involves the problem of feed. Mostly the feed is secured by cutting the *rastrojo* or corn fodder. Wheat straw is also fed. Part of the year animals may be grazed on the common pastures. Rarely, however, is enough feed produced, and in a bad year there is always danger of losing animals during the latter part of the dry season. Ownership of oxen also increases the

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[p.67a]

231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or
427 3 days while in pasture.

434 The question may be raised why horses or mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:	*Days*	
First plowing	10	
Second plowing	10	
Sowing and harrowing	2	(or less)
Harvesting	4½	
Total labor	26½	
Costs:		
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92	
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00	
Taxes	1.00	
Seed	1.00	
Total production costs	$28.92	
Interest on capital investment	11.00	
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92	

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

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256 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* pro-
243 duces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds
434 of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or
438 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 One agricultural activity for which few data
438 were obtained is fruit growing. No informa-
434 tion was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

Another view of farming activity may be
434 gained by examining the income of individual
241 farmers. These data are probably somewhat
511 unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

243 *Threshing machine:*
407 *Equipment:*
433 Woodburning steam-driven threshing machine. Cost unknown, but probably several thousand pesos.
434

Charges for wheat threshing (a *carga*)	$2.50
Capacity daily	12 *cargas*
Income daily	$30.00

Operating expenses (daily):	
Wood	$2.00
Hired labor	2.00
Water carrier	1.00
Total	$5.00

Operating season (June 20 to Oct. 25, period worked in 1940 estimated):	Days
June	8
July	25
August	25
September	20
October	15
Total	93

Total business (1,116 *cargas*, estimated, at $2.50 a *carga*)	$2,790
Net profit annually before deducting repairs, wages for owner, interest and depreciation, approximately	$2,365

Comment: Probably the threshing machine has the largest peso volume of business of any enterprise in Cherán, although one of the *nixtamal* mills probably is a close second. The threshing machine also represents the greatest capital investment except for some individual investments in real estate. High repair costs probably reduce the true net profit considerably, while depreciation in this case cannot be ignored. Add to this the time and skill required of the owner, and it is probable that this is not the most profitable enterprise in town even though it be the largest. Certainly, other families of farmers or combination farmers and storekeepers show more outward signs of prosperity.

402 *Nixtamal mills:*

Cost of equipment	$300.00–$1200.00
Costs daily:	
434 Gasoline and oil for gas engines	2.00
256 Charcoal for producer gas equipped engines	1.20
Labor, 1 man	.80–1.00
Gross income at 1 centavo per kilo of maize ground (daily)	13.00–15.00
Net income (daily)	10.00–12.00

Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

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[p.219 a]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

796 the streets with the musicians to the house of the čičiua, who serves nákatamales, *buñuelos*, and čápata, the men and women of the *cabildo* eating first. During the night there is much dancing of *jarabes*, first women dancing with

[text continues on top of p. 219b]

APPENDIX 3

REPORT ON MAIZE

FROM CHERÁN By EDGAR ANDERSON

Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St Louis

243 Fifty-five ears of maize were received from Dr. Ralph L. Beals, in lots numbered from 1 to 43, there being two ears each of most of the numbers above 30. The ears were photographed, grain samples were taken, and the ears returned to Dr. Beals. In the summer of 1942, 10 plants from each lot were grown at the Blandy Experimental Farm, of the University of Virginia,[30] Boyce, Va. Although the planting as a whole was badly infested with smut, at least one good tassel specimen was obtained from each lot and herbarium specimens were also made of leaves and seedlings. Notes on plant color, pubescence, etc., were taken in the field, and the internode pattern of one plant of each lot was recorded. Five plants from the entire lot were investigated in detail, cytologically, and the knob number and knob positions of their chromosomes were determined.

As a whole, the corn belongs to the race recently termed "Mexican Pyramidal" by Anderson and Cutler (1942). Many of the ears and the plants grown from them are indistinguishable (for all practical purposes) from collections made in the vicinity of Mexico City. However, there are certain average differences which seem to be significant, and a few of the numbers are unlike anything we have yet examined from Mexico, D. F. Plants are medium to tall, mostly with conspicuous sun red (occasionally purple) plant color. Tillers are few or absent. The leaves are broad but break easily in the wind, giving the collection a very bedraggled appearance, which is heightened by the susceptibility to smut. The tas-

[30] For laboratory space and many other courtesies, we are indebted to the Director, Dr. O. E. White.

[text continues on middle of p. 219b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.296]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

796 women and later men dancing with women. The latter enter into contests with others. *Pastores* are also sung all night, verses taken from printed pamphlets from Mexico. This is continued every night until Candelaria.

APPENDIX 3
REPORT ON MAIZE
FROM CHERÁN

By EDGAR ANDERSON Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St. Louis

243 sels are large and coarse but there are few tassel branches. The ears are short, though the husks are often very long. The ear branches vary greatly in length, the most extreme being 3 or 4 feet long, with numerous secondary ears. This is partly due to culture in a region of different day length (i. e., Virginia vs. Mexico). The ears are prevailingly broad at the base, tapering sharply and evenly. The kernels are mostly hard and flinty but are nearly all more or less dented. There is great variation in kernel size and shape, not only from plant to plant but also on each ear, since, owing to the position of the husks, the grains at the tip of the ear are under strong compression, whereas those at the base have plenty of room. It is not unusual to see an ear with the basal kernels deeply dented but with no perceptible denting in any of the kernels at the tip.

Two main types were well represented in the collections (table 18). There were the so-called "Black" maize from Cherán (Nos. 31–37) and from Nahuatzen (Nos. 38–43) and "Tulukénio" (Nos. 1–26), a mountain type grown only above 8,500 feet (pl. 8). A third type, "Trimásion," is grown on the plain below 8,500 feet. It is said to be later maturing, larger-eared, and larger-grained. This was apparently confirmed by our collections, but since there were only two numbers (29 and 30) no averages have been prepared.

The collections of Black maize stood out sharply both in the field and in the collection of ears. The latter were around 15 cm. in length, nearly all of them with dark (blue or purple) kernels which were deeply to lightly dented and were rounded (i. e., not pointed). Purple cob

[text continues on p.221a]

243

TABLE 18.—*Characteristics of Chorda maize*

Ear no.	Race of maize	Locality	Plant color	Cob color	Silk color	Seed coat color (S = stained or streaked)	Aleurone	Tillers	Tassel branch	Row	Shank length	Condensed internodes	Basalis upper cytoplasm	Kernel	Knob
								Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Mm.*	*Percent*	*Percent*		*Number*
[illegible]	Tuxkeño	Chorda	Sun red	White	Red	Red S	White	0-2	3-9	11	11	0	20	Pointed, flinty	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0-1	4-11	12	12	20	20	Pointed, flinty, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0-3	4	13	12	20	20	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0	4-15	13	9	0	20	do	4
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Green	None	Yellow	0-1	12	13	11	20	20	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0-1	3-6	14	13	20	100	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink purple	do	do	0	4-12	14	13	20	40	Rounded, flinty	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	Pink S	do	0-2	7-10	14	13	0	20	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	Red S	do	0	7	13	13	20	100	Subpointed, flinty	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink purple	None	do	0	4-14	14	10	20	40	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	4-10	14	14	40	20	Rounded, flinty, semident	4
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Green	Red S	do	1	7-8	13	12	0	100	Subpointed, flinty	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0-2	4-14	13	11	40	100	Pointed, flinty	
[illegible]	do	do	Purple	do	do	None	do	0	4-14	13	13	0	100	Pointed, flinty, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	Sun red	do	Green	Red S	White	0	4-9	13	11	20	100	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	do	0	12	13	11	20	100	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	Maroon	do	do	do	0	14	13	11	40	100	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	White	do	do	do	0	4-9	14	10	20	100	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	Mixed	Yellow	0-2	4-9	12	10	10	10	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	None	do	0	9	12				do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	3-11	12	13	0	20	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	Red S	do	1-3	4-7	14	11	20	100	do	7
[illegible]	do	do	do	Purplish	Green	do	White	0	4	14	13	20	100	Subpointed, flinty, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	Maroon	do	do	do	0	7	13	13	20	100	Pointed, flinty, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	Green	White	do	Terra cotta	Tan	0		14				do	
[illegible]	do	do	Sun red	do	Pink	do	Ivory	0-1	13	14	13	20	20	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	Red	do	Tan S	Yellow	0-2	4	14	12	0	20	Subpointed, semident	
[illegible]	Tuxpeño	do	do	White	Green	Tan	White	1-2	4	14	11	20	10	Rounded, rough, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	Purplish	do	do	do	0-2	12	12	10	0	100	Rounded, semident	
[illegible]	Blue	do	do	Purple	Pink	Terra cotta	Orange	0	4	16	13	20	70	Subpointed, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	Purplish	Red	None	Purple	0	4	12	11	10	80	Rounded, dent	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink	None S	do	0	4	16	12	0	0	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	White	Red	None	Blue	0	4	14	10	10	0	do	
[illegible]	do	do	Purple	do	do	do	Purple	0	4	16	17	0	80	Rounded, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	Sun red	Purplish	do	do	Blue	0	3-6	12	13	0	40	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	White	Pink	do	do	0		12	13	20	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	Purplish	do	do	Purple	0	3-9	12	13	0	40	do	5
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	Mixed	Mixed	0	1-7	12	13	10	20	do	
[illegible]	do	do	Purple	Purple	Red	Purple S	do	0	6	16	11	10	20	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	Blue	0-1	2-8	10	13	40	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	Purple	0	7-9	14	11	0	40	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	0	4-9	12	11	0	20	Rounded, dent	
[illegible]	do	Nayarit	do	White	do	Purple	do	0	11	14	13	0	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	Sun red	do	do	Purple S	do	0	3-8	14	11	0	0	do	
[illegible]	do	do	Purple	Purple	do	do	Ivory	0	4	12	13	80	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	Red	do	do	Purple S	Blue	0	3	16	13	40	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	White	0	4	14	13	0	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	Pink	do	Purple	0	4	12	10	0	100	Rounded, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	Purple	do	Red	do	do	0-1	4	16	11	0	0	Rounded, dent	
[illegible]	do	do	Red	Purplish	do	None	do	0	4	12	13	0	20	Rounded, semident	
[illegible]	do	do	do	do	do	do	Blue	0	3	12	13	10	80	Rounded, dent	
[illegible]	do	do	Purple	White	Green	do	do	0	12	14	11	0	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	Red	Purple	Red	Purple S	Purple	0	4	14	11	20	40	do	
[illegible]	do	do	do	Purplish	do	do	White	0	4	14	11	80	80	do	
[illegible]	do	do	Purple	do	Pink	None	Blue	0	6	14	12	0	100	do	6

[p. 229]

243 color was frequent, and many of the lighter cobs were flushed with purple or red. Many of the specimens belong to the color type called "cherry" by geneticists. In the field the purple plant color of a good many of the plants was conspicuous as well as the almost complete absence of tillers, which were frequent enough in the Tulukénio collections to produce a mass effect and make the field look thicker below row No. 30 than it was above that number. A summary of the records shows that on the average the plants of Black maize were taller, that their leaves were a little less pubescent, and that they averaged 5 instead of 7 tassel branches. The differences between Black maize from Cherán and from Nahuatzen were minor, the chief one being more color in the seed coat itself in addition to the prevailingly dark aleurone color. On the whole, the plants from Cherán were a little more variable and were about what might have been expected if varieties from Nahuatzen were grown in close proximity to other varieties from Cherán.

While the Black maize of Cherán and Nahuatzen is in general very similar to Mexican Pyramidal corn from around Mexico City, its broadish, rounded grains, its less condensed tassels, and its tendency to purple plant color are atypical for that region.

Much of the Tulukénio maize is quite like the corn from Mexico City. Nearly all the ears had more or less pointed kernels (characteristically with a dent behind the point) and those which did not have them produced plants with pointed kernels. While there was great variation, most of the varieties were small-grained (7 mm. wide or less). Unlike the Black varieties (whose endosperm was invariably white) about half had yellow endosperm. While the Tulukénio maize varied greatly in the color of the grains, it was prevailingly light and much of it had a rather streaky, irregularly developed pinkish purple in the seed coat. The colored portions were not sharply defined as in variegated maize, but gave rather the effect of a colorless ear which had been lightly brushed with some such dye as eosin. It is apparently due to allelomorphs of the 'P' series. While a few of the ears were straight-rowed, on the whole they were very irregular, at least on a portion of the cob.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.281b]

243 Three of the Tulukénio collections (Nos. 1, 9, and 12, table 18) were of particular interest since they are unlike any corn from Mexico City which we have so far examined and since resemblances to them were apparent in several other collections (e. g. Nos. 16 and 17). They are small-cobbed, very flinty, with no trace of denting, and the cobs are cylindrical rather than tapering. That they are not merely poorly developed ears is proved by the fact that the plants grown from them were somewhat distinctive. They were short, one of them had more tillers than any other plant in the field, and their internode patterns revealed a strong tendency toward the Pima-Papago pattern rather than the Mexican Pyramidal pattern.

We do not yet have enough data about the kinds of maize to appraise the significance of these extreme variants of Tulukénio maize. It may be they are inferior types which have, through inbreeding, segregated out of better varieties. Since these mountain varieties are grown in isolated plots and since each family carefully preserves its own strain, this is quite likely. Even so, their morphology may be a significant throw-back to a type of corn once grown in this region, or in some region from which the Tarascan maize was derived. Since in most of their peculiarities they suggest Pima-Papago maize, which is known to be similar to the prehistoric Basket Maker maize (Anderson and Blanchard, 1942), it is possible that they are evidence of a primitive small-cobbed maize.

A cytological study was made of five different plants, by means of pachytene smears.

TABLE 19.—*Summary showing knob of each chromosome for 5 collections of maize from Cherán*

Chromosome No.	Knob number in collections of—					
	Tulukénio maize			Black maize		Average
	Be4.	Be11.	Be22.	Be34b.	Be43b.	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	1	1	S	1
3	0	0	1	0	0	0
4	0	0	1	S	1+S	S
5	0	1	1	0	0	0
6	S	0	0	0	*0	0
7	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	T	T	T	TS	T
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	4	7	5	6	5
Supernumerary ('B' chromosomes)	0	1	1	0	0	0

S = Small knob.
T = Terminal knob.

243 Two of these plants had supernumerary or 'B' type chromosomes. The numbers and positions of the knobs on the 10 normal chromosomes are summarized in table 19. These facts will ultimately be significant when we have more data on knob numbers and positions from other types of maize (Mangelsdorf and Cameron, 1942). For the present we can say only that the knob numbers are intermediate between the high knob numbers of Western Mexico and the low numbers of the Mexico City–Toluca region.

The more significant measurements and observations made on the collection are summarized in table 18. Average values for the four most useful criteria of tassel morphology are shown graphically in figure 19, where they are compared with similar averages made on collections from pueblo-dwelling Indians in Arizona and New Mexico; from Pima, Papago,

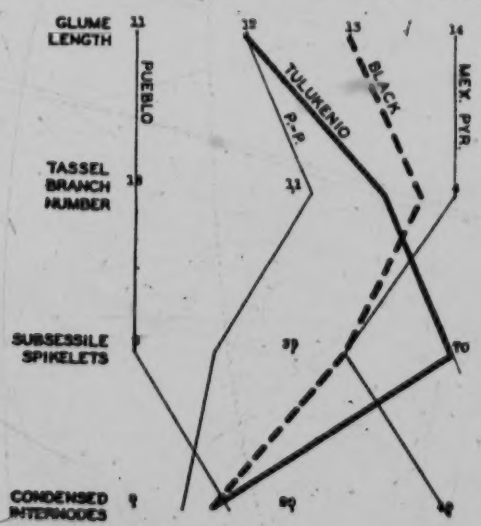

FIGURE 19.—Average values for four characters of the male inflorescence (the tassel) of Beals' collections of Tulukénio maize and Black maize. Narrow lines show averages of other collections for comparison: Mex. Pyr., Mexican Pyramidal from Mexico City; P.-P., Pima-Papago; Pueblo (Carter, Anderson, Cutler collections). The four scales used from top to bottom are glume length in millimeters, tassel branch number (values run from right to left for this scale), percentage of subsessile upper spiklets on tassel branches and percentage of condensed internodes on tassel branches.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.222b]

243 and allied tribes; and from Mexican Pyramidal varieties collected near Mexico City.

It will be seen that insofar as their tassels are concerned both the Tulukénio varieties and the Black maize varieties are intermediate between the Mexican Pyramidal and the Pima-Papago. On tassel morphology alone they are even closer to the latter than to the former. Since, so far as we can tell from the ears, Pima-Papago maize is very similar to that of the prehistoric Basket Makers (Anderson and Blanchard, 1942), this strengthens the suggestion made above that one element in the ancestry of this Tarascan maize may have been a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like that of the Basket Makers. A diagram based on ear and kernel morphology would also demonstrate that both of these Tarascan types are intermediate between Mexican Pyramidal and Pima-Papago, but it would not indicate as close a resemblance to the latter as is given by the tassel morphology alone.

SUMMARY

The maize varieties from two adjacent Tarascan villages are described and their characteristics are recorded in detail. While as a whole they are more or less similar to collections of Mexican Pyramidal maize from Mexico, D. F., they can be divided into at least three subraces. For two of these, the "Tulukénio" and the "Black" maize, there is enough material to define the central core of their variation. Black maize is grown in gardens below 8,500 feet. Characteristically it has large, dark, smoothly dented kernels on a tapering ear about 15 cm. long. While it has certain technical resemblances to Pima-Papago maize (low percentage of condensed internodes in tassel, length of glume, etc.,) it differs only slightly from Mexican Pyramidal. Tulukénio varieties are grown above 8,500 feet in small isolated plots in the mountains. They are even more like Pima-Papago; their tassels technically are closer to the latter than to Mexican Pyramidal. They vary greatly in color, size and shape, the largest ears being about the size of Black maize. The kernels tend to be small, more or less pointed, semidented; their seed coats lightly stained or streaked with red. The extreme variants of Tulukénio are small-cobbed,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

243 nontapering, early-seasoned, undented, and many-tillered varieties. They may possibly reflect a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like the maize of the Basket Makers. If so, it was one element in the ancestry of Tarascan maize.

[text continues on top of p. 223b]

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[text continues on middle of p. 223b]

GLOSSARY

104 The following list includes Spanish and Tarascan terms frequently used in the text. Words used only once or twice and defined at the time are not included in the glossary. Spanish words are given the local Tarascan usage, which is often different from either customary Mexican or standard Spanish usage. Tarascan words are followed by "T".

Aŝes (T), the *cabildo*, or chiefs of the ceremonial organization.

Agave, a genus of plants, often called the *maguey*. In the United States, called the century plant.

Agua miel, the unfermented juice of the *agave*.

Aguardiente, normally a liquor distilled from sugarcane; in the Tarascan area, often called *charanda*.

Almud, a dry measure of about 0.8 of a liter.

[text continues on bottom of p. 223b]

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Taken in conjunction with Mangelsdorf and Cameron's recent (1942) analysis of knob number in Guatemalan maize, these results demonstrate the importance of considering altitude above sea level in interpreting the history and development of *Zea mays*.

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GLOSSARY

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Arriero, a muleteer.
Arroba, a measure of weight, slightly less than 25 pounds.
Atapákua (T), squash blossoms and immature squash cooked together.
Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of ground maize with various flavorings.
Ayuntamiento, the civil government of a *municipio*.
Barranca, a steep-sided canyon or gully.
Barrio, a ward or division of a town.
Bilis, a word used to cover a variety of sicknesses.
Cabecera, the largest town and administrative center of a *municipio*.
Cabilde, the group in charge of the ceremonial organization; the aces.
Calzones, cotton trousers of unbleached muslin, worn by men for work and, by conservatives, for everyday wear.

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CHERÁN AQUEDUCTS, BOARD SAWING, SHAKESPLITTING, AND WHEAT WINNOWING.

Upper (left): The Cherán aqueducts, east of town. *Upper (right):* Sawing planks with sawpit. Often, the timber is raised on a pole framework instead of being placed over a pit. *Lower (left):* Splitting off a shake with a rajador. *Lower (right):* Starting to split a shake with a machete struck with a wooden mallet. *Center:* Cherán man winnowing wheat.

[End Plate 3]

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SPECIMENS OF MAIZE EARS.

Four specimen ears of Black maize (*ahuar*) and Tuhukinio (*ivlam*), representing extremes of size. Two of the Black ears are from Cherán, two from the neighboring village of Nahuatzen; all the Tuhukinio ears are from Cherán. Scale in center is approximately 4 cm. long.

[End Plate 8]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 34-a]

241 The Tarascans, like many aboriginal groups
177 strongly influenced by European culture, engage in two types of agriculture: field agriculture and horticulture. The former comprises extensive cultivation of grains in comparatively large fields with the plow and in small hillside plots with the hoe. Tarascan horticulture includes mainly the intensive cultivation of grains, vegetables, medicinal plants, and fruits in the house-lot gardens (ekuárıu, sing., ekuárueča, pl., hispanicized to *ecuaro*); it also includes specialized truck gardening, such as that practiced on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

FIELD AGRICULTURE AND ASSOCIATED CROPS

241 There are three basic native food crops of
261 Mexico: maize (starch and oil), beans (protein), and squash (vegetable vitamin), all of which are now associated with field agriculture. In most Indian and many mestizo communities this complex forms the principal elements in the common diet; the three crops are planted together in the same field, cultivated together in the same manner, and harvested about the same time.

243 **Maize culture.**—The earliest record of maize in
[172] the Tarascan area is found in the charred ears encountered in a lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia. The date of the flow is unknown, but maize was probably known to the Tarascans when they settled in the Sierra and the northern plateau.

The provenience of maize cultivated by the early Tarascans is but a small part of the complex and obscure movements of corn from a secondary center of origin in southern Mexico or northern Central America.[50] Anderson (1946 a) has described three distinct races of *Zea mays* in central Mexico: (1) the Mexican Pyramidal, centering in the eastern highlands; (2) Mexican Narrow Ear, found in western Mexico, particularly in both cold and hot lands of Jalisco and Nayarit; and (3) Mountain Yellow, a high altitude maize (usually above 7,000 ft.) encountered in purest form in the highlands of western Mexico.[51] Located between

[50] See Mangelsdorf and Cameron (1942) on the hybridization of South American primitive maize and *Tripsacum* in Middle America.

[51] Following is a brief description of the above races as given by Anderson (1946 a, p. 171): (1) Mexican Pyramidal. Ears short, tapering regularly butt to tip; row number high to very high (16-24). Kernels dented and pointed. Color prevailingly white and pale yellow. Plants short, pronounced interveinal red or purple coloring. Shallow root system, leaves broad and pubescent. Tassels with few or no branches. (2) Mexican Narrow Ear. Ears narrow, long, irregularly long-tapered, compressed at butt. Low row num-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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243 the two centers of medium altitude maize (Mexican Pyramidal and Mexican Narrow Ear), the Tarascan area has received a mixture of both. Mountain Yellow, often diluted with strains of Pyramidal, is found in the higher mountain slopes in the Sierra. Other varieties, cultivated for special purposes (green corn, sweet corn) are also found in modern Tarascan agriculture. Popcorn, however, one of the oldest maizes in Mexico, is significantly absent.

The field corns.—Economically the most important maize modernly grown by Tarascans is the field varieties, cultivated usually in the level lands and on lower slopes. Morphologically, this maize is similar to Mexican Pyramidal, but with pronounced denting of the seeds, little or no pointing, and medium row number (14–18). In all probability this type represents a mixture of western and eastern corns, with characteristics of the latter being dominant. In the Sierra field corn is predominantly white and is grown "*de humedad*," i. e. it is planted in the moist t'upúri soils in the dry season (March or April). For this reason it is called *blanco marceño*. In the lower areas surrounding the Sierra (e. g. the Lake district and La Cañada) field corn is morphologically similar to that of the Sierra, but is predominantly yellow and grown "*de temporal*," i. e. planted in the clayey čarándа soils immediately after the first summer rains (late May or early June). The planting of a few grains of red maize (čóču) with the field corns (both *humedad* and *temporal*) is [184] a common practice in many Tarascan pueblos.[22] Many consider the red as "father" of all maize, and as a protector of field corn from disease, storms, and drought.

Traces of western low-row number in field maize are found scattered throughout the Sierra, where such corn is known as *maíz de ocho*, although the row count varies between 8 and 10. In many pueblos it was stated that *maíz de ocho* was grown more extensively in past years, especially by the

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ber (8–14). Kernels wide, unpointed, slight to no dent. Color prevailingly white. Plants tall, slender; slight to high interveinal coloring. Tassel with many branches, long and wiry. (3) Mountain Yellow. Ears and kernels small, somewhat compressed. Ears enlarged at base with irregular rowing there. Color bright yellow.

[22] This practice was encountered in the following Sierra towns: Cocucho, Nurio, Urapicho, Pomacuarán, Charán, Charanátzicurín, Pichátaro. In La Cañada: Tanaquillo, Carapan. The practice was denied in the Lake Pátzcuaro pueblos. In Nurio 1 grain of red is planted with 1,000 grains of white. Many former Tarascan towns (now mestizo) follow the customs: Tanáitaro, Ape, etc. The practice may extend far beyond the present bounds of Tarascan speech.

243 old people, but since the old ones have died, no one had continued its cultivation. This suggests that the western corn was formerly predominant in the area, which later was invaded by the eastern race.

Maize types are continually migrating from
243 one pueblo to another within the Tarascan area
177 and are also being introduced from the outside. For instance, *maíz de Sicuicho* has been grown in Arantepacua since 1889; *maíz de Chocandirán* (Nahuatl name for Tingüindín) is raised in Atapan; *maíz de Urúscato* in Tarecuato, etc. All such corns are morphologically alike, being differentiated chiefly by color. Again, in some Sierra pueblos farmers grow a corn called "toluca" or "tulukenio," presumably an introduction from the Valley of Toluca.[44] Around 1900 a maize called "chalco" from the Lake Chalco district in the Valley of Mexico was brought into the newly drained Zacapu Basin, where it now comprises the main corn of the surrounding Tarascan villages. Chalco is a modernly developed maize adapted to wet soils. In the Zacapu Basin it is grown "*de humedad*," and in recent years has been introduced into the Nahuatzen area.

The mountain corns.—On the steep slopes of
243 the Sierra volcanoes the small Mountain Yellow maize is cultivated in little temporary clearings (*desmonte*, čapán, čapákata). This corn is obviously mixed with eastern field varieties, as in many cases the basal enlargement of the ear is not apparent and grain form varies from point to dent. Low row number (8–14), however, is invariably present. Color varies from yellow to white, often with pink present in the pericarp. Tolerant of light frosts and infertile soils and adapted to the ancient indigenous cultivation sites and practices, this maize may be one of the oldest in the area.

The special corns: ekuáɹu maize (*Anderson 1946 a, 1946 b*).—One of the most interesting of the modern Tarascan corns is that cultivated in the house-lot gardens (*solar*, ekuáɹu).[45] It is grown mainly for roasting ears (*elotes*). It is morphologically distinct from the field corns,

[44] According to Beals (1946, p. 23), the tulukenio found at Cherán is a mountain type having definite characteristics of Mountain Yellow and grown in the slopes and mountain clearings. In other pueblos (e. g. Arantepacua) tulukenio is a field maize with Mexican Pyramidal characteristics.

[45] In the Sierra and the Lake region the term "ekuáɹu" is used to mean house lot. In the mestizo towns and some Tarascan pueblos of the northern area, particularly La Cañada and west thereof, ekuáɹu means small hillside cornfields, while the Spanish *solar* is used to designate house lot.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 35b] Sierra

243 having many characteristics of the Mexican Narrow: low to medium row number (10–16), usually long ears, slightly tapering from butt to tip, and slightly or nondented grains. In color it is the most striking maize of the Tarascans: blue, blue black, dull red, wine, and often white (from field corn) mixed with the above colors (*pinto*). In most villages of the Sierra the colored *elote* corns are rarely planted outside the house lot. When questioned as to the reason for this, informants invariably answered that such maize would not mature well in the fields, that it required soil of much greater "*fuerza.*" [48] Possibly this corn has been grown so long in house lots, where refuse is thrown and animals stalled, that it has acquired a necessity for highly nitrogenous soils. The ekuáru maize is not limited to the
243 Tarascan area, but is planted in a small way in
171 many parts of western Mexico (Colima and Jalisco). Among the Huichol of Nayarit it has acquired ceremonial significance. Possibly developed from the Mexican Narrow Ear in the escarpment area of Jalisco and Nayarit, this maize spread westward into Michoacán; it is rarely found in the eastern part of the Mexican plateau (valleys of Toluca, Mexico, and Puebla). In the Lake district red is the dominant color of ekuáru maize; only few ears of blue or black are seen.

Sweet corn.—This is rarely found among the Tarascans. In 1946 it was encountered in two towns, Teremendo and Chichota (mestizo). Because of its gummy consistency, sweet corn is never eaten green, but dried, mature grains are toasted to make *esquite*. The mature ears are called uačákata, for they resemble preserved green corn.

Popcorns.—The complete absence of popcorn in modern Tarascan agriculture poses a perplexing question concerning the antiquity of maize among these people. Popcorn is usually considered one of the most ancient of Mexican maizes (Anderson, 1946 a). The Tarascans were located between two popcorn centers—the western area (Jalisco, Nayarit) with its big-grained popcorns (*maíz reventador*) (Anderson, 1944) and the Toluca area with its small-grained *huilotlacaule* ("lo que comen las palomitas").

243 **Maize cultivation methods.**—Beals' (1946) description of maize cultivation in Cherán is typical

[48] In Urapicho the farmers believe that ekuáru maize is "afraid" of the fields and consequently will not grow there.

4: Wer K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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243 for most of the Sierra. Here, therefore, only the major processes and regional differences will be highlighted.

Ground preparation and planting.—On the level basin floors and lower hill slopes, land is prepared for maize planting with the plow (*arado*). [412] [177] The ancient Egyptian two-piece affair drawn by a pair of oxen is the most common type of plow used by the Tarascans and by most of the present-day farmers of Mexico. (See Beals, 1946, p. 22, for illustration of this primitive plow.) Introduced into the Tarascan area in the 1520's or 1530's, this instrument was readily taken over by the native farmers. Adaptation to the plow was possibly slow in the Sierra, where most of the aboriginal agriculture was on steep slopes; but at least by 1624 the farmers of Cherán were cultivating the lower slopes near the town with the *arado* (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13).

Prior to the introduction of the plow the flattish basin plains of the Sierra apparently were infrequently cultivated. Early accounts of Tarascan farming emphasize the importance of *desmonte* agriculture on the steep slopes. A report of 1599 describing the pueblo of Corundapan (now nonexistent) in the Sierra near Tingambato, states that the natives had no lands in adjacent basin plains, but, as was customary among Tarascan peoples, planted on the slopes in order to obviate frost hazard.[36] The probable occurrence of a grass sod in the basin plains may also have discouraged their cultivation. A description (1603) of the lands of Capacuaro mentions the large number of *desmontes*, but points out the possibility of cultivating an unused plain nearby, which was relatively free of shrubs and trees.[37] Such areas, though difficult to till with the aboriginal digging stick, were readily adapted to plow culture.

243 412 The plow now used in Tarasca probably has not changed in form since the early 16th century. For most plowing the straight iron plow tip (8 to 10 in. long, 3 in. wide), called the *reja*, is fastened

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[36] AGN Tierras, vol. 64, exped. 2. "... *no tienen tierras en los llanos y asi siembran en el monte como lo acostumbra toda la nación tarasca en lo que es tierra fria por abriger sus sementeras de los yelos ...*" This statement is from one of the field reports which accompanied recommendations for the village congregations at the end of the 16th century. Obviously, owing to air drainage, frost hazards are less on lower slopes than on the basin floor, a fact keenly recognized by modern Tarascan farmers.

[37] AGN Congregaciones, ff. 14v–15. Fray Diego Muñón describes the plain as "... *llenada ... la mayor parte rasa y descombrada, fertil y facil de labrar* [with the plow, of course] ... *aparejada de mucha semilla y cosecha ...*"

243 to the lower point of the frame. This instrument
412 stirs, rather than turns, the soil to a depth of less than 6 inches. Within the last 50 years many Tarascans have used a small adaptation of the North European moldboard plowshare for breaking new land and for first and second plowings. For planting and cultivating maize the moldboard (which is slipped over the end of the plow frame) is replaced by the *reja*. As mentioned above, in recent years the Mexican government has supplied a number of American steel plows to various
243 Tarascan municipios.

[231] Oxen are used almost exclusively to pull the plow, to which they are hitched by the horn yoke. Mules and horses sometimes supplement oxen during maize cultivation, when the work must be done quickly. Before being planted, maize fields are plowed, this operation being called *barbecho*. In the Sierra the *humedad* maize lands in the plains are plowed twice, once in late summer and again in late winter. Temporal maize fields located outside the Sierra undergo only one plowing—in late May or early June, immediately before the rains. For planting, rows are formed with the plow equipped with the straight *reja*. Usually rows follow the contour on slopes. Two to three seeds are dropped at 1-foot intervals into the furrow by a boy following the plow and driver. Often the boy covers the seed with earth to a depth of 3 or 4 inches with a sweep of his foot. If animals are available, the first plow is followed by a second, which covers the grain by throwing earth from the interfurrow ridge (pl. 5). This plow is often equipped with a horizontal beam (*orejera*), placed back of the *reja*, which rakes earth into the furrow. Maize is normally cultivated (earth thrown toward the plant and weeds eradicated) twice with the plow, once when the plant is about 1½ feet high (*escarda*) and again when the plant begins to tassel (*segunda*). There-
[412] after, fields are weeded by hand or with the hoe. Zacatón (a form of Johnson grass) is cut with the *juds*, a machetelike sickle, similar to the *garabato* of the *tierra caliente*.[86]

412 Several forms of the pre-Columbian planting
243 stick are still used in the maize fields of the Sierra (fig. 3). These instruments, called meánta-

[Text continues top of P. 38a - Analysis]

[104] [86] The Sierra Tarascans use many terms to describe maize in its various stages of growth. When the plant is about 4 inches high (2 weeks after planting), it is called pirán; at 1½ feet (ready for the *escarda*), kíni or tasíta; when in tassel, pigíta; when ears are in hair, tuxíni or tuxígiti.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 38-a] Sierra

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243

tárakua,[59] are employed chiefly to replant maize which failed to germinate or was killed by frost. The most common form is a pointed, fire-hardened stick of oak or *otate*.[60] Occasionally the stick is tipped with a chisel-shaped iron piece. A less common type of planting stick, which carries a round wooden blade, 6 to 8 inches in diameter, is reminiscent of the ancient *coa*, from which it is probably derived. The blade and handle are ordinarily of oak and of one piece. In Capacuaro a meiántatárakua with a round metal blade attached to a wooden handle was seen.[61] Another wooden instrument, called *pala* or te'kátakua (sometimes simply tarákua), is used in the Sierra to plant maize in the house-lot gardens. The blade, carved of oak, is flat with an outline of the modern spade. In the wet lands of the Zacapu Basin Tarascans use this implement to plant maize in the fields.[62] There, blades purely of wood, of wood edged with metal, and wholly of metal were observed.

On the steep slopes and in small patches of soil within lava flows, where the plow is useless, the Tarascans have retained their ancient ways of soil preparation and planting. The hillside fields in the Sierra (*desmontes*) are cleared by cutting underbrush and small saplings with the *judá*, the larger trees with the ax (*hacha*), customarily during December and January. Girdling was not observed. In March the dried brush is burned, the wood ash serving as a much needed fertilizer for the leached yellow-brown soils (pl. 5). Such plots are usually productive for three to five consecutive plantings; thereafter they are abandoned for several years. A type of shifting agriculture is thus practiced on the steeply sloping lands. The small fertile plots within the lava flows, however, are permanent fields. Small permanent maize fields (*cachitos*, uatíli) also occur on lower slopes near the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Soil retaining walls at the lower edges of such fields give them

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[59] Literally, instrument for replanting maize. The word "tárakua," meaning implement, or apparatus, forms the root of many Tarascan terms for various instruments used in the native economy.

[60] *Otate* is a bamboo with tough, woody stalks.

[61] According to a native of Capacuaro, the present distribution of the round-bladed planting stick includes the towns of Capacuaro, San Lorenzo, Paracho, Quinceo, Arantepacua, Turicuaro, Cuanchuán, and (before the volcano) San Juan Parangaricutiro, all located in the southeastern portion of the Sierra near the approaches to the *tierra caliente*. (Information supplied by Sr. Pablo Velásquez G.)

[62] The planter, following the plow, sinks the spade into the bottom of the furrow approximately 8 inches, shoves the instrument forward, prying up a section of earth, under which he casts the seed; he then extracts the spade, permitting the earth to fall back on the seed.

243 the appearance of terraces.[63] Remnants of pre-Columbian terrace agriculture occur in the vicinity of Chilchota in La Cañada.[64]

412 243 In the small plots described above, the large metal hoe (*azada*, *azadón*, with blade perpendicular to handle) is the principal instrument used to prepare the soil. Although called by the native name (t'ekáɢakua or tarákua) by some Tarascans, [177] the *azadón* is European, having been introduced into Tarascan culture early in the 16th century. The aboriginal t'ekáɢakua (with blade parallel to handle) is no longer used to prepare soil for planting, but, as mentioned above, is still sometimes employed to replant. In pre-Conquest times this instrument (at least in the *tierra caliente*) carried a copper alloy blade (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo, 1581); the tarákua with a triangular iron blade is at present employed by the mountain people in the Balsas drainage of Guerrero (Hendrichs, 1945–46, vol. 1, pp. 31–32).

Planting in the *desmontes* and other small maize plots is performed by opening a small hole with the *azadón*, dropping in the seeds, and covering them with earth by a sweep of the foot. The seed holes are spaced 2 to 3 feet apart, but no attempt is made to form straight rows. Maize is cultivated twice (*escarda* and *segunda*) with the *azadón*.

243 *Maize harvest and storage.*—Three maize products are obtained from the field: roasting ears (*elotes*), fodder (*rastrojo*), and mature ears (*mazorcas*, šanini). Roasting ears come mainly from the special colored corns of the house-lot garden, but many are taken from the fields. In the *humedad* lands of the Sierra *elote* is ready by August in the *temporal* lands, in July.[65] At high elevations (e. g. around the *rancho* of Cherato) the development of *elote* from corn planted in March

[63] These apparent terraces are best developed along the north and west shores of Tazu-k'éri Peninsula.

[64] The following account of the terrace agriculture near Chilchota is given in the Relación Geográfica for that town (1579):

" . . . *por ser muy pedregosos y de malpais las piedras estan puestas a mano como gradas dexando entre grada y grada con una cara de medir de ancho limpio donde plantaban el maiz, y es esto tanto y hecho por tal orden que parece cosa que pone espanto*" (Mus. Nac., leg. 103, f. 56v).

[65] In some Tarascan towns a minor celebration occurs when roasting ears begin to mature. The first ears picked in the village are taken through the streets by girls, who invite people to kiss the *elotes*. The ears are then taken to the village church and placed on the altar. Later, when all the fields and house lots are in *elote*, girls make special tamales (ołépa) of green corn for friends and the family. The *elote* fiesta is apparently a vestige of a significant aboriginal harvest rite. Other minor festivals occur on the first day of the fall-corn or spring-wheat harvests, but they are usually family days and consist mainly of a "combate," or drinking spree. Often special foods—tamales, en ipa (meat stew)—are prepared. There are no religious rites involved in the latter fiestas.
[196]

243 is often retarded until the following December or January.

Fodder, consisting of that part of the maize
246 plant above the ears, is cut in September, when
251 the plant is still green and the ears well formed. In the Sierra, fodder is often stored on platforms constructed in trees. Normally it is taken to the village and placed in sheds or on log platforms in the house lot (pl. 5).

243 Since the late fall maize harvest of Cherán, described by Beals (1946, pp. 24–25), is typical of most of modern Tarasca, no attempt will be made to repeat the data here. In only one area—the
[493] Zacapu Basin—are four-wheeled wagons (*guallines* made of the frame and wheels of abandoned autos) used to haul maize from the fields to the village. In all other areas burros haul the ears
[492] in sacks (*costales*) or nets. Ears of maize are
251 stored in the lofts of the main house; shelled corn is never stored. The ekuari corn that is kept for seed and food is hung by the husks in bunches (*piña*, sandángata) or in rows over poles inside the house or on the veranda.

242 *Crop rotation and fallowing.*—Except in ex-
243 ceptionally fertile lands, field maize is rarely grown for two consecutive years on the same ground. In the basin plains of the Sierra, corn is often planted without fallow in spots refreshed by annual deposits of alluvium, as at the base of alluvial fans and in sink areas in the center of basins. The soils of the recently drained lacustrine plain of Zacapu are so rich that they support annual maize crops without rotation or application of fertilizer. Generally in the Sierra, maize fields in the basin plains and lower slopes are fallowed for 10 or 12 months every other year. In such fields only maize is planted. Usually during a given year, half of the plains land belonging to a village and a portion of the slopes are fallowed, the rest being planted; when the village possesses more than one basin plain, cultivation and fallow are alternated from one to the other. Ordinarily in the *desmontes* and *jollas* wheat or barley are rotated with maize (one year wheat, one year maize, one year fallow). In the temporal lands surrounding the Sierra customarily two crops per year, one of maize, the other of wheat or barley, are obtained from a given piece of ground. The land is then fallowed 8 to 12 months. (Wheat planted in November, harvested following April or May; maize planted in June, harvested in

242 November; land fallowed until following Novem-
243 ber.) Often fallow and planted fields are alternated between the slopes and the plains in the temporal lands.

Fertilization in field agriculture.—Tarascans make little or no attempt to apply fertilizer to maize fields. Occasionally animal manure (*estiércol*) from the stables in the house lots is spread over small parts of fields nearest the village.[66] Sheep and cattle, however, are turned into the fields after harvest, and shepherds are often paid to bed flocks in the fields. No commercial fertilizer is used, owing to its high cost. As mentioned above, new *desmontes* are fertilized by wood ash from freshly burned brush.

Uses of Maize—*Food.*—As in all indigenous
262 areas of Mexico, maize is the principal foodstuff
252 of the Tarascans. Six types of maize foods are common among modern Tarascans: (1) green corn, or roasting ears (*elote*, tirıapu); (2) toasted kernels ground to powder and mixed with sweetening (*pinole*, japúmata); (3) maize dough wrapped in maize leaves and boiled (*tamal*, k'uúnda); (4) maize gruel, or dough dissolved in water (*atole*, kamáta); (5) boiled maize kernels with shell removed (*pozole*, máskuta), similar to North American hominy; (6) thin cooked griddle cakes of maize dough (*tortilla*, ičúskuta), at present the most important single food item.

Elote foods.—Green corn is prepared by parching and by boiling. Without removing the inner husk, ears are often parched in the direct flames or under burning coals. Corn so prepared is called uirıkan in the Sierra. Ears roasted with husks removed are termed "uirıkata." Boiling with husks removed (jáman) is also common. Green ears are preserved by boiling and drying in the sun for many weeks. In the dried form they are called uačákata, and the consistency of fresh corn is revived by soaking and reboiling. Other types of maize foods are made from *elote:* a tamal (učópu) from early green maize; various atoles (atole de grano, atole de t'okári, de uačákata, etc.); maize which is between the green and mature states (t'okári) is often ground, shaped into small cakes, and boiled. The maize most frequently used for

[66] In only one instance did the writer observe systematic application of manure. This was near the new Tarascan town of Caltzontzin, 8 km. east of Uruapan. In planting maize, the planter was followed by an individual who dropped a handful of manure over the seed. A plow followed, covering the seed and manure.

252 *Squash foods.*—Both common squash and chilacayote are cut into pieces and boiled with the rind. Squash is often candied with piloncillo in mestizo towns nearby, but rarely in Indian communities. Squash blossoms (kukúmu, purú-ɸaɸáki) are boiled and eaten with salt and chile, and immature fruits are often stewed. Chilacayote, which has a watery, stringy flesh, is especially liked throughout the Tarascan area, and in the Sierra during the spring (when other vegetables are unavailable) it is eaten with an atole flavored with the nuríteni herb. In many pueblos the flesh is soaked in [213] water and permitted to ferment, forming a refreshing drink called *tepache*.[75] Finally, an atápakua, or stew of chilacayote, is often made by the Sierra Tarascans; the flesh is boiled with onion, silantro, and chile.

243 **Other native crops.**—Apart from the maize-bean-squash complex, a few other indigenous cultigens are found in modern Tarascan field agriculture. From the point of view of culture history, one of the most significant of these is amaranth (*Amaranthus cruentus*), which in most parts of Mexico is called *alegría* or *bledo* and in Tarascan, pari. The tiny (1 mm. diameter), round seeds, which occur in spikes at the head of the plant (1½–2½ meters tall), are rich in starch and oil. Sauer (1936) has suggested amaranth as one of the pre-maize cultigens of southern North America. Today it is cultivated in small amounts in many parts of central Mexico, usually in isolated Indian pueblos.

Among the modern Tarascans, especially those of the Sierra, three varieties of amaranth are grown: white, red, and black. Cultivation is usually limited to *t'upúri* soils of the highlands and to the house-lot gardens. It is planted both in plowland and in *desmontes*, but only in small patches within or at the edge of maize fields.[76] In the plowland the small grain is planted in *quemazones*. The log (usually oak) is burned in January and the seed planted in late May, immediately before the rains. The seed is also sown in freshly burned *desmontes*, but in the house lots ash fertilizer is rarely used. All three varieties

[75] Tepache is a general name for a number of drinks common to western Mexico, e. g. *tepache de piña, de ciliacayote*, etc. To make *tepache de ciliacayote*, the flesh of the squash is placed in an olla; water, piloncillo, and often soda water (carbonate) are added. Fermentation sets in immediately, and after 3 days the beverage is ready for consumption. After the first olla of *tepache* is consumed, more water, etc. is added to the flesh and the process repeated. The most of one chilacayote is said to last 1 year of repeated fermentation.

[76] Fields of *alegría*, similar to those around Tulyehualco at the southern edge of the Valley of Mexico, are never seen in the present Tarascan area.

243 are planted together, the seeds being separated according to color after the harvest. The plant is cut with a sickle in November or December, the grain threshed in an open space in the fields and stored in small ollas in the troje.

The cultivation of amaranth is disappearing among the Tarascans; it would probably die out rapidly if women did not constantly remind men to plant it every year. In some Sierra pueblos it [439] is no longer grown, but grain is brought in from other towns, particularly from Pamatácuaro and its surrounding ranches and from Capacuaro.[77] Little is grown in the Lake towns or in La Cañada, the grain being imported from the Sierra. In a few pueblos it was claimed that *alegría* was neither cultivated nor eaten: Paracho, Huánsito, San Jerónimo, Puácuaro, Napízaro.[78]

262 In terms of quantity consumed, amaranth has little importance in present Tarascan diet. Its significance lies in its relict position in Indian culture. Today the most widespread amaranth 252 food among the Tarascans is a tamal called "ó'apáta," made from a mixture of ground maize and *alegría*. Blue or black ekuáru maize is dry-ground on the metate; red or black *alegría* is then ground into the maize flour; a sweetening (piloncillo) and water are stirred into the mixed flour, and the resultant dough is wrapped in maize husks and boiled in an olla. In some pueblos of La Cañada ground *alegría* is mixed with wheat flour and piloncillo, of which tamales called ó'apátas de trigo are made. Moreover, *bolitas*, confections made of white amaranth, are made, but are more common in adjacent mestizo towns. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then mixed with honey or a paste of piloncillo to make small cakes. These are commonly sold at fairs or on fiesta days.[79] Few ceremonial or religious uses of amaranth were found in the Tarascan pueblos.[80]

[77] Curiously, the Sierra pueblos which no longer cultivate *alegría*, but import grain for home use, are some of the more isolated, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Nurio, and Pomacuarán. In these towns no reason was given for not growing *alegría*. Possibly the inhabitants found it less bothersome to buy the grain than go to the trouble of raising it.

[78] Modern amaranth cultivation extends beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech in Michoacán. It is still grown and used in the former indigenous towns of Apo, Tanciítaro, Sirahuén, Opopeo, and in some mestizo *ranchos* north of Uruapan.

[79] In Pamatácuaro an atole is made of amaranth and black maize. Such atole is widespread in the highlands of northern Guerrero (Hendrichs 1945–46, vol. 1, p. 35), and is probably encountered in other indigenous areas of Mexico. In Atapan a pakáza (ground grain boiled in water to a solid mass) is made of red *alegría*.

[80] In Pamatácuaro atole of black *alegría* and black maize is taken especially at the maize planting celebrations. In Sicuicho ó'apátas are eaten at both the maize planting and harvesting fiestas. In other pueblos special uses of amaranth were denied.

244 Tarascans plant few other minor native cultigens in the field. Camote or the sweetpotato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and jícama (*Pachyrrhizus erosus*) are planted in small amounts in La Cañada, but commercial production is found in the warm lands around Zamora, Lake Chapala, and the southern escarpment, outside the Tarascan area. Native vegetables such as chile and tomatoes are discussed under horticulture.

Introduced New World crops.—In Tarascan
177 field agriculture these consist of two tubers: the
244 South American potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) and, as mentioned earlier, an *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*).[31] Neither has much place in Tarascan food habits. The potato is now grown in some lowlands bordering the Sierra, e. g. in Comanja, where it is planted with maize. Its cultivation is slowly penetrating the Sierra, though most of the highland pueblos still reject it. Beals (1946, p. 26) states that Cherán residents began to grow potatoes around 1938.

Old World crops in Tarascan field agriculture.—
243 Among the crops which the Spaniards introduced
177 into Tarascan culture the small grains, wheat and barley, were the more significant in terms of both food value and degree of adaptation. Wheat was probably first sown in the Lake area by Spanish missionaries during the 1530's; the Spanish ranchers and *encomenderos*, however, for whom white bread was the main item of diet, were the principal carriers of wheat culture among the natives. By the mid-16th century Spanish wheat fields had been established in many parts of the northern plateau, and Tarascans of various pueblos in that area were cultivating the grain in special fields in order to meet tribute demands of the Crown and *encomenderos*.[32] Arabic irrigation
[312] techniques appear to have been introduced jointly with wheat culture, for both early Spanish and Indian wheat fields in the northern Tarascan area were artificially watered.[33] The Relaciones Geo-

[31] The name "*papa de Castilla*" might indicate that the *Oxalis* species has been cultivated in Mexico for some time. According to local informants, however, it has been known in the area south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro for only 30 or 40 years. The tuber is often seen in the Pátzcuaro market. In Pichátaro it is boiled and eaten with piloncillo.

[32] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1) mentions that wheat was cultivated in the following indigenous pueblos of Michoacán: Acámbaro, Chocándiro, Chiquimito, Chilchota, Guanaxo (Santa María Ario), Taymeo, Indaparapeo, Zacapu. Indians, however, were slow to adopt wheat foods. During the last quarter of the 16th century the Indians of La Cañada ate wheat only in times of maize famine (Mus. Nac. leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1579).

[33] Spaniards had introduced a Mediterranean grain adapted to winter rains and dry summers into a land of dry winters and wet summers. Con-

243 gráficas of 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) indicate that by the end of the 16th century wheat cultiva-
177 tion was well established in the Tarascan area around the margins of the Sierra, i. e., in those areas first settled by Spanish ranchers.[84] Wheat penetrated slowly into the conservative Sierra. The Relación of Tingüindín (1581) states that in the Sierra villages the Indians had not taken to wheat cultivation. Even by 1789 some of the Sierra pueblos did not grow wheat, but by 1820 the grain was at last being cultivated in all the towns, Urapicho, Cocucho, Pamatácuaro, and Cheranátzicurin being among the last to adopt it (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memoria estadística, 1841).[85]

243 Today in most Sierra pueblos wheat is considered second only to maize in terms of acreage. Some towns raise the grain chiefly as a cash crop; others consume a large portion of the harvest. The Lake area and La Cañada, however, are the principal Tarascan wheat districts. In both, wheat acreage exceeds that of maize.[86] Although wheat foods are eaten in all Tarascan towns, in none do they replace maize as the chief item of diet. Throughout the present indigenous area
[177] wheat foods play a significant part in religious festivals, apparently an adoption of European customs through Church influence.

A soft wheat called "colorado," probably a descendant of the Spanish grain introduced 400 years ago, is the principal type sown by Tarascan farmers. Both bearded and beardless varieties occur. This wheat is the *"trigo de temporal"* or *"trigo aventurado,"* planted in October and harvested from April to June, depending on eleva-

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[312] sequently, to insure good yields, they resorted at once to irrigation. Later, experiments probably showed that a poor to fair yield could be obtained without irrigation in central Mexico, where occasional light winter rains occur.

[84] The wheat-growing areas mentioned: all of the northern plateau region, including La Cañada; Tarecuato (trigo de temporal); Tingüindín; and Peribán. The Ponce Relacion (observations made in 1886) mentions wheat at various Lake towns: Tzintzuntzan, San Jerónimo, Erongaricuaro, and Tacupato (Cocupao or present Quiroga).

[85] The Calderón report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) mentions wheat only in a few Tarascan pueblos. It specifies, however, that only two pueblos (Ocumicho and Pamatácuaro) of the Sierra grew maize exclusively. The report may have neglected to indicate many pueblos in which small amounts of wheat might have been cultivated.

[86] According to data from Secretaría de Agricultura records (1944), wheat acreage equaled that of maize in the municipio of Pátzcuaro; in those of Erongaricuaro and Quiroga the acreage of wheat was more than twice that of maize; in Tzintzuntzan, however, maize acreage exceeded that of wheat by eight times. In the municipio of Chilchota (which includes La Cañada) approximately 500 hectares were planted to maize, while 313 were in wheat. Considering the valley of La Cañada alone, wheat acreage probably would exceed that of maize.

243 tion.[87] Owing to dry conditions and usually poor
[132] soils, yields are low. The infrequent light winter rains (*cabañuelas*) often determine the success or failure of the temporal crop. Another wheat type, a white soft variety, is called *"trigo de aguas"*; sown in June or July and reaped in November or December, it is seen in all parts
[312] of Tarasca. Most of the wheat crop of La Cañada is irrigated, being sown on the valley flats in December and harvested in May.[88] In the Sierra wheat is relegated to the less fertile slope land and *desmontes*, where it is rotated with maize. In the lake area and the northern plateau towns, where the grain is likewise a rotation crop, it is cultivated on both plains and slopes. It is occasionally sown in the house-lot gardens in all parts of Tarasca.

Primitive European methods are used in wheat cultivation (pl. 6). Land is prepared by plowing with oxen, and seed is sown broadcast and covered with a brush harrow. Grain is cut with the sickle (*hoz*), bundled and tied by hand, and threshed in the *era* (an open arena floored with stone or packed earth) located in the town or in the field. Threshing is accomplished by driving mules or burros over the bundles of wheat, but where sufficient animals are lacking, it is done by flailing. The grain is separated from straw and chaff with the tarákua, or wooden spade. All straw is carefully saved for animal feed. (Engine-powered separators are just beginning to appear in the area.)

One of the most interesting aspects of wheat
252 culture among the Tarascans is the varieties of
262 food prepared from both metate-ground and milled flour. Those made from grain wet-ground on the metate include *tortillas de trigo*, a common food in La Cañada, but eaten on fiesta days (e. g. Corpus) in the Sierra towns.[89] In Charapan the tortillas are thin, round cakes often 1 to 1½ feet in diameter, which are cooked on the comal. Thicker tortillas, or *gordas*, are similarly made, but browned on the coals.[90] For the Corpus fiestas *gordas* (piríčis) ¾ to 1 inch thick and shaped like

[87] For example, most temporal wheat in the Lake region is harvested in early April, while in the Sierra ripening is retarded until May. In Cumechuén, the highest pueblo in the Sierra, harvest occurs in the first weeks of June.

[88] The *tripalas*, or wheatfields, are watered three times annually, at the end of January, first of March, and at the end of March. Pan irrigation technique is used.

[89] In the Lake towns of Ihuatzio and Janitzio metate-ground wheat dough is mixed with nixtamal (maize dough) to make a tortilla called ítakata.

[90] Beals (1946, p. 32) mentions that in Cherán *gordas de trigo* are fried in deep pork fat. This procedure was not encountered in other Tarascan towns.

252 animals (birds, rabbits, pigs) are made in some
262 Sierra towns. In La Cañada, however, such figures are prepared from leavened wheat dough and baked in the oven.[91] Another wheat food, which is eaten particularly during and immediately after the wheat harvest, is called pakésa. Wheat grains are roasted on the comal, then dry-ground on the metate. The coarse flour is cooked in boiling water flavored with salt or piloncillo. The resultant dough is eaten hot or cold. Moreover, a wheat pozole (whole grains stewed with meat, chile, *tomate*, etc.) is prepared in the Lake and La Cañada areas, but rarely in the Sierra. Again, a wheat atole (trígukamáta) is found in all parts of Tarasca. Various types of bread, called *cemitas* or auákatas are also prepared from metate-ground wheat, usually by professional women bakers. The dough is often sweetened and the breads variously shaped (round or diamond). The dough is baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven, several of which are found in every Tarascan village. Unsweetened ceremonial breads (kanákua), 1½ feet in diameter and 2 or more inches thick, are made on the Saint's day in some Sierra pueblos.

Wheat foods are also prepared from flour, milled in the larger mestizo towns nearby. A bread called kurínda is baked in the Spanish oven in most pueblos. In La Cañada and the Lake towns tamales (prepared like those of maize) and tortillas are made from wheat flour.[92] Buñuelos, a special dish prepared from wheat flour, are eaten ceremonially or as an occasional treat in all parts of Tarasca. The dough, mixed with tequisquite (a lime compound), salt, and boiled green tomatoes, is thinned into flat cakes by placing on the knee, patting and pulling at the edges. The sheets of dough are cooked in boiling lard in a *casuela*. In the Sierra both men and women prepare and cook *buñuelos*, which are eaten only on certain holidays. Often on ordinary occasions this food is soaked in a sirup of piloncillo and eaten with white atole in the Lake area.

Barley cultivation.—Small amounts of barley
243 are cultivated in most parts of Tarasca, but primarily in the Sierra, for animal feed. The grain is sown in June and harvested in November and

[91] Formerly in Charapan large pitiáis, shaped like human figures 2½ feet high, were given at weddings to the bride as a token of fertility.

[92] *Tamales de trigo* are also seen in the large markets (Uruapan, Paracho), where they are customarily taken with atole. In Paracho they are called šaŕi-kurínda or šaŕipit-ukári.

243 December. Being more tolerant of poor soils and frost than either maize or wheat, it is customarily grown on the upper slopes. As it is believed that barley improves the soil, it is frequently rotated with maize. Much barley is sown on the high slopes around Cumachuén and Pichátaro, where yellow-brown soils and a short-growing season prevail. Oats are rarely cultivated; small fields were reported only in Pichátaro and Cumachuén.

244 *Other European field crops.*—Broadbeans, lentils, and chickpeas are cultivated chiefly around Lake Pátzcuaro and in the northern plateau pueblos, where they are often grown with maize. [262] Although small quantities are raised in the Sierra, these crops have little place in the native diet.

HORTICULTURE

The house-lot gardens (ekuáruеča).—These have been frequently mentioned above (pl. 7). In contrast to field agriculture, cultivation in the ekuáru is intensive; a large variety of plants (maize, beans, squash, vegetables, and fruits) are raised in each small lot; the soil is replenished by application of refuse from the dwelling and manure from the stable. The ekuáru is cultivated [462] mainly by the women and children of the household; the fields, in contrast, are worked by the men. In the gardens the women, always conservative, have retained the plants that are old in indigenous culture. Moreover, although some of the larger lots are plowed with oxen, most are cultivated with two of the present forms [412] of the tarákua: the wooden *pala* and the metal-bladed *asada*.

The principal garden crop is the *elote* maize, discussed above in connection with corn types. The cultivation of the old beans, such as kokóṭ, small patches of amaranth, and various squashes in the ekuáru, has also been mentioned. The women plant in the garden other indigenous vegetables, such as chayote (apúpu; *Sechium edule*);[26] *tomate* (tóma; *Physalis angulata*), which bears the small green husk-enclosed tomatoes; and, if water is available for irrigation, chiles of various types. The most significant vegetable grown in [262] the Tarascan house gardens, however, is the

[26] The chayote bears annually small squashlike fruits, which are boiled and served with chile. In its third year the plant develops a large tuberous root, which is dug up and boiled (uaźaʌ) and is often ground on the metate to a flour, which is served as a gruel (ugú). The plant is reproduced by seed, or rather by planting the entire chayote fruit.

243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. [462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in [407] 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Tarataro, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

244 *Beans.*—The soil of Cherán is said not to be good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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244 brownish, and various spotted beans with much variation in size and shape were observed, and, in many cases, were named by informants. Until reports are received from botanists, the details of variation seem of little interest. All seem to be of climbing types.

Some people plant a few beans between the corn rows, usually in the garden. Mixing of corn and bean seed is said not to give good results. Separate planting of beans is rare, if it occurs at all. Beans are threshed by driving burros over the straw, or children may trample out small quantities.

Squashes and pumpkins.—A few pumpkins are grown in gardens for home use. The most common type is a squash known as chilacayote, although it is not grown abundantly.

The chilacayote must be planted 15 to 20 feet apart, for the plant spreads widely. Uusally it is planted in gardens. The fruit is large and green, resembling a watermelon in shape and color. The flesh is white and watery.

251 Some chilacayote is eaten fresh, cooked with
[252] brown sugar. Usually, though, it is cured by leaving it in the sun on roofs or wall tops for 2 or 3 weeks. Sometimes the squashes are coated with ashes mixed with water. This is believed to harden the exterior. After curing, they are stored in the "*troje*" or in the storage loft and saved until spring. Planting time is the traditional season for eating chilacayote, for this is a period when there are almost no fresh fruits or vegetables. The squashes sell
[435] for 25 to 50 centavos.

Broadbeans or habas.—Broadbeans (*Vicia*
244 *faba*), a coarse variety of European vetch, are usually planted in gardens or, more rarely, in the field. They are planted in furrows, like maize, and are cultivated similarly. Broadbeans yield well in Cherán but relatively few are grown, as they are not liked as well as ordinary beans.

Potatoes.—Planting of potatoes began in Cherán only 2 or 3 years ago. Apparently
[439] they do well but only a few are planted as yet, principally for sale in Mexican communities, for they have little place in Tarascan cookery. They are planted in April and harvested in November or December.

Chayote.—The chayote is not grown abundantly. Plants are found only in gardens,

244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaʼitiniš and kuaʼitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Parícutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.214a]

La Cañada

245 262 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicuiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

244 262 Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 262 The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 443 262 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

439 located around the Sierra in areas favored by irrigation or rich soils, such as the upper escarpment in the South or the Zacapu Basin in the North. White field maize and yellow field maize comprise the bulk of the export crop. Ekuaru maize is entirely for home consumption and most of the mountain crop is used locally. Accurate statistics on crop production and export are not available for the Tarascan area; export data probably do not exist, since public records of sales are not kept in the villages.

Bean culture.—As an aboriginal cultigen the bean 244 (*frijol*, t'aɢán) is second only to maize in Tarascan agriculture and food habits. Twenty varieties of the kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) are cultivated in modern Tarasca. Although most of these are found in many parts of central Mexico,[68] a few may be peculiar to the Sierra of Michoacán. Among the latter are small cream- or brown-colored beans called *petrona* or uaẽári in some Sierra villages; another is called karáɢari. The Indians regard such beans as "criollos," or natives to the local countryside, while other varieties, which carry non-Tarascan names, are acknowl- [177] edged to have been introduced from the outside. Many wild beans are reported to exist in the Sierra, though only one, called uipínju (probably *P. vulgaris*) was described in Pamatácuaro, where it is tolerated along edges of maize fields. It is gathered and eaten, but is little liked.[69]

Besides the kidney bean, the Tarascans cultivate the large-seeded *Phaseolus coccineus* L. (*P. multifloris* Willd.), which they call kokóɢ (the ayocote or ayocotl of the Nahuatl-speaking people).[70] This bean is rarely grown or used by mestizos and even among the Indians its cultivation is dying out.[71] It is now grown only by the more conservative people, especially in the house-lot gardens where it is planted and tended by women. Kokóɢ, therefore, must be an old cultigen in the area. Having a sweet flavor, it is not as well liked as the newer kidney beans from the outside. In some of the Lake pueblos kokóɢ has

[68] The common central Mexican varieties are: Bayo Grande, Bayo Chico, Mexicano, Colorado, Color de Rosa (Rosa de Castilla), Encerrado, Prieto, Blanco, Huiguerilla, etc.

[69] Unfortunately, a seed specimen of this bean was unobtainable. Another doubtful wild *Phaseolus* is reported from Corupo; called *frijol cimarrón*, it produces a white seed and an enlarged root stalk ("raíz como camote").

[70] The Spanish terms "*patate*" and "*frijole*" are also used in some localities. In Pamatácuaro *P. coccineus* is known as ɢepe.

[71] In many pueblos (Sierra and Lake regions) it was stated that kokóɢ was cultivated many years ago, but since the introduction of better flavored beans from mestizo towns, it was no longer grown.

244 special uses: e. g. because of its sweet flavor, it is eaten only with silacayote (*Cucurbita ficifolia*); in Ihuatzio it is ground with black maize to make pinole.

Lima beans (*P. lunatus*) may have been common formerly in Tarascan agriculture in the *tierra caliente*. In Acahuato, a former Tarascan pueblo (5 km. north of Apatzingán), a climbing brown-seeded lima called *comba* is still grown in the house-lot gardens. According to local informants, it was formerly an important bean in the Tepalcatepec Basin.[72] Moreover, the writer found a wild climbing lima in the hedge rows in the *tierra templada*, near Los Reyes.

Cultivation methods.—Except in some highly developed irrigation districts, most Mexican peasant farmers still use the ancient Indian method of planting beans with maize. In plowland Tarascans customarily alternate plantings of beans and corn along a given row (planted *intercalado*), whereas in hoe land beans and maize seeds are dropped in the same hole.[73] In either case the bean vine uses the maize stock as a climbing support, and imparts nitrogen to the soil. Beans are gathered in late fall or in early winter a few days before the maize harvest. When [462] men are busy at other tasks, women and children gather the bean crop. Women sometimes plant beans with *elote* maize in the ekuáru; or often they plant beans alone, using poles for vine supports.

In many Tarascan pueblos bean production is declining; in some, farmers have ceased its cultivation. They claim that it is cheaper to buy *frijol* rather than to plant it, since the time and labor involved can be used more profitably at other tasks (e. g. lumbering). Others say that the soil lacks sufficient fertility to mature a bean crop. Again, in some sections of the Sierra beans are cultivated (with maize) only in newly cleared *desmontes*, where the ash from burned brush strengthens the soil sufficiently to raise one crop.

Use of frijol.—Beans are used exclusively for [252] human food. They are boiled in *ollas* and served with salt. Tamales filled with beans are not uncommon. The special uses of kokóɸ have been mentioned above.

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[72] Hendrichs (1945–46, vol. 1, pp. 40, 236) reports a bean called "comba" from the Balsas Basin, but identifies it as *P. coccineus*. The "comba" from Acahuato was identified as *P. lunatus* by Dr. E. W. Allard, College of Agriculture, University of California, Davis, Calif.

[73] In both cases the planter carried two bags (*morales*), one containing maize seed, the other, beans.

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[P. 41-6]

244 **Squash culture.**—The cucurbits complete the ancient Mexican crop complex. Three species of the genus *Cucurbita* are today cultivated in the Tarascan area: *C. pepo* (*calabaza común* puɹú), *C. moschata* (*calabaza de Castilla*, puɹú), and *C. ficifolia* (*silacayote* or *chilacayote*, t'ik'áɢʌ or tikáɢ).[74] *C. pepo* appears to be the ancient squash of the area, for it is referred to as *calabaza comùn* or *calabaza corriente*, and in mestizo villages nearby as *calabaza tarasca*. Surprisingly few varieties occur, the most common being oblong (20 cm. long), ribbed (10), green and yellow mottled, with the ordinary five-sided peduncle. Smooth types are also cultivated. A small *pepo*, called čekámita, is grown in a few villages of the Sierra and La Cañada. In some pueblos the common name of *C. moschata* is *calabaza de la*
[177] *Castilla*, which may indicate that this squash was introduced into the area after the Spanish Conquest; it is found mainly around the edges of the Sierra. Some varieties are flat and round, similar to the pumpkins of the northeastern part of the United States. Others are small, crooked-neck types.

In contrast to its minor place in the agriculture of many indigenous groups of Mexico, *C. ficifolia* is an important cultigen among the Tarascans. Two varieties are grown, both having the appearance of a watermelon: one with black seeds (*chilacayote común*, tikáɢ), and the other with white seeds (*chilacayote-calabaza*, puɹútikáɢʌ). Of the two, the latter is said to have the better flavor.

Like *frijol*, squash is ordinarily planted with maize in both plow and hoe lands. Squash seeds are rarely planted in the same hill with maize and beans; rather the plantings are widely spaced (5 to 6 meters) along the rows or edges of the field in order to allow for spreading. *Chilacayote* (and often common squash) is usually planted in the fertile house lots or in the *desmontes*, where the soil has been fertilized by wood ash. Within the plowlands it is sometimes planted in a *quemazón*, a spot where a log is burned and ashes well mixed with underlying soil. Squashes are gathered in October or November before the maize harvest.
[251] Chilacayotes are sun-cured on roofs or on adobe fences for 3 or 4 weeks, and are then stored in the house loft or in a corner of the dwelling.

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[74] Botanical identification of the squash seed collected in the Tarascan area was kindly made by Dr. T. W. Whitaker, of the United States Department of Agriculture.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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244 Tarascans plant few other minor native cultigens in the field. Camote or the sweetpotato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and jícama (*Pachyrrhizus erosus*) are planted in small amounts in La Cañada, but commercial production is found in the warm lands around Zamora, Lake Chapala, and the southern escarpment, outside the Tarascan area. Native vegetables such as chile and tomatoes are discussed under horticulture.

Introduced New World crops.—In Tarascan
177 field agriculture these consist of two tubers: the
244 South American potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) and, as mentioned earlier, an *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*).[81] Neither has much place in Tarascan food habits. The potato is now grown in some lowlands bordering the Sierra, e. g. in Comanja, where it is planted with maize. Its cultivation is slowly penetrating the Sierra, though most of the highland pueblos still reject it. Beals (1946, p. 26) states that Cherán residents began to grow potatoes around 1938.

Old World crops in Tarascan field agriculture.—
243 Among the crops which the Spaniards introduced
177 into Tarascan culture the small grains, wheat and barley, were the more significant in terms of both food value and degree of adaptation. Wheat was probably first sown in the Lake area by Spanish missionaries during the 1530's; the Spanish ranchers and *encomenderos*, however, for whom white bread was the main item of diet, were the principal carriers of wheat culture among the natives. By the mid-16th century Spanish wheat fields had been established in many parts of the northern plateau, and Tarascans of various pueblos in that area were cultivating the grain in special fields in order to meet tribute demands of the Crown and *encomenderos*.[82] Arabic irrigation
[312] techniques appear to have been introduced jointly with wheat culture, for both early Spanish and Indian wheat fields in the northern Tarascan area were artificially watered.[83] The Relaciones Geo-

[81] The name "*papa de Castilla*" might indicate that the *Oxalis* species has been cultivated in Mexico for some time. According to local informants, however, it has been known in the area south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro for only 30 or 40 years. The tuber is often seen in the Pátzcuaro market. In Pichátaro it is boiled and eaten with piloncillo.

[82] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1) mentions that wheat was cultivated in the following indigenous pueblos of Michoacán: Acámbaro, Chocándiro, Chiquimito, Chilchota, Guanaxo (Santa María Ario), Taymeo, Indaparapeo, Zacapu. Indians, however, were slow to adopt wheat foods. During the last quarter of the 16th century the Indians of La Cañada ate wheat only in times of maize famine (Mus. Nac. leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1579).

[83] Spaniards had introduced a Mediterranean grain adapted to winter rains and dry summers into a land of dry winters and wet summers. Con-

243 December. Being more tolerant of poor soils and frost than either maize or wheat, it is customarily grown on the upper slopes. As it is believed that barley improves the soil, it is frequently rotated with maize. Much barley is sown on the high slopes around Cumachuén and Pichátaro, where yellow-brown soils and a short-growing season prevail. Oats are rarely cultivated; small fields were reported only in Pichátaro and Cumachuén.

244 *Other European field crops.*—Broadbeans, lentils, and chickpeas are cultivated chiefly around Lake Pátzcuaro and in the northern plateau pueblos, where they are often grown with maize. [262] Although small quantities are raised in the Sierra, these crops have little place in the native diet.

HORTICULTURE

The house-lot gardens (ekuáruecа).—These have been frequently mentioned above (pl. 7). In contrast to field agriculture, cultivation in the ekuáru is intensive; a large variety of plants (maize, beans, squash, vegetables, and fruits) are raised in each small lot; the soil is replenished by application of refuse from the dwelling and manure from the stable. The ekuáru is cultivated [462] mainly by the women and children of the household; the fields, in contrast, are worked by the men. In the gardens the women, always conservative, have retained the plants that are old in indigenous culture. Moreover, although some of the larger lots are plowed with oxen, most [412] are cultivated with two of the present forms of the tarákua: the wooden *pala* and the metal-bladed *azada*.

The principal garden crop is the *elote* maize, discussed above in connection with corn types. The cultivation of the old beans, such as kokóɣ, small patches of amaranth, and various squashes in the ekuáru, has also been mentioned. The women plant in the garden other indigenous vegetables, such as chayote (ápu; *Sicyos edule*),[98] *tomate* (tóma; *Physalis angulata*), which bears the small green husk-enclosed tomatoes; and, if water is available for irrigation, chiles of various types. The most significant vegetable grown in [262] the Tarascan house gardens, however, is the

[98] The chayote bears annually small squashlike fruits, which are boiled and served with chile. In its third year the plant develops a large tuberous root, which is dug up and boiled (naráa) and is often ground on the metate to a flour, which is served as a gruel (ogú). The plant is reproduced by seed, or rather by planting the entire chayote fruit.

244 European cabbage (*col, repollo*), which the Indians
262 have thoroughly taken into their diet. Both the leaf and head varieties are cultivated. Almost every ekuáru in all Tarascan villages contains a small patch of cabbages, which are used for the famous čuípu, or meat and vegetable stew [94] (pl. 5). A more common stew (*repollo-šakuá*) is made of cabbage alone, flavored with red chile, onion, and silantro. The leaf cabbage is the
244 usual variety found in the Sierra. It is rarely planted by seed, but by replanting sprouts that occur at the base of the stalk. The plant is persistent, surviving the frosty Sierra winter; leaves are stripped off until the stock often reaches a meter in height. Other vegetables such as lettuce, radishes, carrots, peas, and turnips, although known in many parts of Tarasca since early colónial times, are today little cultivated or used in native cookery.

247 In addition to the food annuals, the ekuáru
249 contains various medicinal and ornamental plants, mainly those of the Solanaceae, Fabaceae, and Compositae. In a great number of the house lots women plant a stalk or two of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*, andúmukua), used not for smoking,
[276] [278] but as medicine.[95] The *trompeta* or *floripondío* (*Datura arborea*); *colorín* or p'ɔɹénɛ́a (*Erythrina americana*); two euphorbias, *chupiri* (*E. calyculata*) and *flor de pascua* (*E. pulcherrima*); and the Old World *higuerilla* or castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) are not uncommon in the house gardens of the low country marginal to the Sierra. European Compositae, geraniums etc., make up most of the ornamental plants cultivated around the house.

Fruit culture in the ekuáru.—Practically every
245 house lot in most Tarascan villages contains a few fruit trees, both Old World and native. A definite climatic distribution of fruit types exists. In the Sierra are found only the cold-tolerant deciduous fruits such as the European peach, apple, pear, quince, and the native crab apple (*tejocote* or kaɹás) and cherry (*capulín* or šéngua). In the lowlands around the Sierra, however, both subtropical and cold-tolerant fruits are cultivated. The former include the Old World citrus (limes, oranges, lemons), figs, pomegranate (*granada de*

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[94] Čuípu is eaten principally during the maize harvest period and on religious holidays.

[95] For example, in Pichátaro tobacco is taken for fever and is chewed to cure toothache.

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[P. 47-d] Sierra Pátzcuaro

262 raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans [439] were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in 252 the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is [609] taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such 262 as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

244 **Specialized truck gardening.**—This is a more recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans. 312 They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratárákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden [406] spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratárákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 28), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratárákua* is used also at Tarejero, in the basin of Zacapu.

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[P. 47-b]

244 addition to the gardens of Lake Pátzcuaro,
3/2 commercial truck farming is also carried on in La Cañada and in Atapan, but on a smaller scale. There, fields are irrigated by diverting water from streams, a technique probably learned from Europeans.[103]

244 The native chile, *jitomate* (tom-kuaraki), *tomate*, and green beans (*ejotes*) and the Old World onion, garlic, cabbage, and lettuce are the principal products of the commercial gardens. Chile is the most significant of these, in terms of both acreage and market value. The fruit of this plant, a vitamin-rich gastrin, has always been important in the aboriginal diet. Two species of *Capsicum* are cultivated: *C. annuum*, the common herbaceous annual, and *C. fructescens*, the perennial shrub (*chile de árbol*). The latter is cultivated mainly in the house gardens. Both species re-
244 quire a long growing season and abundant water;
438 consequently chile cultivation is absent from the Sierra, but is found in the surrounding well-watered areas. Chile, therefore, has ever been a
[439] trade article between the Sierra and its borderlands.[104] Tarascan Puácuaro, Uricho, Arúcutin, and mestizo Tócuaro and Erongarícuaro are the main chile producers of the Lake. Most of the La Cañada pueblos raise some chile for export into the Sierra, but Etúcuaro, outside the valley, is the largest producer of that general district. All these areas raise *chile verde*, rather than the *chile seco* of the *tierra caliente* and Lake Cuitzeo district.[105] In both the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada areas chile and tomatoes are first planted in the *almáciga*, or hotbed, in December.[106] Replanting in the gardens is done in March, and the vegetables are harvested from June through September.

STOCK RAISING AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

231 Modern Tarascans raise most of the European animal domesticates. Most households own a team of oxen for plowing and one or two burros for hauling wood and carrying produce to market.

[text continues top of P. 49a-[illegible]]

[103] In several formerly Tarascan towns in the northern plateau area vegetables are cultivated on a commercial scale. The truck farming around Ziricícuaro, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, was significant during the latter part of the 18th century. Tarascan horticulturists of this pueblo carried vegetable produce as far as the Toluca market (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 265).

[104] The Tarascan name for Chilchota is *tirápu*, which means green chile. The Sierra people have always thought of La Cañada as a producer of chile, as well as other vegetables and fruits.

[105] The chief varieties of *C. annuum* in the Lake district are *lumbrillo* (*verde*), *amarillo*, and *rellenos* (*bell chile*). *Chile seco* from the *tierra caliente* reaches the Sierra through the markets at Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes.

[106] The *almáciga* is likely a European introduction, although it was pre-Columbian in the *chinampa* district in the Valley of Mexico.

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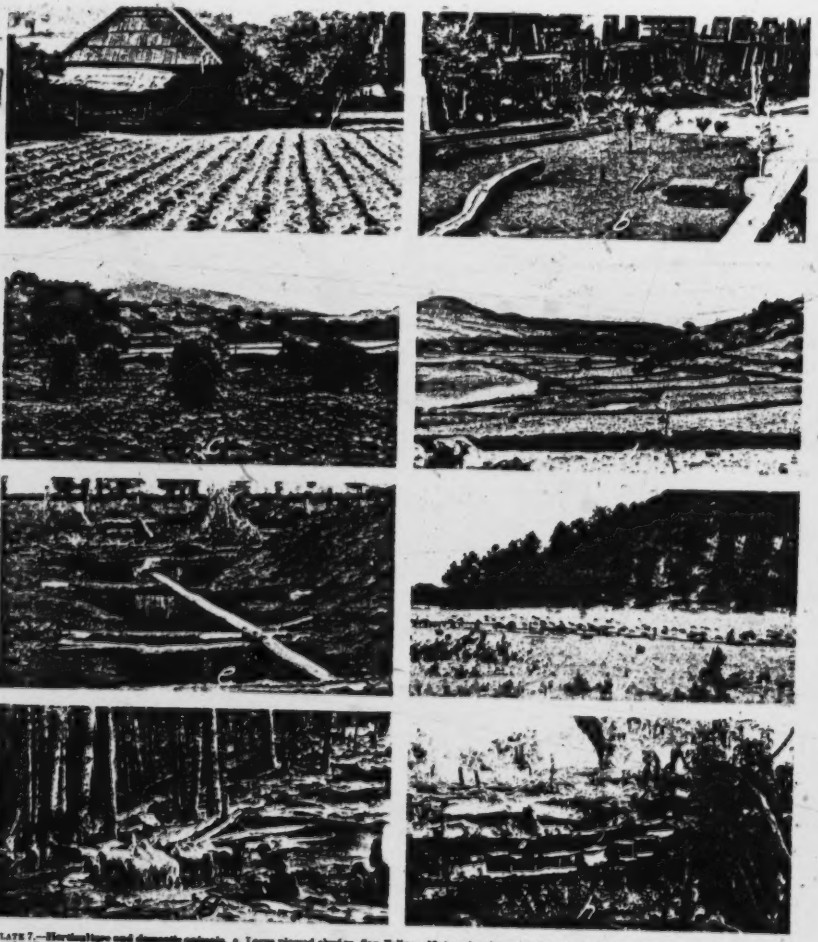
[342]



[406]
[312]

PLATE 7.—Horticulture and domestic animals. a, Large plowed ekuáro, San Felipe. Note animal pen adjoining trojo. b, Small patch of cabbage in house lot, San Felipe. c, Vines of chayote in ekuáro, Tanaquillo, La Cañada. d, Irrigated vegetable plot along west shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, near Ardeutin. e, Ditch well and pump (t'apóntárakuaro) used to lift water from ditch to irrigate fields. Near Uriaho. f, Sheep grazing in harvested maize field, near Tzintzuntzan. g, Herding sheep near summit of Cerro de Patamban. The flock is from the rancho of Uringuitiro. h, Bee hives in house lot, Ataja.

[End-plate 7]

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

252 The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

245 *Pears.*—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (ɛarápiti), and t'ačani (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

245 Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

[10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as quiote; the leaves are called ifikua, the stalk or bud, šámal. Mestizoized Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part. [194]

245 Pears and other fruit trees are not pruned, cultivated, or fertilized. Fruit to be shipped, especially pears, is picked with a special implement to prevent bruising. Three narrow pieces of shake are cut to a point at one end. They are then tied with string to one end of a long light pole, forming a triangular funnel. The funnel is placed under the fruit and raised, detaching it gently from the tree (fig. 4).

[413]

FIGURE 4.—Pear picker, made of trimmed shakes, cord, and any convenient long pole. The fruit is caught in the opening, lifted until the stem breaks, and then lowered to the ground. Bruised pears will not stand shipment.

Miscellaneous fruits.—A bitter apple, *manzana agria* or *chata*, is grown in Cherán. A larger, sweet apple is grown in Pichátaro, but only four or five trees exist in Cherán.

Three kinds of peaches are grown in Cherán: *blanco*, a type with red flesh near the pit (name uncollected), a green peach (prísku), and a yellow peach (melókuta). Relatively few [439] peaches or apples are exported.

Two kinds of cherries, black and white, are grown in Cherán. Both are dried in some [251] quantities and are sometimes sold in the market at Paracho.

A few *zapote blanco* are grown in Cherán, but most of this fruit consumed in Cherán is imported. The same is true of plums.

The *tejocote* is said not to be cultivated, but it sometimes is planted deliberately along field borders and its fruit is used. As, with the exception of pears, this is all the attention ever given to other fruits, it is fair to include the

245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and [252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos [778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest [632] Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, *"tecolote."* Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.682]

256 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* pro-
243 duces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds
434 of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or
438 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 One agricultural activity for which few data
438 were obtained is fruit growing. No informa-
434 tion was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

Another view of farming activity may be
434 gained by examining the income of individual
241 farmers. These data are probably somewhat
511 unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.213 b]
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121 ally, such studies should be of great aid also, permitting better understanding of the fundamental limitations on Cherán culture.

Once a set of definite objectives has been established, the data of the anthropological study will be of considerable use in formulating a concrete program and in developing Tarascan cooperation. Moreover, the introduction of a program in itself, creates changes in the cultural situation. The dynamic quality of culture makes it important that administrative programs be accompanied by further study and be flexible enough to adapt to the changing situation.

Despite these remarks on the practical problems of government in the Tarascan area, it should be emphasized that the present study is primarily concerned with scientific objectives. These objectives happen to be closely related to practical considerations, for administrative objectives in Mexico call for culture change in some measure. Cultural processes and the function and interrelation of the parts of a culture emerge most clearly from dynamic situations rather than from static studies without temporal extension. Not only practical but scientific objectives can be served by the study of Cherán culture in transition.

APPENDIX 1

FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

241 atoles. Wheat is sown twice a year; one planting is in June and it is harvested in December;
262 the second is in November, in the house lots, and it is harvested in May. Beans are grown more extensively than at Cherán; the harvest is exclusively by women.

Among the plants generally grown in Chilchota is amaranth (*bledos*). The cultivation is not commercialized, each family growing a little for its own use. Amaranth is used by Indians of La Cañada for making sweets; in Chilchota it is employed in sweets, certain atoles, and in an uncooked tamale resembling a tortilla which is sold in Capacuaro.

245 A considerable number of fruits are culti-
262 vated in Chilchota. Mangoes of the *criollo* and

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245 262 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicuiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

244 262 Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 262 The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 443 262 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

244 European cabbage (*col, repollo*), which the Indians
262 have thoroughly taken into their diet. Both the leaf and head varieties are cultivated. Almost every ekuáru in all Tarascan villages contains a small patch of cabbages, which are used for the famous čuŕípu, or meat and vegetable stew [94] (pl. 5). A more common stew (*repollo*-šakuá) is made of cabbage alone, flavored with red chile, onion, and silantro. The leaf cabbage is the
244 usual variety found in the Sierra. It is rarely planted by seed, but by replanting sprouts that occur at the base of the stalk. The plant is persistent, surviving the frosty Sierra winter; leaves are stripped off until the stock often reaches a meter in height. Other vegetables such as lettuce, radishes, carrots, peas, and turnips, although known in many parts of Tarasca since early colónial times, are today little cultivated or used in native cookery.

In addition to the food annuals, the ekuáru
247 contains various medicinal and ornamental plants,
249 mainly those of the Solanaceae, Fabaceae, and Compositae. In a great number of the house lots women plant a stalk or two of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*, andúmukua), used not for smoking,
[276] [278] but as medicine.[95] The *trompeta* or *floripondío* (*Datura arbórea*); *colorín* or pıoıénéa (*Erythrina americana*); two euphorbias, *chupiri* (*E. calyculata*) and *flor de pascua* (*E. pulcherrima*); and the Old World *higuerilla* or castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) are not uncommon in the house gardens of the low country marginal to the Sierra. European Compositae, geraniums etc., make up most of the ornamental plants cultivated around the house.

Fruit culture in the ekuáru.—Practically every
245 house lot in most Tarascan villages contains a few fruit trees, both Old World and native. A definite climatic distribution of fruit types exists. In the Sierra are found only the cold-tolerant deciduous fruits such as the European peach, apple, pear, quince, and the native crab apple (*tejocote* or kaıás) and cherry (*capulín* or šéngua). In the lowlands around the Sierra, however, both subtropical and cold-tolerant fruits are cultivated. The former include the Old World citrus (limes, oranges, lemons), figs, pomegranate (*granada de*

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[94] Čuŕípu is eaten principally during the maize harvest period and on religious holidays.

[95] For example, in Pichátaro tobacco is taken for fever and is chewed to cure toothache.

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by 177 missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent 797 had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit [242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuárju or along hedgerows. Most trees are only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting [242] of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly 438 for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuárju of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *cumuesu*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chatu*, *mariesu*, *chatu de Serise* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *morelisu* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

¶ In 1789 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 328). See Beals, 1948, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

245 orchard. In such cases trees are closely spaced
438 and present an unkept appearance.

Many Tarascan pueblos in the lower and warmer areas bordering the Sierra specialize in subtropical fruits, and possibly served prehistorically as fruit supply centers for the Sierra towns. Since the development of modern transportation their produce is taken to many parts of Mexico. San Angel Zurumucapio is the avocado center of the Tarascan *tierra templada*,[98] Tingambato the chirimoya town, and the former Tarascan pueblos, Ziricuritiro and Acahuato, produce bananas, mangoes, mamey, citrus, etc. Tarascan Atapan and mestizo Tingüindín supply the western part of the Sierra with citrus, guayaba, and mangoes. As early as 1581 Atapan had become a citrus-growing center, and probably before the Conquest had produced avocados and chirimoyas for Sierra trade. The La Cañada towns have ever been the northern Tarascan fruit center. Today avocados form the main fruit speciality of Acachuén, Ichán-Tacuro, and Carapan; oranges are the chief export of Tanaquillo.[99] With the possible exception of Ihuatzio, which produces large quantities of avocado, there is no specialized fruit town in the Lake area, although the aggregate subtropical fruit production there is of importance in Sierra trade.

262 Fruits from the *tierra caliente* have long had a special significance among the Sierra Tarascans. Today at least two tropical fruits are eaten especially at religious fiestas, and special effort is made to obtain them for such occasions. Coconuts (kóko) in some Sierra pueblos are rarely eaten except during the Ramos and Easter holidays.
[439] Formerly in Charapan 2 weeks before Easter a group composed of 15 men and boys from each barrio traveled down to the Tepalcatepec Basin to fetch coconuts for eating and coconut blossoms for church decorations. The band was ceremo-
[389] niously seen off with the firing of rockets.[100] Likewise, the large plantain (*plátano macho*) is eaten

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[98] The large avocado trees in the house lots of Zurumucapio completely hide the town. Two types of the fruit are grown, the black and white-skin varieties. Both are irrigated, and the fruit is harvested in April and May. Frequently coffee plants are grown under the shade of the avocado.

[99] Other fruits produced in La Cañada: Limes, guayaba, chirimoyas, figs, apricots, juaquiniquiles (ázrén), plums, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, apples, zapote blanco, capulín, a few bananas.

[100] This custom has practically disappeared in the Sierra. Most coconuts and other tropical fruit are now obtained at the Ramos (Palm Sunday) fairs at Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. In the Lake area during Easter festivities churches are often decorated with melons (*sandías*) from the Balsas.

243 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine
221 tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set
674 firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder
246 ("*rastrojo*") is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also
[462] glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-
[482] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which
[285] miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the
464 infirm, everyone works, either on his own har-
466 vest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 Most of the harvest is carried to town and
492 the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are
[493] used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

243 is often retarded until the following December or January.

Fodder, consisting of that part of the maize
●246 plant above the ears, is cut in September, when
251 the plant is still green and the ears well formed. In the Sierra, fodder is often stored on platforms constructed in trees. Normally it is taken to the village and placed in sheds or on log platforms in the house lot (pl. 5).

243 Since the late fall maize harvest of Cherán, described by Beals (1946, pp. 24–25), is typical of most of modern Tarasca, no attempt will be made to repeat the data here. In only one area—the
[493] Zacapu Basin—are four-wheeled wagons (*guallines* made of the frame and wheels of abandoned autos) used to haul maize from the fields to the village. In all other areas burros haul the ears
[492] in sacks (*costales*) or nets. Ears of maize are
251 stored in the lofts of the main house; shelled corn is never stored. The ekuaru corn that is kept for seed and food is hung by the husks in bunches (*piña*, SANDÁNGATA) or in rows over poles inside the house or on the veranda.

242 *Crop rotation and fallowing.*—Except in ex-
243 ceptionally fertile lands, field maize is rarely grown for two consecutive years on the same ground. In the basin plains of the Sierra, corn is often planted without fallow in spots refreshed by annual deposits of alluvium, as at the base of alluvial fans and in sink areas in the center of basins. The soils of the recently drained lacustrine plain of Zacapu are so rich that they support annual maize crops without rotation or application of fertilizer. Generally in the Sierra, maize fields in the basin plains and lower slopes are fallowed for 10 or 12 months every other year. In such fields only maize is planted. Usually during a given year, half of the plains land belonging to a village and a portion of the slopes are fallowed, the rest being planted; when the village possesses more than one basin plain, cultivation and fallow are alternated from one to the other. Ordinarily in the *desmontes* and *jollas* wheat or barley are rotated with maize (one year wheat, one year maize, one year fallow). In the temporal lands surrounding the Sierra customarily two crops per year, one of maize, the other of wheat or barley, are obtained from a given piece of ground. The land is then fallowed 8 to 12 months. (Wheat planted in November, harvested following April or May; maize planted in June, harvested in

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own initiative. Young men and women usually
515 bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

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244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaǵitiniš and kuaǵitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

249 *Agave.*—Although agaves (akámba) are planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Paricutin village, chayotes (apópo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a
252 round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet.
[834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

Pears.—The most important fruit in Cherán
245 is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as
[439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (ťarápiti), and t'ačAni (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock
245 of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-
242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

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[194] [10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as quiote; the leaves are called ítkua, the stalk or bud, ámaá. Mestizoland Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

244 European cabbage (*col, repollo*), which the Indians
262 have thoroughly taken into their diet. Both the leaf and head varieties are cultivated. Almost every ekuáru in all Tarascan villages contains a small patch of cabbages, which are used for the famous čuípu, or meat and vegetable stew [94] (pl. 5). A more common stew (*repollo-šakuá*) is made of cabbage alone, flavored with red chile, onion, and silantro. The leaf cabbage is the
244 usual variety found in the Sierra. It is rarely planted by seed, but by replanting sprouts that occur at the base of the stalk. The plant is persistent, surviving the frosty Sierra winter; leaves are stripped off until the stock often reaches a meter in height. Other vegetables such as lettuce, radishes, carrots, peas, and turnips, although known in many parts of Tarasca since early colónial times, are today little cultivated or used in native cookery.

In addition to the food annuals, the ekuáru
247 contains various medicinal and ornamental plants,
249 mainly those of the Solanaceae, Fabaceae, and Compositae. In a great number of the house lots women plant a stalk or two of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*, andúmukua), used not for smoking,
[276] [278] but as medicine.[95] The *trompeta* or *floripondío* (*Datura arborea*); *colorín* or p'ojénéa (*Erythrina americana*); two euphorbias, *chupiri* (*E. calyculata*) and *flor de pascua* (*E. pulcherrima*); and the Old World *higuerilla* or castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) are not uncommon in the house gardens of the low country marginal to the Sierra. European Compositae, geraniums etc., make up most of the ornamental plants cultivated around the house.

Fruit culture in the ekuáru.—Practically every
245 house lot in most Tarascan villages contains a few fruit trees, both Old World and native. A definite climatic distribution of fruit types exists. In the Sierra are found only the cold-tolerant deciduous fruits such as the European peach, apple, pear, quince, and the native crab apple (*tejocote* or kajás) and cherry (*capulín* or šéngua). In the lowlands around the Sierra, however, both subtropical and cold-tolerant fruits are cultivated. The former include the Old World citrus (limes, oranges, lemons), figs, pomegranate (*granada de*

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[94] Čuípu is eaten principally during the maize harvest period and on religious holidays.

[95] For example, in Pichátaro tobacco is taken for fever and is chewed to cure toothache.

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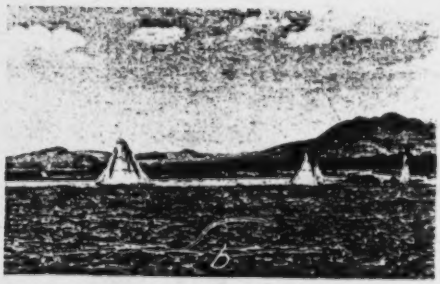

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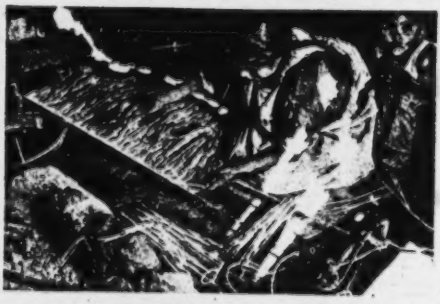

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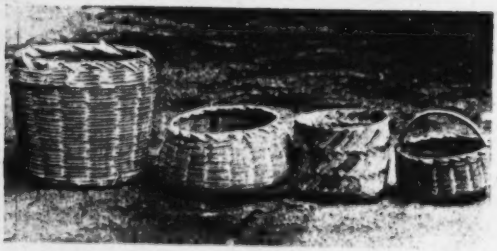

PLATE 12.—Textiles. *a*, A milpa of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many potato makers own their own milpas, but sometimes portions of the brakes are leased to tule sellers, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into sacques and stacked in shocks. *c*, Weaving petates, Dautzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making sopetes, Aranzapucua. Work is done inside the kitchen. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the bates of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tarecuato. *f*, Baskets woven of tule. The large one (left), called *tuke*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The flat round basket is called *g'ándata* and is used to carry fish and tamales. The trilled basket is a *tenatl* (the Tarascans call it "*tacale*") for tortillas. The handled basket at the right (simply named "*tenatl*") is for carrying eggs, pinacolo, and often fish.

[End-plate 12]

243 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are
492 rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented
or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize
[427] or money equal to the rent is usually made.
Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

The time of the harvest varies in different
243 places. If the "plain" west of town is planted,
632 the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

As the harvest is a time of joint work, even
243 though not communal in character, it also is a
527 rather festive and social occasion. Moreover,
632 many workmen have more money than at any
273 other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

In 1940 the following schedule of harvests
243 was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

White maize and yellow maize are stored un-
251 shelled in the lofts of *"trojes."* Little effort is
243 taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in
[252] the house. Most black corn is consumed as
[796] roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring
[231] sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat
[821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

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244 brownish, and various spotted beans with much variation in size and shape were observed, and, in many cases, were named by informants. Until reports are received from botanists, the details of variation seem of little interest. All seem to be of climbing types.

Some people plant a few beans between the corn rows, usually in the garden. Mixing of corn and bean seed is said not to give good results. Separate planting of beans is rare, if it occurs at all. Beans are threshed by driving burros over the straw, or children may trample out small quantities.

Squashes and pumpkins.—A few pumpkins are grown in gardens for home use. The most common type is a squash known as chilacayote, although it is not grown abundantly.

The chilacayote must be planted 15 to 20 feet apart, for the plant spreads widely. Uusally it is planted in gardens. The fruit is large and green, resembling a watermelon in shape and color. The flesh is white and watery.

251 Some chilacayote is eaten fresh, cooked with [252] brown sugar. Usually, though, it is cured by leaving it in the sun on roofs or wall tops for 2 or 3 weeks. Sometimes the squashes are coated with ashes mixed with water. This is believed to harden the exterior. After curing, they are stored in the "*troje*" or in the storage loft and saved until spring. Planting time is the traditional season for eating chilacayote, for this is a period when there are almost no fresh fruits or vegetables. The squashes sell [435] for 25 to 50 centavos.

Broadbeans or habas.—Broadbeans (*Vicia* 244 *faba*), a coarse variety of European vetch, are usually planted in gardens or, more rarely, in the field. They are planted in furrows, like maize, and are cultivated similarly. Broadbeans yield well in Cherán but relatively few are grown, as they are not liked as well as ordinary beans.

Potatoes.—Planting of potatoes began in Cherán only 2 or 3 years ago. Apparently [439] they do well but only a few are planted as yet, principally for sale in Mexican communities, for they have little place in Tarascan cookery. They are planted in April and harvested in November or December.

Chayote.—The chayote is not grown abundantly. Plants are found only in gardens,

245 Pears and other fruit trees are not pruned, cultivated, or fertilized. Fruit to be shipped, especially pears, is picked with a special implement to prevent bruising. Three narrow pieces of shake are cut to a point at one end. They are then tied with string to one end of a long light pole, forming a triangular funnel. The funnel is placed under the fruit and raised, detaching it gently from the tree (fig. 4).

[413]

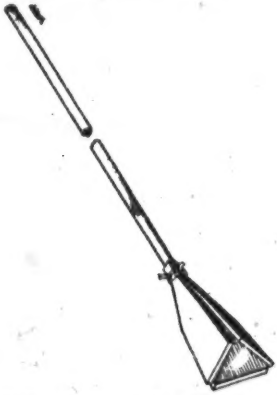

FIGURE 4.—Pear picker, made of trimmed shakes, cord, and any convenient long pole. The fruit is caught in the opening, lifted until the stem breaks, and then lowered to the ground. Bruised pears will not stand shipment.

Miscellaneous fruits.—A bitter apple, *manzana agria* or *chata*, is grown in Cherán. A larger, sweet apple is grown in Pichátaro, but only four or five trees exist in Cherán.

Three kinds of peaches are grown in Cherán: *blanco*, a type with red flesh near the pit (name uncollected), a green peach (prísku), and a yellow peach (melókuta). Relatively few [439] peaches or apples are exported.

Two kinds of cherries, black and white, are grown in Cherán. Both are dried in some [251] quantities and are sometimes sold in the market at Paracho.

A few *zapote blanco* are grown in Cherán, but most of this fruit consumed in Cherán is impórted. The same is true of plums.

The *tejocote* is said not to be cultivated, but it sometimes is planted deliberately along field borders and its fruit is used. As, with the exception of pears, this is all the attention ever given to other fruits, it is fair to include the

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333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

Barbers.—Most men in Cherán now have 305 their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

Water carriers.—In most households the 312 women bring the water from the fountain or 482 aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders. 462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

Consideration of food processing in this 128 section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

The storage of food is confined primarily to 251 maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

Eating habits show considerable variability
264 as between families. They also change with
262 the season and the prevailing occupations.
184 Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later.
[556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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[p.52a]

252 chiles are added. Everything is passed through
272 a colander before cooking.

Puſiti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamaríndo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čarákata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamaríndo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Iſúkua kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.[17]

252 *Tóquera ičusta.*—Uncooked maize tóquera
262 (half way between green and mature maize) is ground on the metate, mixed with brown
[751] sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo.*

Uačakata.—This is red or black maize which
251 has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at
252 least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

252 *Arroz kamáta, rice atole.*—Well-cooked rice,
262 milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

[17] It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquite. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

252 Peanuts are often on sale on the streets.
262 They and cooked squash are the only refreshments accessible to the very poor. Generally
[435] about a handful may be purchased for 1 centavo.

Chilacayote is a member of the squash family with watery white flesh. It probably is closest to what we call pie melons in the United States. It is much liked. The young, immature fruits are boiled with a little milk and, if it can be afforded, a little cheese.

As mentioned previously, mature chilacayotes are eaten all year but mainly in the spring.
[251] If placed in the sun daily for some time during dry weather, they will keep for some months in storage. They are sometimes coated with ashes mixed in water before storage. To serve, they are cut in pieces and boiled. Usually,
[435] cooked pieces may be bought on the street for a centavo.

Atapákua is made of squash blossoms and sliced immature squash, cooked with chile and a little flour or maize dough for thickening.

Nopal (prickly pear) is used as a vegetable. The tender leaves are skinned, cut in small squares, boiled, and then usually fried very lightly in lard.

Squash greens (the tender tips of the runners on the vines), which are commonly eaten in many parts of Mexico, are rarely eaten in Cherán. An informant had "heard" that those people who did eat them boiled the greens, then cooked them lightly with lard.

Green beans are not eaten. Informants did not even know a name for them. Dried beans are boiled, usually with a very little salt. They are often not very well done because of the altitude. They are watery and tasteless to an outsider, although relished by the residents.
[134] They are scarce, as there are few suitable soils near Cherán and most beans are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

262 Fruits are eaten rather sparingly in season in accordance with the economic status of the family. Locally grown fruits are eaten rather more than imported fruits. Children and young people appear to eat rather more fruit than do adults. Nearly every Cherán lot will have at least a pear, peach, apple, or cherry tree. Tunas, the fruit of the prickly pear, are also eaten as fruit.

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (ćiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*"
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[30] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*"
252 (guaníto). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[30] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

STORAGE

343 The Cherán house is really a storehouse. The
251 loft and, sometimes, the lower floor are employed for storage of crops and food reserves. The lower floor is used for the storage of clothing, furniture not in immediate use, and for the family altar and the image of the saint. On occasion, it may be used as a sleeping room for guests. Supplementary sheds also may be used for crop storage, especially for fodder for animals.

SLEEPING AND COOKING

362 Cooking and eating is all done in the kitchen.
574 Guests may be fed in the kitchen, outside, on the house veranda, or in the house. Female visitors are usually entertained in the kitchen. Male visitors are more apt to be entertained outdoors or on the house veranda, depending on the
362 weather.
513 In mountain towns, sleeping is always in the

[p. 28c]

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
514 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[Continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT.

CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p.32a]

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592 **Functional aspects.**—Among the Tarascans the agglomeration of buildings in an individual lot include the principal house, the kitchen, burro stable, hogpen, and frequently certain storage structures. The head of a household may build two or more sets of houses and kitchens in his lot for his married sons. The main house (the wooden 342 *troje* in the Sierra or the adobe structure in the surrounding areas) serves principally as a storehouse. The maize harvest is stored in the loft [251] (*tapanco*), which is floored with heavy planks and entered through a trap door by means of a ladder or notched log. In the lower room (floored with planks in the wooded *troje*, often dirt-floored in the adobe house) are stored small grains, clothes, personal valuables; it is also used to house images of various saints, to entertain guests, and as sleeping quarters for them; some members of the family (usually marriageable girls) often sleep in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 29-b] Sierra

343 being the hearth place and the warmest of the buildings, it is also the main sleeping quarters of the family.[37]

The minor structures include the stable, chicken roosts, and the hogpen, all constructed of logs or rough planks; the gate roof (*puerta de golpe*) in [251] the loft of which maize fodder is often stored; and, in some Sierra towns, special storage buildings, which consist of small wooden sheds on stilts or simply small plank *trojes* resting on a crude stone foundation.[38] The house lot is fenced

[37] For a description of the hearth types and kitchen implements, see Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944, pp. 16, 22-24.

[38] The special storage places are called úmutakata in Angahuan and Charapan, uakáli in Capacuaro. Literally the term "úmutakata" means "addition," and is also used for the storage space in the gate roof. The *puerta de golpe* occurs not only in Michoacán, where it is most common, but is seen in mestizo towns in the Valley of Mexico. The main purpose of the roof is to keep rain from the wooden gate.

342 widespread both in the Sierra and in surrounding areas. The modern *troje*, then, appears to have [177] been introduced into Michoacán sometime between 1580 and 1780.

Some native constructional and functional elements were applied to the log or plank structure. For instance, the square floor plan and the four-shed roof were common features of the aboriginal house. Again, the use of the *troje* as a store-342 house and the retention of the separate kitchen as 251 living quarters would seem to indicate application of native uses to an introduced element. The storage of grain in the loft, however, may be an introduced European trait. As in most parts of indigenous Mexico, separate granaries (*trojes*) were possibly employed by pre-Conquest Tarascans.[40]

342 The wooden *troje* is disappearing in the Tarascan area. As mentioned above, a few old structures exist in some of the towns outside the Sierra. According to the local inhabitants, such *trojes* were formerly more numerous; however, there is no evidence that the entire town was once composed of wooden houses. Owing to decrease in large pines and firs, the cheaper adobe and stone structures are gradually replacing the *troje* in the Sierra towns.[41] Only a few small Sierra villages and *ranchos* consist entirely of wooden structures.

In addition to the interlocked plank house, 342 various roofing materials have been introduced 177 into the Tarascan area (as well as into all parts of Mexico). Aboriginally, houses were roofed with grass or palm thatch, which is still employed in the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán. During the last half of the 16th century Basque miners probably introduced the shake (*tejamanil*) to roof their houses and ore refineries at the mining centers in central Mexico.[42] From the mines the use of shakes gradually spread to Indian villages situated

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 32-a]

[40] One of the "temporary structures" depicted in the Relación de Michoacán is similar to the modern vasiform granaries (*cacaxwatl*) of parts of Morelos, Puebla, and Tlaxcala. Moreover, the original ms. of the Relación de Tiripitío, 1580 (in the Garcia Library, University of Texas, Austin), illustrates a vasiform *troje* similar to that shown in the Relación de Michoacán. The Tiripitío *troje* was of two stories, the lower floor being used to store maize, the upper, reached by a notched log, for storing clothes, personal valuables, etc.

[41] Fair adobe brick can be made in the Sierra by mixing the local soil (of low clay content) with pine needles.

[42] The Relaciones Geográficas of 1579-81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) invariably mention shaked roofs in mining centers of New Spain. In the modern Basque country, however, shakes are used to roof only shepherds' huts (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944, p. 34).

243 is often retarded until the following December or January.

246 Fodder, consisting of that part of the maize plant above the ears, is cut in September, when
251 the plant is still green and the ears well formed. In the Sierra, fodder is often stored on platforms constructed in trees. Normally it is taken to the village and placed in sheds or on log platforms in the house lot (pl. 5).

243 Since the late fall maize harvest of Cherán, described by Beals (1946, pp. 24–25), is typical of most of modern Tarasca, no attempt will be made to repeat the data here. In only one area—the
[493] Zacapu Basin—are four-wheeled wagons (*guallines* made of the frame and wheels of abandoned autos) used to haul maize from the fields to the village. In all other areas burros haul the ears
[492] in sacks (*costales*) or nets. Ears of maize are
251 stored in the lofts of the main house; shelled corn is never stored. The ekuaru corn that is kept for seed and food is hung by the husks in bunches (*piña*, sandáŋgata) or in rows over poles inside the house or on the veranda.

242 *Crop rotation and fallowing.*—Except in ex-
243 ceptionally fertile lands, field maize is rarely grown for two consecutive years on the same ground. In the basin plains of the Sierra, corn is often planted without fallow in spots refreshed by annual deposits of alluvium, as at the base of alluvial fans and in sink areas in the center of basins. The soils of the recently drained lacustrine plain of Zacapu are so rich that they support annual maize crops without rotation or application of fertilizer. Generally in the Sierra, maize fields in the basin plains and lower slopes are fallowed for 10 or 12 months every other year. In such fields only maize is planted. Usually during a given year, half of the plains land belonging to a village and a portion of the slopes are fallowed, the rest being planted; when the village possesses more than one basin plain, cultivation and fallow are alternated from one to the other. Ordinarily in the *desmontes* and *jollas* wheat or barley are rotated with maize (one year wheat, one year maize, one year fallow). In the temporal lands surrounding the Sierra customarily two crops per year, one of maize, the other of wheat or barley, are obtained from a given piece of ground. The land is then fallowed 8 to 12 months. (Wheat planted in November, harvested following April or May; maize planted in June, harvested in

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[P. 41-b]

244 **Squash culture.**—The cucurbits complete the ancient Mexican crop complex. Three species of the genus *Cucurbita* are today cultivated in the Tarascan area: *C. pepo* (*calabaza común* purú), *C. moschata* (*calabaza de Castilla*, purú), and *C. ficifolia* (*silacayote* or *chilacayote*, t'ik'ápʌ or tikápʌ).[14] *C. pepo* appears to be the ancient squash of the area, for it is referred to as *calabaza comùn* or *calabaza corriente*, and in mestizo villages nearby as *calabaza tarasca*. Surprisingly few varieties occur, the most common being oblong (20 cm. long), ribbed (10), green and yellow mottled, with the ordinary five-sided peduncle. Smooth types are also cultivated. A small *pepo*, called čekámita, is grown in a few villages of the Sierra and La Cañada. In some pueblos the common name of *C. moschata* is *calabaza de la*
[177] *Castilla*, which may indicate that this squash was introduced into the area after the Spanish Conquest; it is found mainly around the edges of the Sierra. Some varieties are flat and round, similar to the pumpkins of the northeastern part of the United States. Others are small, crooked-neck types.

In contrast to its minor place in the agriculture of many indigenous groups of Mexico, *C. ficifolia* is an important cultigen among the Tarascans. Two varieties are grown, both having the appearance of a watermelon: one with black seeds (*chilacayote común*, tikápʌ), and the other with white seeds (*chilacayote-calabaza*, purútikápʌ). Of the two, the latter is said to have the better flavor.

Like *frijol*, squash is ordinarily planted with maize in both plow and hoe lands. Squash seeds are rarely planted in the same hill with maize and beans; rather the plantings are widely spaced (5 to 6 meters) along the rows or edges of the field in order to allow for spreading. *Chilacayote* (and often common squash) is usually planted in the fertile house lots or in the *desmontes*, where the soil has been fertilized by wood ash. Within the plowlands it is sometimes planted in a *quemazón*, a spot where a log is burned and ashes well mixed with underlying soil. Squashes are gathered in October or November before the maize harvest.
[251] Chilacayotes are sun-cured on roofs or on adobe fences for 3 or 4 weeks, and are then stored in the house loft or in a corner of the dwelling.

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[14] Botanical identification of the squash seed collected in the Tarascan area was kindly made by Dr. T. W. Whitaker, of the United States Department of Agriculture.

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[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans
105 appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

In this section are described the techniques of
128 the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the
[263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo,*
[278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is col-
[252] lected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly
412 of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja,* the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italics unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain
no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the
larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is
to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt.
The latter method is said to be especially tasty,
but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of
these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and
eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the
native bee but is a little larger and makes its
nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.)
or more. No other animal food is collected and
the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied
with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three
mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs
and lavas are employed for house building,
foundations, and fences. The materials occur
either in the town itself or in barrancas within
a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic
cinders are also quarried out of the sides of
barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[991] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails,
streets, and yards. The supply of materials
far exceeds demand, and the public domain
affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from
a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa
Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within
the village. Most of the rock is prised out of
the upper face of the quarry in large pieces,
which usually are broken up in the fall to the
foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then
placed in piles, which later comers will not
molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abun-
dant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on
burros with ropes, while small pieces may be
placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used
only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient sup-
ply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[184] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in
[252] the house. Most black corn is consumed as roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved
[796] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring
[231] sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat
[821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

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243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. [462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in [407] 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Taratarо, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

Beans.—The soil of Cherán is said not to be 244 good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

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244 brownish, and various spotted beans with much variation in size and shape were observed, and, in many cases, were named by informants. Until reports are received from botanists, the details of variation seem of little interest. All seem to be of climbing types.

Some people plant a few beans between the corn rows, usually in the garden. Mixing of corn and bean seed is said not to give good results. Separate planting of beans is rare, if it occurs at all. Beans are threshed by driving burros over the straw, or children may trample out small quantities.

Squashes and pumpkins.—A few pumpkins are grown in gardens for home use. The most common type is a squash known as chilacayote, although it is not grown abundantly.

The chilacayote must be planted 15 to 20 feet apart, for the plant spreads widely. Uusally it is planted in gardens. The fruit is large and green, resembling a watermelon in shape and color. The flesh is white and watery.

251 Some chilacayote is eaten fresh, cooked with [252] brown sugar. Usually, though, it is cured by leaving it in the sun on roofs or wall tops for 2 or 3 weeks. Sometimes the squashes are coated with ashes mixed with water. This is believed to harden the exterior. After curing, they are stored in the "*troje*" or in the storage loft and saved until spring. Planting time is the traditional season for eating chilacayote, for this is a period when there are almost no fresh fruits or vegetables. The squashes sell [435] for 25 to 50 centavos.

Broadbeans or habas.—Broadbeans (*Vicia* 244 *faba*), a coarse variety of European vetch, are usually planted in gardens or, more rarely, in the field. They are planted in furrows, like maize, and are cultivated similarly. Broadbeans yield well in Cherán but relatively few are grown, as they are not liked as well as ordinary beans.

Potatoes.—Planting of potatoes began in Cherán only 2 or 3 years ago. Apparently [439] they do well but only a few are planted as yet, principally for sale in Mexican communities, for they have little place in Tarascan cookery. They are planted in April and harvested in November or December.

Chayote.—The chayote is not grown abundantly. Plants are found only in gardens,

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244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaǵitiniš and kuaǵitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Paricutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

252 The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

245 *Pears.*—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (ɛ́arápiti), and t'ačʌni (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

245 Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-
242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

[1914] [10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as quiote; the leaves are called ʼíkua, the stalk or bud, hámaá. Mestizoised Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

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245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and [252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos [778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the [632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote.*" Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

231 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes
232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
[422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[438] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but
[252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A
[364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

Although some persons in Cherán were said
[232] to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 465 The average wages of sheepherders are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent misbehavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or [626] carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

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184
262 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled
264 squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly
262 eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, čurípo, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (očepos), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*).

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.[13]

MEAT FOODS

252 Čurípo is a stewed meat, almost always of
262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few gara-
banzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot.
[263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground
dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

[13] Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*jocoococotis*), is used as greens in čurípo and in making chile sauce (sindurakua). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

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262 and as a daily food by all who can afford it,
252 which in Cherán would probably constitute a considerable majority of the population. It is often eaten with tamales of the type known as kurúndas, or with boiled chayote. Meat, if not made into čurípo, usually is boiled.[14]

Mole is a less common meat dish, probably derived from the Mestizos. It consists of a stew, preferably of turkey, but if this is not obtainable, of chicken, pork, or beef in descending order of frequency as well as preference. Pieces of the boiled meat are served in a sauce made in various ways, according to the availability of the ingredients and the knowledge of the cook. The sauce may include the following ingredients: Cloves, ginger, chocolate, cin-
[263] namon, ground toasted bread or tortillas, pumpkin seeds, garlic, onion, and chile of the type known as pasíya or "*chileancho*." The chiles are either fried in lard or dipped in hot water, ground with the other ingredients, and cooked in the meat broth. A thick, rich, and usually rather greasy sauce or gravy is the result. Mole is usually eaten on special occasions.

Fish are brought to Cherán either fresh,
[438] broiled, or dried. Fresh fish come from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro only a limited part of the year, usually just after the rainy season in the fall. It is expensive compared with meat, but is much liked. During the rainy season, broiled fish are brought from Lake Chapala; in the dry season, from Erongaricuaro.

The fish are washed carefully in hot water before cooking. Fish is boiled in water with
[263] onion and *silantro* (a pungent herb). Some people eat the intestines, removing only the bile. Seasoning with chile and tomato, ground together, is common; sometimes the broth is thickened with maize dough and sometimes onion is added. Fish may also be fried with eggs in lard, making a sort of fish hash.

Small dry fish (čaráles), resembling small dried minnows, are on sale on market day throughout the year and also at many of the stores. They are toasted on the *comal* and eaten with chile and tortillas, especially for breakfast. They are also made into a broth with chile sauce.

[14] The majority of the recipes were collected by Silvia Rendón.

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262 It is believed to be injurious to eat any kind of fish when ill of the "*bilis*."

252 Game is eaten to some extent when available. Deer meat is sold in pieces or in retail quantities by the hunters in much the same fashion as beef. Squirrels, doves, and ducks are all liked. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos, doves at 5 centavos, and ducks at 50 centavos to 1 peso. Ducks come from Zacapu. A few people eat pigeons. Only adult pigeons are eaten.[15]

Eggs are eaten to a considerable extent, fried, mixed with fish, or scrambled with cheese. But poor families, even if they have chickens, prefer to sell the eggs and buy beans.

MAIZE FOODS

Maize is made into tortillas, *gordos*, posole, or tamales, and is also used to thicken some types of broths and sauces. It is also eaten green, and certain foods are made from green corn. No maize foods are salted. Maize types include white, yellow, red, and black, the latter two types not being common. White maize is sold chiefly outside the village.

Methods of initial preparation vary. For tortillas and *gordos* the maize is boiled with lime. This softens and to some extent dissolves the outer shell of the grain. After thorough washing in a special basket, it is ground into *nixtamal* or dough. If economically possible, [556] grinding is done at the power mills in the town, followed by further grinding at home. Some people are too poor to pay for the mill, and the women do all the grinding on the metate.

Tortillas are made of the *nixtamal* or maize dough. A quantity is scooped off the metate and shaped into a flat disk in the hands. This is then skillfully slapped between the palms until it becomes a thin sheet about one-eighth inch in thickness and 6 or 7 inches in diameter. This sheet is baked on a dry flat clay dish, the *comal*, with moderate heat. Usually the tortilla is turned two or three times in the process. Tortillas are served at virtually every meal, regardless of the rest of the menu, and are the main article of diet.

Gordos are smaller and thicker cakes fried

[15] The people of Ichán in La Cañada are well known for their fondness for small wild birds such as *tecopotes*, doves (*huilotas*), wild pigeons, *torcazas*, and *jarrinas*.

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262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*
252 more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed
[751] with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they
[576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with čurípo but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the
[265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets
[435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

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262 With čurípo, the kurúnda is one of the most
252 typical of Tarascan dishes.[16]

There are various forms of the kurúnda, which are eaten on special occasions. The details follow.

Atápakwa kurúnda.—Atápakwa is a sauce made of any kind of chile, cooked, toasted, or raw. This is ground with green tomatoes, garlic, and onion, and seasoned with salt. Fresh or dried cheese, finely broken up, may be added. The regular kurúnda is simply dipped in the sauce as it is eaten. This dish may be served at any time, but it is most frequently used when men come home to lunch from the fields or on other occasions in the middle of the day when the family do not ordinarily have a midday meal.

Agwákata kurúnda.—Beans of any sort are cooked and ground. They are placed in layers alternating with layers of *nixtamal* until a thick cake is formed. This is wrapped in maize leaves and steamed. Agwákata kurúndas are made primarily at the time of the bean harvest (Cherán grows few beans) and are eaten at any of the main meals. They may also be given to children between meals.

Nákatamal.—This is a tamale made with maize dough filled with meat and chile sauce. Beef is commonly used, although pork may also be employed. The meat is boiled in water and cut in small pieces without bones. It is then mixed with a chile sauce made of the dry chile known as *pasiya*, which is cooked in water and ground with tomatoes, garlic, and onions. These tamales are not wrapped in maize leaves but in dry maize husks soaked in water. A small quantity of dough is spread over the leaf and on this is placed a small quantity of meat and sauce. The leaf is then doubled over and the tamale cooked in boiling water. The nákatamal must be small in size to be properly made. The name and the type suggest it is of
[177] Valley of Mexico origin. It is ordinarily made
769 only for the fiestas of the dead on the 1st and
252 2d of November, although it was served to me
262 once on an ordinary occasion. It forms a part of the offerings made to the dead and is also eaten in the graveyard by the mourners and

[16] In Parícutin kurúnda means "corn husks." Kurundurání means "to wrap tamales in maize leaves."

[769] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.

252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common
252 form of atole. It is made as is described above
262 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is
263 usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

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252 is drunk throughout the day, even by children
272 (including the *aguardiente*). It is made in
[273] March, April, and May.

Kágwas kamáta.—Fresh or dried nuríte is ground on the metate with three or four chiles of the type known as *cascabel* (káwas guajílyo). This is mixed with maize dough before it is dissolved in water and cooked. A little brown sugar and salt are added during the cooking. This atole is eaten in September with green corn on the cob. It is also eaten in December and January for either breakfast or supper; if the day is very cold, it may be taken during the day, for it is very "heating." For this reason it is also given to mothers for several days after parturition.

Turípiti kamáta.—This is made with maize dough and brown sugar. A quantity of corn husks is toasted until almost black; this is ground and added to the atole while cooking. The resulting atole is almost black and appears to have ashes in it. The taste is agreeable, however. Turípiti is usually eaten with nákatamales, but it is also eaten at any other time of the year, being one of the more popular atoles in Cherán. It is also sold daily at the *puestos* in Uruapan, where it is known as *atole de cascara de cacao,* "atole of chocolate bean husks," although it has not the slightest chocolate in it.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean atole of maguey (or agave). The unfermented juice of the maguey is used instead of water. The juice is cooked until foam ceases to form on top and it is a little thick. Instead of maize dough, white maize is toasted and ground into flour, then added to the juice. It is made in the period before the rainy season, April, May June.

Srímba kamáta or téri kamáta (*šrimba, "cane," or teri, "sweet"*).—The sweet juice of mature green cornstalks is extracted by grinding the stalks on the metate. The juice is boiled until it no longer forms foam on top, and is a little thick. Green corn is cut from the cob, milled, and added to the liquid and cooked with water added. This atole is eaten only in the period green corn is available.

Iusitini kamáta.—This is a variant of nuríte kamáta, to which salt and three or four red

252 chiles are added. Everything is passed through
272 a colander before cooking.

Puṭiti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamaríndo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čarákata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamaríndo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Iṭúkua kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.[17]

252 *Tóquera ičusta.*—Uncooked maize tóquera
262 (half way between green and mature maize) is ground on the metate, mixed with brown
[751] sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo.*

Uačakata.—This is red or black maize which
251 has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at
252 least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

252 *Arroz kamáta, rice atole.*—Well-cooked rice,
262 milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

[17] It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquita. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These
[438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale
[443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not
[427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-
[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at
[435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

252 Peanuts are often on sale on the streets.
262 They and cooked squash are the only refreshments accessible to the very poor. Generally
[435] about a handful may be purchased for 1 centavo.

Chilacayote is a member of the squash family with watery white flesh. It probably is closest to what we call pie melons in the United States. It is much liked. The young, immature fruits are boiled with a little milk and, if it can be afforded, a little cheese.

As mentioned previously, mature chilacayotes are eaten all year but mainly in the spring.
[251] If placed in the sun daily for some time during dry weather, they will keep for some months in storage. They are sometimes coated with ashes mixed in water before storage. To serve, they are cut in pieces and boiled. Usually,
[435] cooked pieces may be bought on the street for a centavo.

Atapákua is made of squash blossoms and sliced immature squash, cooked with chile and a little flour or maize dough for thickening.

Nopal (prickly pear) is used as a vegetable. The tender leaves are skinned, cut in small squares, boiled, and then usually fried very lightly in lard.

Squash greens (the tender tips of the runners on the vines), which are commonly eaten in many parts of Mexico, are rarely eaten in Cherán. An informant had "heard" that those people who did eat them boiled the greens, then cooked them lightly with lard.

Green beans are not eaten. Informants did not even know a name for them. Dried beans are boiled, usually with a very little salt. They are often not very well done because of the altitude. They are watery and tasteless to an outsider, although relished by the residents.
[134] They are scarce, as there are few suitable soils near Cherán and most beans are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

Fruits are eaten rather sparingly in season
262 in accordance with the economic status of the family. Locally grown fruits are eaten rather more than imported fruits. Children and young people appear to eat rather more fruit than do adults. Nearly every Cherán lot will have at least a pear, peach, apple, or cherry tree. Tunas, the fruit of the prickly pear, are also eaten as fruit.

[p.57a]

194 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (ćiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is *"tepache"*
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[30] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called *"esquite"*
252 (guaníto). They also carry *"esquite"* from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[30] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
54 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but on request one will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

The ceremonial organization is linked with
796 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan
621 and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

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[text continues on middle of p.215b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.215b] Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

252 262 237 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidified. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

796 624

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or nánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pendompari*, and one *sapitsmoro*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

242 November; land fallowed until following Novem-
243 ber.) Often fallow and planted fields are alternated between the slopes and the plains in the temporal lands.

Fertilization in field agriculture.—Tarascans make little or no attempt to apply fertilizer to maize fields. Occasionally animal manure (*estiércol*) from the stables in the house lots is spread over small parts of fields nearest the village.[88] Sheep and cattle, however, are turned into the fields after harvest, and shepherds are often paid to bed flocks in the fields. No commercial fertilizer is used, owing to its high cost. As mentioned above, new *desmontes* are fertilized by wood ash from freshly burned brush.

Uses of Maize—*Food.*—As in all indigenous
262 areas of Mexico, maize is the principal foodstuff
252 of the Tarascans. Six types of maize foods are common among modern Tarascans: (1) green corn, or roasting ears (*elote*, tirípu); (2) toasted kernels ground to powder and mixed with sweetening (*pinole*, japúmata); (3) maize dough wrapped in maize leaves and boiled (*tamal*, k'uɹúnda); (4) maize gruel, or dough dissolved in water (*atole*, kamáta); (5) boiled maize kernels with shell removed (*pozole*, máskuta), similar to North American hominy; (6) thin cooked griddle cakes of maize dough (*tortilla*, ičúskuta), at present the most important single food item.

Elote foods.—Green corn is prepared by parching and by boiling. Without removing the inner husk, ears are often parched in the direct flames or under burning coals. Corn so prepared is called uirípkan in the Sierra. Ears roasted with husks removed are termed "uirípkata." Boiling with husks removed (jáman) is also common. Green ears are preserved by boiling and drying in the sun for many weeks. In the dried form they are called uačákata, and the consistency of fresh corn is revived by soaking and reboiling. Other types of maize foods are made from *elote:* a tamal (učépu) from early green maize; various atoles (atole de grano, atole de t'okéri, de uačákata, etc.); maize which is between the green and mature states (t'okéri) is often ground, shaped into small cakes, and boiled. The maize most frequently used for

[88] In only one instance did the writer observe systematic application of manure. This was near the new Tarascan town of Caltzontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan. In planting maize, the planter was followed by an individual who dropped a handful of manure over the seed. A plow followed, covering the seed and manure.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 40-a]

262
252 the above-named foods is the highly colored flour types grown in the house-lot gardens.

Pinole has the widest distribution and is possibly the most ancient of the maize foods in the New World. Among the Tarascans usually yellow maize from the *desmontes* is employed for pinole. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then dry-ground on the metate, piloncillo being mixed in during the grinding process. *Pinole* is used almost exclusively for food on long trips. *Esquite* is prepared also by toasting whole grains of dried sweet or black *elote* corn on the *comal*, but it is not ground.

The preparation of tamales, pozole, atole, and tortillas among the Sierra Tarascans is discussed by Beals (1946, pp. 49–52). In preparing all four types, hard-shelled maize is first soaked and cooked in lime water to soften or remove the hard outer shell that covers each grain. (Beals mentions the use of oak ashes in soaking corn for pozole.) For tamales, atoles, and tortillas the soaked grains are wet-ground on the metate or in power-operated grinding mills (*molinos de nixtamal*). The fact that they form an essential part of fiesta and ritual foods of most Mexican Indians suggests that tamales and atoles may be more ancient than tortillas. The latter are commonplace in each of the two or three daily meals and carry no ritual significance. Moreover, the varieties of both tamales and atoles are numerous. Beals describes 10 atoles habitually made in Cherán; 11 kinds were noted in Sicuicho, only 5 of which were similar to those in Cherán. The varieties of atole are ordinarily distinguished by the addition of some flavoring, such as ground blackberries or herbs.

231 *Animal feed.*—Maize grain is commonly fed to livestock, notably for fattening hogs. Yellow corn, mainly Mountain Yellow, is considered the best for feed, as it has the highest oil content of all Tarascan corns; moreover, apparently the yellow color gene is associated with proper vitamin content for animal growth and fattening.[a]

439 *Sale of maize.*—The Tarascan Sierra is primarily a subsistence area in terms of maize, but when crops are good surplus grain is sold to buyers from Zamora, Tangancícuaro, Uruapan, and Zacapu. The surplus maize districts are

[a] According to Edgar Anderson (personal communication), in Jalisco the Yellow Mountain maize brought down from the highlands sells at a premium in the hop-raising districts south of Guadalajara.

244 special uses: e. g. because of its sweet flavor, it is eaten only with silacayote (*Cucurbita ficifolia*); in Ihuatzio it is ground with black maize to make pinole.

Lima beans (*P. lunatus*) may have been common formerly in Tarascan agriculture in the *tierra caliente*. In Acahuato, a former Tarascan pueblo (5 km. north of Apatzingán), a climbing brown-seeded lima called *comba* is still grown in the house-lot gardens. According to local informants, it was formerly an important bean in the Tepalcatepec Basin.[72] Moreover, the writer found a wild climbing lima in the hedge rows in the *tierra templada*, near Los Reyes.

Cultivation methods.—Except in some highly developed irrigation districts, most Mexican peasant farmers still use the ancient Indian method of planting beans with maize. In plowland Tarascans customarily alternate plantings of beans and corn along a given row (planted *intercalado*), whereas in hoe land beans and maize seeds are dropped in the same hole.[73] In either case the bean vine uses the maize stock as a climbing support, and imparts nitrogen to the soil. Beans are gathered in late fall or in early winter a few days before the maize harvest. When
[462] men are busy at other tasks, women and children gather the bean crop. Women sometimes plant beans with *elote* maize in the ekuáru; or often they plant beans alone, using poles for vine supports.

In many Tarascan pueblos bean production is declining; in some, farmers have ceased its cultivation. They claim that it is cheaper to buy *frijol* rather than to plant it, since the time and labor involved can be used more profitably at other tasks (e. g. lumbering). Others say that the soil lacks sufficient fertility to mature a bean crop. Again, in some sections of the Sierra beans are cultivated (with maize) only in newly cleared *desmontes*, where the ash from burned brush strengthens the soil sufficiently to raise one crop.

Use of frijol.—Beans are used exclusively for
[252] human food. They are boiled in *ollas* and served with salt. Tamales filled with beans are not uncommon. The special uses of kokóɸ have been mentioned above.

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[72] Hendrichs (1945-48, vol. 1, pp. 40, 238) reports a bean called "comba" from the Balsas Basin, but identifies it as *P. coccineus*. The "comba" from Acahuato was identified as *P. lunatus* by Dr. R. W. Allard, College of Agriculture, University of California, Davis, Calif.

[73] In both cases the planter carried two bags (*morrales*), one containing maize seed, the other, beans.

●252 *Squash foods.*—Both common squash and chilacayote are cut into pieces and boiled with the rind. Squash is often candied with piloncillo in mestizo towns nearby, but rarely in Indian communities. Squash blossoms (kukúmu, purú-ɢʌɢʌ́ki) are boiled and eaten with salt and chile, and immature fruits are often stewed. Chilacayote, which has a watery, stringy flesh, is especially liked throughout the Tarascan area, and in the Sierra during the spring (when other vegetables are unavailable) it is eaten with an atole flavored with the nuríteni herb. In many pueblos the flesh is soaked in [273] water and permitted to ferment, forming a refreshing drink called *tepache.*[73] Finally, an atápakua, or stew of chilacayote, is often made by the Sierra Tarascans; the flesh is boiled with onion, silantro, and chile.

243 **Other native crops.**—Apart from the maize-bean-squash complex, a few other indigenous cultigens are found in modern Tarascan field agriculture. From the point of view of culture history, one of the most significant of these is amaranth (*Amaranthus cruentus*), which in most parts of Mexico is called *alegría* or *bledo* and in Tarascan, pari. The tiny (1 mm. diameter), round seeds, which occur in spikes at the head of the plant (1½–2½ meters tall), are rich in starch and oil. Sauer (1936) has suggested amaranth as one of the pre-maize cultigens of southern North America. Today it is cultivated in small amounts in many parts of central Mexico, usually in isolated Indian pueblos.

Among the modern Tarascans, especially those of the Sierra, three varieties of amaranth are grown: white, red, and black. Cultivation is usually limited to *t'upúri* soils of the highlands and to the house-lot gardens. It is planted both in plowland and in *desmontes*, but only in small patches within or at the edge of maize fields.[74] In the plowland the small grain is planted in *quemazones*. The log (usually oak) is burned in January and the seed planted in late May, immediately before the rains. The seed is also sown in freshly burned *desmontes*, but in the house lots ash fertilizer is rarely used. All three varieties

[73] Tepache is a general name for a number of drinks common to western Mexico, e. g. *tepache de piña, de silacayote*, etc. To make *tepache de silacayote*, the flesh of the squash is placed in an *olla*; water, piloncillo, and often soda water (*carbonate*) are added. Fermentation sets in immediately, and after 3 days the beverage is ready for consumption. After the first *olla* of *tepache* is consumed, more water, etc. is added to the flesh and the process repeated. The meat of one chilacayote is said to last 1 year of repeated fermentation.

[74] Fields of *alegría*, similar to those around Tulyehualco at the southern edge of the Valley of Mexico, are never seen in the present Tarascan area.

243 are planted together, the seeds being separated according to color after the harvest. The plant is cut with a sickle in November or December, the grain threshed in an open space in the fields and stored in small ollas in the troje.

The cultivation of amaranth is disappearing among the Tarascans; it would probably die out rapidly if women did not constantly remind men to plant it every year. In some Sierra pueblos it is no longer grown, but grain is brought in from [438] other towns, particularly from Pamatácuaro and its surrounding ranches and from Capacuaro.[77] Little is grown in the Lake towns or in La Cañada, the grain being imported from the Sierra. In a few pueblos it was claimed that *alegría* was neither cultivated nor eaten: Paracho, Huánsito, San Jerónimo, Puácuaro, Napízaro.[78]

In terms of quantity consumed, amaranth has 262 little importance in present Tarascan diet. Its significance lies in its relict position in Indian culture. Today the most widespread amaranth 252 food among the Tarascans is a tamal called "ć'apáta," made from a mixture of ground maize and *alegría*. Blue or black ekuáru maize is dry-ground on the metate; red or black *alegría* is then ground into the maize flour; a sweetening (piloncillo) and water are stirred into the mixed flour, and the resultant dough is wrapped in maize husks and boiled in an olla. In some pueblos of La Cañada ground *alegría* is mixed with wheat flour and piloncillo, of which tamales called ć'apátas de trigo are made. Moreover, *bolitas*, confections made of white amaranth, are made, but are more common in adjacent mestizo towns. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then mixed with honey or a paste of piloncillo to make small cakes. These are commonly sold at fairs or on fiesta days.[79] Few ceremonial or religious uses of amaranth were found in the Tarascan pueblos.[80]

[77] Curiously, the Sierra pueblos which no longer cultivate *alegría*, but import grain for home use, are some of the more isolated, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Nurio, and Pomacuarán. In these towns no reason was given for not growing *alegría*. Possibly the inhabitants found it less bothersome to buy the grain than go to the trouble of raising it.

[78] Modern amaranth cultivation extends beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech in Michoacán. It is still grown and used in the former indigenous towns of Apo, Tanaftaro, Sirahuén, Opopeo, and in some mestizo ranches north of Uruapan.

[79] In Pamatácuaro an atole is made of amaranth and black maize. Such atole is widespread in the highlands of northern Guerrero (Hendrichs 1945–46, vol. 1, p. 35); and is probably encountered in other indigenous areas of Mexico. In Atapan a pakáa (ground grain boiled in water to a solid mass) is made of red *alegría*.

[80] In Pamatácuaro atole of black *alegría* and black maize is taken especially at the maize planting celebrations. In Sicuicho ć'apátas are eaten at both the maize planting and harvesting fiestas. In other pueblos special uses of amaranth were denied.

243 tion.[87] Owing to dry conditions and usually poor
[132] soils, yields are low. The infrequent light winter rains (*cabañuelas*) often determine the success or failure of the temporal crop. Another wheat type, a white soft variety, is called *"trigo de aguas"*; sown in June or July and reaped in November or December, it is seen in all parts
[312] of Tarasca. Most of the wheat crop of La Cañada is irrigated, being sown on the valley flats in December and harvested in May.[88] In the Sierra wheat is relegated to the less fertile slope land and *desmontes*, where it is rotated with maize. In the lake area and the northern plateau towns, where the grain is likewise a rotation crop, it is cultivated on both plains and slopes. It is occasionally sown in the house-lot gardens in all parts of Tarasca.

Primitive European methods are used in wheat cultivation (pl. 6). Land is prepared by plowing with oxen, and seed is sown broadcast and covered with a brush harrow. Grain is cut with the sickle (*hoz*), bundled and tied by hand, and threshed in the *era* (an open arena floored with stone or packed earth) located in the town or in the field. Threshing is accomplished by driving mules or burros over the bundles of wheat, but where sufficient animals are lacking, it is done by flailing. The grain is separated from straw and chaff with the tarákua, or wooden spade. All straw is carefully saved for animal feed. (Engine-powered separators are just beginning to appear in the area.)

252 One of the most interesting aspects of wheat culture among the Tarascans is the varieties of
262 food prepared from both metate-ground and milled flour. Those made from grain wet-ground on the metate include *tortillas de trigo*, a common food in La Cañada, but eaten on fiesta days (e. g. Corpus) in the Sierra towns.[89] In Charapan the tortillas are thin, round cakes often 1 to 1½ feet in diameter, which are cooked on the comal. Thicker tortillas, or *gordas*, are similarly made, but browned on the coals.[90] For the Corpus fiestas *gordas* (pirčis) ¾ to 1 inch thick and shaped like

[87] For example, most temporal wheat in the Lake region is harvested in early April, while in the Sierra ripening is retarded until May. In Cumachuán, the highest pueblo in the Sierra, harvest occurs in the first weeks of June.

[88] The *tripulas*, or wheatfields, are watered three times annually, at the end of January, first of March, and at the end of March. Pan irrigation technique is used.

[89] In the Lake towns of Ihuatzio and Janitzio metate-ground wheat dough is mixed with nixtamal (maize dough) to make a tortilla called ítakata.

[90] Beals (1946, p. 83) mentions that in Cherán *gordas de trigo* are fried in deep pork fat. This procedure was not encountered in other Tarascan towns.

252 animals (birds, rabbits, pigs) are made in some
262 Sierra towns. In La Cañada, however, such figures are prepared from leavened flour dough and baked in the oven.[91] Another wheat food, which is eaten particularly during and immediately after the wheat harvest, is called pakésa. Wheat grains are roasted on the comal, then dry-ground on the metate. The coarse flour is cooked in boiling water flavored with salt or piloncillo. The resultant dough is eaten hot or cold. Moreover, a wheat pozole (whole grains stewed with meat, chile, *tomate*, etc.) is prepared in the Lake and La Cañada areas, but rarely in the Sierra. Again, a wheat atole (trígukamáta) is found in all parts of Tarasca. Various types of bread, called *cemitas* or auákatas are also prepared from metate-ground wheat, usually by professional women bakers. The dough is often sweetened and the breads variously shaped (round or diamond). The dough is baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven, several of which are found in every Tarascan village. Unsweetened ceremonial breads (kanákua), 1½ feet in diameter and 2 or more inches thick, are made on the Saint's day in some Sierra pueblos.

Wheat foods are also prepared from flour, milled in the larger mestizo towns nearby. A bread called kurínda is baked in the Spanish oven in most pueblos. In La Cañada and the Lake towns tamales (prepared like those of maize) and tortillas are made from wheat flour.[92] Buñuelos, a special dish prepared from wheat flour, are eaten ceremonially or as an occasional treat in all parts of Tarasca. The dough, mixed with tequisquite (a lime compound), salt, and boiled green tomatoes, is thinned into flat cakes by placing on the knee, patting and pulling at the edges. The sheets of dough are cooked in boiling lard in a *casuela*. In the Sierra both men and women prepare and cook *buñuelos*, which are eaten only on certain holidays. Often on ordinary occasions this food is soaked in a sirup of piloncillo and eaten with white atole in the Lake area.

Barley cultivation.—Small amounts of barley
243 are cultivated in most parts of Tarasca, but primarily in the Sierra, for animal feed. The grain is sown in June and harvested in November and

[91] Formerly in Charapan large pizigis, shaped like human figures 2½ feet high, were given at weddings to the bride as a token of fertility.

[92] *Tamales de trigo* are also seen in the large markets (Uruapan, Paracho), where they are customarily taken with atole. In Paracho they are called šaŋi-kurínda or šaŋipit-ukári.

262 raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans [439] were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in 252 the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is [609] taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such 262 as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

244 **Specialized truck gardening.**—This is a more recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans. 312 They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratarákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden [406] spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratarákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 25), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratarákua* is used also at Tarejero, in the basin of Zacapu.

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kuɪúka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ɸíkata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the [263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax [237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat 262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded. 252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čuɪípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uiríkata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *casuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kuɪúku is apparently onomatopoeic; ɸíkata-ambás or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ɸíkata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čuɪípu, uiríkata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

262 is eaten only on Sundays or on fiesta days by those
252 who can afford it. On festive occasions, such as weddings, a whole mutton is stuffed with cleaned entrails and head and roasted in a large oven. (The roast is called *tatemado*, or uirfkata.) On less prominent occasions pieces of mutton are often cooked with vegetables to make a kind of čuripu.

Pork is always eaten fresh; cured pork, such as ham, bacon, and sausage—all old Spanish meats—, has no place in modern Tarascan diet. Pieces of fresh pork are fried on the *comal*, or boiled with vegetables. A popular pork dish, especially in the Sierra, is *chicharrones* (cracklings), which consist of pieces of fresh pig skin well-cooked in a large copper caldron.[115] *Carnitas*, pieces of meat and fat, including spareribs, side meat, leg, etc., are also cooked in the caldron in many pueblos, and are commonly served in the markets of the large mestizo towns nearby.

FOOD-GATHERING ACTIVITIES

222 Tarascan women and children gather various
262 wild herbs, fungi, and fruit to supplement agricultural products. Among these the most important are the annual greens, or šakuá,[116] collected during the rains from June through September. They are usually found in disturbed ground, e. g. within and on the edges of wheat or maize fields. The women in some Sierra pueblos recognize more than 15 varieties of šakuá that are habitually gathered.[117] These are boiled with chile and
[252] salt to make atápakua. Although eaten in all modern Tarascan villages, such greens are of greater importance in the Sierra, where the garden vegetables common in the Lake and La Cañada areas are infrequently cultivated.

Mushrooms (terékueča) are collected in all Tarascan towns, and, like the annual greens, appear only in the rainy season. They are found in the fields, in the forest growing under decaying logs,

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[115] In the spring of 1946 a *chicharrón* cooking was observed in Pamatásuaro. After killing a hog the local butchers or others set up a caldron in the plaza to cook the skin. By the time the cracklings were well done, a large group of villagers had gathered to buy them at a few centavos each. The lard so rendered was sold to one of the local stores. The cooking of *chicharrones* is also common in many mestizo towns in central and northern Mexico.

[116] Šakuá is the Tarascan equivalent of the Nahuatl "quelitl," which has been hispanicised to *quelite*, the general term now used in Mexico for any kind of wild annual used for greens.

[117] Unfortunately, the Sierra was visited during the dry season, and consequently specimens of šakuá plants could not be collected for botanical classification. Verdolaga (*Portulaca oleracea*) and tender amaranth shoots, however, are common šakuá varieties.

222 and even in sheltered spots in the village streets.
262 Again, collecting is done by women and children, though men may bring home a mess of mushrooms found while cutting wood. Eight to ten edible varieties are known in most towns. Children are trained early to recognize the poisonous kinds, called uaníč-terékua (ghost mushroom). Terékueča are prepared by boiling and then frying [252] in lard; they are also roasted with salt on the *comal* or over live coals; sometimes they are boiled and mixed with chile sauce. A *tamal* nákatamal-terékua) is often filled with boiled mushrooms. Aside from mushrooms, the fungus growth on maize ears is likewise called terékua (the *cuitlacoche* (*Ustilago maydis*) of the Aztecs), and is similarly prepared and eaten.

In the Sierra acid fruits, particularly berries, are other food items collected. The fruit of the native blackberry bush (*zarzamora*, ȼ'tún), which grows best in disturbed ground along hedgerows and on edges of fields, is gathered in May and June. The berries are eaten fresh with salt and are used to flavor atole (*atole de zarzamora*, ȼ'tún-kamáta). Other fruits commonly gathered include piníki, an orange-colored berry often carried to mestizo markets; *tejocote* and *capulín*, both gathered wild or semicultivated in hedgerows; wild grapes; the cherry tomato (šapíndikua), which grows along the edges of cultivated fields.

The buds (šamáš) of a wild *mezcal* type of agave is another food item commonly gathered in the Tarascan area and in most parts of Central Mexico. The buds and lower fleshy ends of the
262 leaves of the plant are roasted in a hole about 1
252 meter deep and 1 to 2 meters across, which is usually dug on the forested slopes where the wild agave is available. A fire is built in the hole, and after it has died down somewhat rocks are placed on top. When the stones become hot, the agave is placed in the hole and covered with maguey leaves and earth. After 3 days the cooked agave is taken out and carried to various markets where it is sliced and sold. Roasted agave is often termed *mezcal* (siuáta), but it must be distinguished from the distilled liquor (s'áku) of the same name. The former is rich in starch and is possibly one of the more ancient foods of Mexico.

Aside from food plants, the coarse roots of
222 zacatán grass (*Muhlenbergia macroura*) are collected by men throughout the Sierra. Called *raíz de paja* or *raíz de zacatón*, the dried roots are sold in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55-d] Pátzcuaro
Sierra

226 another without permission from the authorities of the latter.

252 **Fish preparation.**—*Pescado blanco*, *trucha*, and akúmaja are usually taken to market fresh, although the latter is sometimes fried on the *comal* before being sold. The tiny k'uerépu and č'arári, however, are invariably sun-dried, the catch being spread on a petate, which is placed near the door of the dwelling where it can be easily watched [439] (pl. 11). Since pre-Conquest days dried č'arári has been one of the main exports of the Tarascan lakes. It was distributed into the *tierra caliente*, the Sierra, and as far east as Toluca.

LUMBERING ACTIVITIES

313 The Tarascans, possibly more than any other aboriginal group of Mexico, have been exploiters of forest products since pre-Columbian times. During the Empire period one of the important officials of the *caltzontzin* at Tzintzuntzan was in charge of "the keepers of the forests," who cut beams and made planks for public, and probably private, use.[136] Not only were large beams and logs used in the construction of temples, but also in the building of forts against Aztec raids. During the colonial period the pine forests on the northern flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán were heavily exploited by Tarascan woodmen for beams, planks, and shakes for the Guanajauto and Zacatecas mining districts.[137]

Much of the timber resource of northern Michoacán was depleted by the end of the 18th century. Relatively untouched by colonial exploitation, the pine and fir forests of the Sierra de los Tarascos, although constantly diminishing, have remained the principal source of timber for the indigenous population. There are few contemporary Sierra Tarascan men who cannot handle an ax or lumber saw. When the maize fields do not demand their attention, the family head and his sons are usually in the forest cutting timber or gathering resin. The Sierra Indian is consequently both a farmer and a lumberjack. Some are professional woodsmen, who live in the village but seldom engage in agriculture. Little lumber-

[136] Relacion de Michoacán, p. 17: ". . . *diputado sobre los que guardaban los montes que tenian cargo de cortar vigas y hacer tablas y otra madera de los montes . . .*"

[137] This exploitation began immediately after the Guanajuato mines were opened ca. 1554, and extended into the post-colonial period. After the exhaustion of the local wood supply, Zacatecas began to draw on the northern Michoacán lumber reserves during the first part of the 17th century (Humboldt, 1826, vol. 1, p. 315).

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

●253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter [347] house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. [651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. Individual sales are usually small, and the [437] portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

256 *Nixtamal mills.*—Some seven or eight *nixtamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

256 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included.
402 Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not
433 driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for
434 splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 *Barbers:*
434 Prices:

Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 *Musicians:*
434 Wages:

For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 *Painters, plasterers:*
434 Daily wage $1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

433
434

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 *Butchers:*
433 Prices paid for beeves on hoof ..... $80–$150
434 Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:

253 15 *arrobas* (375 pounds) $90
433 14 *arrobas* (350 pounds) 65
434 16 *arrobas* (400 pounds) 92

Retail price (per kilo) ..... .70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo) ..... .40–.45
Price of pigs ..... 30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week 7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig 3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 *Field watchers:*
434 Wages:
In maize ..... 1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize) ..... $60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 *Water carrying:*
434 Charge for two 25-liter cans $0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 *Beekeeping:*
433 12 hives produced:
434 15 liters of honey at $0.60 ..... $ 9.00
3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50 6.70–10.00
Wax:
1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth 3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth 9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles 18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 *Fireworks making:*
433 Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts
434 seem reasonable.

245 262 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicuiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

244 262 Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 262 The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 443 262 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five
places sell meat remaining from Sunday
through most of the week. No distinction is
made in price between meat with bone and
meat without bone, but on request one will be
served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the
buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is pre-
ferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers;
those of swine either are made into cracklings
or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with
chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only
semiprofessional, fishing when they have time
and selling the catch only if they have more
than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical
or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black
or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole
de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls)
and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature
corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help
himself to these greens, entering into wheat
fields belonging to others either with or without
permission. Anyone objecting would be severely
censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made
from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed
with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for
this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is
placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred
frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle,
the water drained off, and the flour dried.
Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently
delivered, when it is cooked in water, either
plain or sweetened with honey. The plain
boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather
532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed
326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan*
256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943.
438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán
389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

1:Beals E-S (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p146b]

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256 arrangement guarantees an adequate number of customers each day a mill is operating.

256 The miller must have some mechanical knowledge as well as capital and business ability.

462 Most of the mills are driven by an old automobile engine converted to operate on gas produced by a charcoal burner, usually made from an old oil drum. A belt drive transmits power and reduces the speed. Usually the owner (or manager in some cases) supervises the motor and the gas burner and an employee or member of the family feeds the maize into the mill and collects the charge, 1 centavo a kilo. In one case a woman occupied this post, but most of the mill operators are men.

Except for a few very poor families, everyone in Cherán now patronizes the mills. Each mill serves from about 330 to 360 customers a day.

Wheat threshing.—One wood-burning steam-

407 driven threshing machine has operated in Cherán for several years. The machine is stationary (although it could be moved, it is too cumbersome to do so), and the customers bring their wheat to the machine. Two tenders, who feed the wheat into the machine, and a water carrier are required besides the operator. Firewood is purchased. Exclusive of interest on the investment and repairs, the operator nets about 25 pesos a day above operating expenses.

In 1940 a smaller gasoline-driven thresher, which could be moved from house to house, was said to have made considerable inroads on the trade. However, as the bulk of the Cherán wheat is still threshed by hand, there seemed to be ample business for both threshing machines.

Painters and plasterers.—This is a rare occu-

338 pation followed by two or three men on a part-time basis. Only a minority of the houses of adobe or stone are plastered, and few of them are painted. The pay is fairly good, but the best worker probably does not put in more than 90 days' work a year. Brushes and stencils are used in painting.

Masons.—As the house owner normally pro-

933 vides all materials, the mason sells only his services. His equipment is a trowel, hammer, a board frame for holding mud mortar, a shovel for mixing mortar, an ax to cut poles for

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

[p.68a]

256 243 434 438 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* produces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 438 434 One agricultural activity for which few data were obtained is fruit growing. No information was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

434 241 511 Another view of farming activity may be gained by examining the income of individual farmers. These data are probably somewhat unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

322 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

256 433 434 *Bakers (commercial):*

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

243 *Threshing machine:*
407 *Equipment:*
433 Woodburning steam-driven threshing machine. Cost unknown, but probably several thousand pesos.
434

Charges for wheat threshing (a *carga*) ...	$2.50
Capacity daily	12 *cargas*
Income daily	$30.00

Operating expenses (daily):	
Wood	$2.00
Hired labor	2.00
Water carrier	1.00
Total	$5.00

Operating season (June 20 to Oct. 25, period worked in 1940 estimated):	Days
June	8
July	25
August	25
September	20
October	15
Total	93

Total business (1,116 *cargas*, estimated, at $2.50 a *carga*)	$2,790
Net profit annually before deducting repairs, wages for owner, interest and depreciation, approximately	$2,365

Comment: Probably the threshing machine has the largest peso volume of business of any enterprise in Cherán, although one of the *nixtamal* mills probably is a close second. The threshing machine also represents the greatest capital investment except for some individual investments in real estate. High repair costs probably reduce the true net profit considerably, while depreciation in this case cannot be ignored. Add to this the time and skill required of the owner, and it is probable that this is not the most profitable enterprise in town even though it be the largest. Certainly, other families of farmers or combination farmers and storekeepers show more outward signs of prosperity.

402 *Nixtamal mills:*
433

Cost of equipment	$300.00–$1200.00
Costs daily:	
434 Gasoline and oil for gas engines	2.00
256 Charcoal for producer gas equipped engines	1.20
Labor, 1 man	.80–1.00
Gross income at 1 centavo per kilo of maize ground (daily)	13.00–15.00
Net income (daily)	10.00–12.00

Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

256 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included.
402 Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not
433 driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for
434 splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

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Prices:	
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Weekdays	$0.15
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Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 *Musicians:*
434

Wages:	
For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 *Painters, plasterers:*
434

Daily wage	$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 *Billiard parlors:*
433
434

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 *Butchers:*
433
434

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	$80–$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's "*planchas de hierro*" were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

324 Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauárı), *manos* (poɪékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andesite (ťakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[181]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 The structure of trade among the Tarascans is 441 not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[181] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made *metates*. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly *bateas*).

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184 261 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

782 532 A special "bread" of maize is used as an offering at the house altar. This is made of maize toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 262 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted. Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas.*"

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque, [273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

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[p. 34-a]

241 The Tarascans, like many aboriginal groups
177 strongly influenced by European culture, engage in two types of agriculture: field agriculture and horticulture. The former comprises extensive cultivation of grains in comparatively large fields with the plow and in small hillside plots with the hoe. Tarascan horticulture includes mainly the intensive cultivation of grains, vegetables, medicinal plants, and fruits in the house-lot gardens (ekuáru, sing., ekuárueča, pl., hispanicized to *ecuaro*); it also includes specialized truck gardening, such as that practiced on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

FIELD AGRICULTURE AND ASSOCIATED CROPS

241 There are three basic native food crops of
261 Mexico: maize (starch and oil), beans (protein), and squash (vegetable vitamin), all of which are now associated with field agriculture. In most Indian and many mestizo communities this complex forms the principal elements in the common diet; the three crops are planted together in the same field, cultivated together in the same manner, and harvested about the same time.

243 **Maize culture.**—The earliest record of maize in
[172] the Tarascan area is found in the charred ears encountered in a lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia. The date of the flow is unknown, but maize was probably known to the Tarascans when they settled in the Sierra and the northern plateau.

The provenience of maize cultivated by the early Tarascans is but a small part of the complex and obscure movements of corn from a secondary center of origin in southern Mexico or northern Central America.[80] Anderson (1946 a) has described three distinct races of *Zea mays* in central Mexico: (1) the Mexican Pyramidal, centering in the eastern highlands; (2) Mexican Narrow Ear, found in western Mexico, particularly in both cold and hot lands of Jalisco and Nayarit; and (3) Mountain Yellow, a high altitude maize (usually above 7,000 ft.) encountered in purest form in the highlands of western Mexico.[81] Located between

[80] See Mangelsdorf and Cameron (1942) on the hybridization of South American primitive maize and *Tripsacum* in Middle America.

[81] Following is a brief description of the above races as given by Anderson (1946 a, p. 171): (1) Mexican Pyramidal. Ears short, tapering regularly butt to tip; row number high to very high (16-24). Kernels dented and pointed. Color prevailingly white and pale yellow. Plants short, pronounced interveinal red or purple coloring. Shallow root system, leaves broad and pubescent. Tassels with few or no branches. (2) Mexican Narrow Ear. Ears narrow, long, irregularly long-tapered, compressed at butt. Low row num-

[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[184] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

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223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price
438 of beef. It is said not to be liked very well. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons
262 at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village.
[463] Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

243 although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of [262] the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter, apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and [263] chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color 243 variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types. 824 Red ears are called čóču and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called čústika and a coiled shape called tokére čústika.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest. 243 All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shelling [821] is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fungus. [262] The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

243 672 685 Trespass by domestic animals and theft must be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 [132] Unseasonal frost often damages corn, particularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated (*"escarda"* also *"trozando"*) by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded *"chaponeado."* [412] This is done by hand with a short machete, called *"os,"* with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

243 221 674 As soon as grain is well formed on the ears, some maize is used for food, usually roasted. At this time, also, guards must be set in the fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čuripo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaǵitiniš and kuaǵitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

249 *Agave.*—Although agaves (akámba) are planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Parícutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 50 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, [241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are imported. [492] They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

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231 the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the 231 more common animals in Cherán. Often kept 492 in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not [262] castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the [281] hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or 231 perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals" [552] such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, sheepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Paricutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squir- [224] rels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the god- [262] father. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

Eating habits show considerable variability 264 as between families. They also change with 262 the season and the prevailing occupations. 184 Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later. [556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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184
262 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled
264 squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly
262 eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, čuripo, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (očepos), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*.)

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.[13]

MEAT FOODS

252 Čuripo is a stewed meat, almost always of
262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few garabanzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot.
[263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

[13] Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*jeconocostle*), is used as greens in čuripo and in making chile sauce (*ziadurakua*). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

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262 and as a daily food by all who can afford it,
252 which in Cherán would probably constitute a considerable majority of the population. It is often eaten with tamales of the type known as kurúndas, or with boiled chayote. Meat, if not made into čurípo, usually is boiled.[14]

Mole is a less common meat dish, probably derived from the Mestizos. It consists of a stew, preferably of turkey, but if this is not obtainable, of chicken, pork, or beef in descending order of frequency as well as preference. Pieces of the boiled meat are served in a sauce made in various ways, according to the availability of the ingredients and the knowledge of the cook. The sauce may include the following ingredients: Cloves, ginger, chocolate, cin-
[263] namon, ground toasted bread or tortillas, pumpkin seeds, garlic, onion, and chile of the type known as pasíya or "*chileancho*." The chiles are either fried in lard or dipped in hot water, ground with the other ingredients, and cooked in the meat broth. A thick, rich, and usually rather greasy sauce or gravy is the result. Mole is usually eaten on special occasions.

Fish are brought to Cherán either fresh,
[438] broiled, or dried. Fresh fish come from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro only a limited part of the year, usually just after the rainy season in the fall. It is expensive compared with meat, but is much liked. During the rainy season, broiled fish are brought from Lake Chapala; in the dry season, from Erongaricuaro.

The fish are washed carefully in hot water before cooking. Fish is boiled in water with
[263] onion and *silantro* (a pungent herb). Some people eat the intestines, removing only the bile. Seasoning with chile and tomato, ground together, is common; sometimes the broth is thickened with maize dough and sometimes onion is added. Fish may also be fried with eggs in lard, making a sort of fish hash.

Small dry fish (čaráles), resembling small dried minnows, are on sale on market day throughout the year and also at many of the stores. They are toasted on the *comal* and eaten with chile and tortillas, especially for breakfast. They are also made into a broth with chile sauce.

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[14] The majority of the recipes were collected by Silvia Rendón.

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262 It is believed to be injurious to eat any kind of fish when ill of the "*bilis*."
252

Game is eaten to some extent when available. Deer meat is sold in pieces or in retail quantities by the hunters in much the same fashion as beef. Squirrels, doves, and ducks are all liked. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos, doves at 5 centavos, and ducks at 50 centavos to 1 peso. Ducks come from Zacapu. A few people eat pigeons. Only adult pigeons are eaten.[15]

Eggs are eaten to a considerable extent, fried, mixed with fish, or scrambled with cheese. But poor families, even if they have chickens, prefer to sell the eggs and buy beans.

MAIZE FOODS

Maize is made into tortillas, *gordos*, posole, or tamales, and is also used to thicken some types of broths and sauces. It is also eaten green, and certain foods are made from green corn. No maize foods are salted. Maize types include white, yellow, red, and black, the latter two types not being common. White maize is sold chiefly outside the village.

Methods of initial preparation vary. For tortillas and *gordos* the maize is boiled with lime. This softens and to some extent dissolves the outer shell of the grain. After thorough washing in a special basket, it is ground into *nixtamal* or dough. If economically possi-
[556] ble, grinding is done at the power mills in the town, followed by further grinding at home. Some people are too poor to pay for the mill, and the women do all the grinding on the metate.

Tortillas are made of the *nixtamal* or maize dough. A quantity is scooped off the metate and shaped into a flat disk in the hands. This is then skillfully slapped between the palms until it becomes a thin sheet about one-eighth inch in thickness and 6 or 7 inches in diameter. This sheet is baked on a dry flat clay dish, the *comal*, with moderate heat. Usually the tortilla is turned two or three times in the process. Tortillas are served at virtually every meal, regardless of the rest of the menu, and are the main article of diet.

Gordos are smaller and thicker cakes fried

[15] The people of Ichán in La Cañada are well known for their fondness for small wild birds such as *bongotos*, doves (Auilotas), wild pigeons, *torcazas*, and *jarrinas*.

262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*
252 more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed
[751] with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they
[576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with čurípo but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the
[265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets
[435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

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[p.50b]

262 With čurípo, the kurúnda is one of the most
252 typical of Tarascan dishes.[16]

There are various forms of the kurúnda, which are eaten on special occasions. The details follow.

Atápakwa kurúnda.—Atápakwa is a sauce made of any kind of chile, cooked, toasted, or raw. This is ground with green tomatoes, garlic, and onion, and seasoned with salt. Fresh or dried cheese, finely broken up, may be added. The regular kurúnda is simply dipped in the sauce as it is eaten. This dish may be served at any time, but it is most frequently used when men come home to lunch from the fields or on other occasions in the middle of the day when the family do not ordinarily have a midday meal.

Agwákata kurúnda.—Beans of any sort are cooked and ground. They are placed in layers alternating with layers of *nixtamal* until a thick cake is formed. This is wrapped in maize leaves and steamed. Agwákata kurúndas are made primarily at the time of the bean harvest (Cherán grows few beans) and are eaten at any of the main meals. They may also be given to children between meals.

Nákatamal.—This is a tamale made with maize dough filled with meat and chile sauce. Beef is commonly used, although pork may also be employed. The meat is boiled in water and cut in small pieces without bones. It is then mixed with a chile sauce made of the dry chile known as *pasiya*, which is cooked in water and ground with tomatoes, garlic, and onions. These tamales are not wrapped in maize leaves but in dry maize husks soaked in water. A small quantity of dough is spread over the leaf and on this is placed a small quantity of meat and sauce. The leaf is then doubled over and the tamale cooked in boiling water. The nákatamal must be small in size to be properly made. The name and the type suggest it is of
[177] Valley of Mexico origin. It is ordinarily made
769 only for the fiestas of the dead on the 1st and
252 2d of November, although it was served to me
262 once on an ordinary occasion. It forms a part of the offerings made to the dead and is also eaten in the graveyard by the mourners and

[16] In Parícutin kurúnda means "corn husks." Kurundurini means "to wrap tamales in maize leaves."

[169] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.
252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common
252 form of atole. It is made as is described above
262 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is
263 usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

252 chiles are added. Everything is passed through
272 a colander before cooking.

Puɸiti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamaríndo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čarákata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamaríndo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Iɸúkua kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.[17]

252 *Tóquera ičusta.*—Uncooked maize tóquera
262 (half way between green and mature maize) is ground on the metate, mixed with brown
[751] sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo.*

Uačakata.—This is red or black maize which
251 has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at
252 least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

252 *Arroz kamáta, rice atole.*—Well-cooked rice,
262 milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

[17] It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquite. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

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252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These
[438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale
[443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not
[427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-
[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at
[435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

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252 Peanuts are often on sale on the streets.
262 They and cooked squash are the only refreshments accessible to the very poor. Generally
[435] about a handful may be purchased for 1 centavo.

Chilacayote is a member of the squash family with watery white flesh. It probably is closest to what we call pie melons in the United States. It is much liked. The young, immature fruits are boiled with a little milk and, if it can be afforded, a little cheese.

As mentioned previously, mature chilacayotes are eaten all year but mainly in the spring.
[251] If placed in the sun daily for some time during dry weather, they will keep for some months in storage. They are sometimes coated with ashes mixed in water before storage. To serve, they are cut in pieces and boiled. Usually,
[435] cooked pieces may be bought on the street for a centavo.

Atapákua is made of squash blossoms and sliced immature squash, cooked with chile and a little flour or maize dough for thickening.

Nopal (prickly pear) is used as a vegetable. The tender leaves are skinned, cut in small squares, boiled, and then usually fried very lightly in lard.

Squash greens (the tender tips of the runners on the vines), which are commonly eaten in many parts of Mexico, are rarely eaten in Cherán. An informant had "heard" that those people who did eat them boiled the greens, then cooked them lightly with lard.

Green beans are not eaten. Informants did not even know a name for them. Dried beans are boiled, usually with a very little salt. They are often not very well done because of the altitude. They are watery and tasteless to an outsider, although relished by the residents.
[134] They are scarce, as there are few suitable soils near Cherán and most beans are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

Fruits are eaten rather sparingly in season
262 in accordance with the economic status of the family. Locally grown fruits are eaten rather more than imported fruits. Children and young people appear to eat rather more fruit than do adults. Nearly every Cherán lot will have at least a pear, peach, apple, or cherry tree. Tunas, the fruit of the prickly pear, are also eaten as fruit.

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (ura[illegible]i, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juic[illegible] of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is lik[illegible] by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fer-
[273] mented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast
[757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made
[556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into jojóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

272 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring
265 and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

262 A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

262 One of the poorest families in town, con-
511 sisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½
556 liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

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262 511 556 straits as the one mentioned above, would probably spend, in addition, 1 or 2 centavos daily for sugar, consumed in cinnamon tea, or 3 to 6 ounces of brown sugar for use in *atole blanco.* Atole would occasionally be made of milk, 3 to 5 centavos worth being bought. Such a family [758] would drink milk only in case of illness, when a sick person might get a pint or a little more each day.

A "middle class" family, consisting of 8 persons (2 adults, 6 children aged 4 to 16), eats about 3½ liters of maize daily, about 3½ pounds of meat (a peso's worth) a week, and 10 centavos worth of cheese daily. In addition, about 25 centavos a day would be spent for other foods. (The data on the three diets given above were all collected by Sra. Silvia Rendón.)

What appeared to be two reliable quantitative records, covering 2-week periods, were obtained, the first for a wealthy family and the second for an average family. They are as follows:

Diet records of two families for 2-week period

1. Wealthy family, Don Hilaro Xhemba (10 persons in household):

Maize	111 liters
Meat	13 pounds
Cheese	2 pounds
Fruit	[1]$ 2.54
Milk	1.54
Chiles (about ½ dozen)	.03
Bread (15 pieces, whole wheat, about 4½ inches diameter, 1¼ inches thick)	.75
Beans (brown or red; little less than 3 liters)	.41
Fish (probably about ½ pound dried fish)	.21
Total expenditure	$12.50

2. Average family, Melquiades Romero (2 adults and 5 children):

Maize	75 liters
Meat	12 pounds
Fruit	[2]$0.96

[1] This amount seems high. It would be the cost of 50 to 75 oranges, small to medium size, but undoubtedly it was not all spent for oranges; in fact, it was much more probably spent for bananas, pears, and perhaps apples or peaches.

[2] Perhaps spent for 20 to 30 small to medium oranges, but probably mostly for bananas, peaches, pears, and apples.

In both cases recorded above, vegetables undoubtedly came out of the family garden and are not listed. Probably, from the distribution of purchases, this would mean cabbage daily, perhaps half a leaf per person, boiled with the

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262 meat. At this time of year there may have
511 been a few meals with immature squash or wild
556 herbs from the woods, stewed with perhaps a little milk or cheese and lard.

Evelyn Payne Hatcher kindly consented to
146 attempt an analysis of the diet of Cherán.
262 The results are full of guesswork, but they
556 are at least suggestive. The results show
511 that if yellow maize was used almost exclusively, the diet of a wealthy family would contain no outright deficiencies and in many respects provide more than the usual recommended minimum amounts of various vitamins and proteins and calories. A very poor family, on the other hand, would show a striking deficiency in vitamin B_1 and an inadequate caloric intake. Both diets would give a marked deficiency of vitamin A if white corn were used instead of yellow corn. Despite the inadequacy of the data, there seems little reason to doubt that in some cases, particularly among poor families, deficiencies in the diet are sufficiently large to have a pronounced effect upon behavior and cultural participation (Beals and Hatcher, 1943).

COMPARATIVE NOTES

262 Some interesting comparisons are afforded by
556 data from other towns. The most complete
511 information was secured from Chilchota in La Cañada.

Chilchota is a Mestizoized Indian town, i. e., the bulk of the population is of Indian descent but a number of Mestizos have moved in, the native language is scarcely spoken any longer, and the people regard themselves as non-Indian. Customs are closely similar to those in the nearby Indian towns, however. Following are some menus collected by Silvia Rendón (for Cherán menus, see Beals and Hatcher, 1943):

Chilchota menus

Luncheons (taken about 10 or 11 a. m.; no breakfast in this case):

Average household:

Broiled beef
Boiled beans
Black atole
Chile sauce
Tortillas

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[p.55b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Chile sauce
Tortillas
511 Coffee (black)
556 Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Very poor household:
Greens of wheat plants (boiled)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Pork cooked with chile
Fried beans
Tortillas

Fried pork
Boiled beans
Milk
Tortillas

Pork cooked in chile sauce (mole?)
Fried beans
Tortillas
Black coffee

Dinners (2 p. m. or later):
Average household:
Meat broth with cabbage (cooked)
Meat (beef) from which broth was made
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Meat broth with cabbage
Boiled beans
Rice, cooked in water

Pork broth (with rice and bitter *tunas* or prickly pears)
Rice boiled in water
Beans
Tortillas

Fried rice with tomatoes
Pork in chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Broth
Meat from the broth
Beans boiled with chile and silantro
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Meat broth
Meat (different from that from which broth was made) cooked with chile
Beans
Tortillas

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[p'56e] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Suppers (about 7 o'clock in the evening):
511
556

Average household:

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Milk

Very poor household:

Beans
Posole (hominy, probably with a little boiled meat)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Broiled meat
Milk

Fairly common suppers are tamales (with or without meat) and atole or coffee or a piece of bread (a whole-wheat bread slightly seasoned) and a cup of tea made from the herb nuríte or a type of orange leaf.

In all cases quantities are probably small, except of tortillas. Rarely would more than one piece of bread be eaten, perhaps 2 to 3 ounces at most; perhaps half a cup to a cup of beans; meat, if broiled or boiled, two pieces about 1½ inches in greatest dimension—if in sauce, perhaps a couple of tablespoonfuls with the sauce.[19]

With substitution of different foods, these would represent Cherán menus on the whole, although there would not be so much meat with breakfast-luncheon, but rather atole, while the meat broth and meat would more commonly be served together.

At the Indian town of Sopoco in La Cañada, the following midday meals were observed:

[19] See Appendix 1 for more data on Chilchota.

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[p.566] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by
262 *Silvia Rendón)*—Possibly because Capacuaro is
184 a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, gophers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

[264] Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričúskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

[p.57a]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (čiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*"
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[30] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*"
252 (guanito). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

[30] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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184 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like
261 maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

A special "bread" of maize is used as an offer-
782 ing at the house altar. This is made of maize
532 toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted.
262 Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas*."

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque,
[273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

Eating habits seem to vary little from town
264 to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

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184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

231 434 pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to fatten, valued at from $5 to $7. According to size, the animal may bring from $30 to $75, a [435] gross profit on the fattening process of from $12.50 to $70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos less if the pig was bought. If an adequate market were developed, or if sales and transport facilities at a distance were to be developed, pig raising might be a more important activity, although an increase in the number of pigs would decrease the amount of foraging possible and would require more feeding.

236 434 Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few. The reliability of the major informants is suspect, but the evidence suggests that sheep raising is profitable. The major expense is the initial cost of the flock and the wages of a shepherd. Sheep are worth $2.50 to $5.00 [435] apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of the flock, but probably rarely exceed $20 a month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep [465] for food; most shepherds receive considerably less, often only $5 a month without food. Often several small owners merge their flocks and hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and payments to have the flocks bedded on farm land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year (this seems low but the sheep are of poor [435] quality), which sells for $1 to $1.25. A fair-size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for [262] meat outside the village; almost no lamb or mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were secured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high, but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an investment of $750 in theory although it probably was built up by natural increase from a smaller flock. The shepherd receives $20 a month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least $5, and a sheep worth, on an average, $3.75, or a total of $28.75 a month ($345 a year). Wool would produce $200 to $250 a year. Bedding on farm lands would produce probably 50 centavos a night for this flock for 110 days (estimated) or $55. Total income from these sources would be $255 to $305 a year. The natural increase may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at $2.50 apiece, they would bring in $187.50 a

[p.129a]

A special food for Easter week is
796 tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
[262] boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *coketes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

342 Although most private fiestas are described
574 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

846 bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*.
757 The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

834 Husband and wife do not resume sexual
846 relations until at least 35 days after the birth; in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

844 Shortly after the delivery the mother is given
262 her first food. This may be chocolate, milk, and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *rafino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as kágwash kamáta for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

844 Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *rosas de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

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Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo
La Cañada

844 According to Rendón, women in Mestizo
846 Chilchota observe no special diet before delivery.
262 Births are attended by midwives, who charge $2. A mixture of egg and flower is sometimes rubbed on the abdomen to lessen labor pains if these are severe. Massage and irrigations with water and soap are used to accelerate birth. After delivery the diet is based on chocolate and atole. After a few days, chicken broth and chicken are added but beef and beans are not eaten for 72 days. The atole is called púɛkua and is made of maize cooked without lime, ground on the metate, and cooked in water without sugar. If there are hemorrhages the patient is given rubbed (shredded?) parsley in water. The mother stays in bed for a week. On the eighth day she bathes.

846 Rendón reports a mild couvade in La Cañada pueblos. The mother does not eat salt after the birth, eats atole of the same type as at Chilchota, and cooked greens. The fathers stay in the house several days without working.

INFANCY

844 When the birth is in kneeling position, as is most common, a mat and clean cloth are placed on the floor to receive the child. The cord is not cut until the afterbirth is delivered. If this is slow, the mother's knees are massaged. The cord is then tied with thread and cut with scissors (a knife may not be used). According to some the cord is cut about a span length from the umbilicus (thumb to forefinger with both extended). Others say this is the length for girls and that the length for boys is a *cuarto* (this cannot mean a quarter as most are agreed that the length for a boy is greater than for a girl). Some families ask that the cord be cut longer "so the child will relax easily." Cotton is applied, sometimes preceded by anointment with oil, and a band fastened about the abdomen. Some say if this is not done the boys would not have strength and the girls would be "goers," *andulantes*, that is, they would probably have affairs with men. Some wipe out the child's eyes with cotton, and others drop a little lemon juice in the eyes. Some oppose this and do nothing unless a gummy secretion appears, when the eyes are treated with flowers of Castile and San Juan.

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841 track of the periods are used but some account is kept of the phase of the moon and an approximate idea formed. The normal menstruation is regarded as lasting 3 or 4 days. Slight or excessive flows during the period are believed to be bad. No special garments are worn, but the ordinary underwear is carefully washed after the flow ends.

[834] Women should not have relations with men during the menstrual period, and most women do not resume relations with their husbands until they have bathed, although some do so as soon as menstruation ends. Violation of this [753] rule is believed to be bad for the men and to cause them to contract a disease with ulcers. 841 Women may prepare food for themselves and others, but they must not eat certain foods. ● 262 These include "cold" things, such as avocados or prickly pears. Beans, if eaten, must be consumed with quantities of onions. Rice, pork, and preserved chiles (because the liquid is very "cool") are also believed to be bad. Dried chiles may be eaten. *Aguardiente* is also avoided, although a little in coffee or orange-leaf tea is believed to be helpful. The majority, if possible, drink chocolate in the mornings even though they may not normally do so or may even dislike it. In connection with the concept of "coldness" it should be noted that this refers to the supposed effects on the person, not to the quality of the thing itself. Cold water, for example, may be consumed freely. Aside from sexual restrictions, men have no special rules to observe when their wives menstruate.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONSHIPS

581 Marriage is the normal state of the Cherán adult and unmarried persons are relatively rare, except among the aged. Although sexual inverts were reported, in every case they had 838 married. One woman is known to be an invert and is called *toro-vaca*. As a girl she attempted to seduce other girls, and a woman told Rendón that in her childhood the individual in question once tried to drag her into a vacant lot, stopping her mouth with a *rebozo*, but she tore loose and screamed and was rescued by her father. Various charges were also made against the woman in court, but nothing was ever done.

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121 made can a practical program be formulated for Cherán. Anthropological studies by themselves offer no easy and golden pathway to the solution of Indian problems. The most thorough study of the Tarascans must be ineffective practically if the necessary administrative objectives are not clearly defined. The data of an anthropological study such as this can do no more than offer hints as to the "soft" spots of the culture, the areas in which change can most easily be introduced, as well as the *costumbres*, the points of resistance, such as ceremonies (not necessarily including religion), dress, dances, weddings, and death customs. The study can likewise indicate some of the major problems of Cherán, such as the underproductivity of the soil and agricultural technology, the inadequate mechanization, the probable existence of an overly large population to permit any marked rise in economic status, the need of creating new attitudes in spending (for Cherán could finance many public improvements itself), the inadequacy of the water supply, the lack of public health facilities, and the shortcomings of the educational system.

In relation to these problems, further studies are needed in which the anthropologist is aided by technicians in soil use, farming, forestry, and animal husbandry techniques. Scientific-

[text continues on top of p.213b]

APPENDIX 1

DATA ON FOOD PLANTS AND FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

The following data were collected by Silvia
121 Rendón in the pueblos of La Cañada, the next valley to the north of Cherán. As the valley is at a lower elevation than is Cherán, some differences are noticeable in techniques and in plants grown. Unless otherwise specified, the data are from Chilchota; although far from complete, they are included here because they afford some interesting comparisons, the more so in that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today.

Plants cultivated: All of the plants culti-
241 vated in Cherán as well as many others, are
262 found in La Cañada. Black maize is grown in the fields, rather than in the house lots, but, as in Cherán, it is kept separate in storage and is used only for certain types of tamales and

[text continues on middle of p.213b]

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[p.213 b]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

121 ally, such studies should be of great aid also, permitting better understanding of the fundamental limitations on Cherán culture.

Once a set of definite objectives has been established, the data of the anthropological study will be of considerable use in formulating a concrete program and in developing Tarascan cooperation. Moreover, the introduction of a program in itself, creates changes in the cultural situation. The dynamic quality of culture makes it important that administrative programs be accompanied by further study and be flexible enough to adapt to the changing situation.

Despite these remarks on the practical problems of government in the Tarascan area, it should be emphasized that the present study is primarily concerned with scientific objectives. These objectives happen to be closely related to practical considerations, for administrative objectives in Mexico call for culture change in some measure. Cultural processes and the function and interrelation of the parts of a culture emerge most clearly from dynamic situations rather than from static studies without temporal extension. Not only practical but scientific objectives can be served by the study of Cherán culture in transition.

APPENDIX 1

FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

241 atoles. Wheat is sown twice a year; one plant-
262 ing is in June and it is harvested in December; the second is in November, in the house lots, and it is harvested in May. Beans are grown more extensively than at Cherán; the harvest is exclusively by women.

Among the plants generally grown in Chilchota is amaranth (*bledos*). The cultivation is not commercialized, each family growing a little for its own use. Amaranth is used by Indians of La Cañada for making sweets; in Chilchota it is employed in sweets, certain atoles, and in an uncooked tamale resembling a tortilla which is sold in Capacuaro.

245 A considerable number of fruits are culti-
262 vated in Chilchota. Mangoes of the *criollo* and

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La Cañada

245 262 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicuiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

244 262 Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 262 The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 443 262 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

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[p.214b]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five
places sell meat remaining from Sunday
through most of the week. No distinction is
made in price between meat with bone and
meat without bone, but on request one will be
served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the
buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is pre-
ferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers;
those of swine either are made into cracklings
or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with
chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only
262 semiprofessional, fishing when they have time
and selling the catch only if they have more
than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical
or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black
or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole
de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls)
and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature
corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
curious custom exists in that anyone may help
262 himself to these greens, entering into wheat
fields belonging to others either with or without
permission. Anyone objecting would be severely
censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made
from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed
with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for
this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is
placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred
frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle,
the water drained off, and the flour dried.
Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently
delivered, when it is cooked in water, either
plain or sweetened with honey. The plain
boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

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252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čuripo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo*." It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La

[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

The ceremonial organization is linked with
796 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan
621 and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

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[p. 215b]

252 262 237

Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidfied. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

796 624

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or nánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pondompari*, and one *cápitamero*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184]

Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
diente, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals
264 among those working. When the work is com-
476 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated
[531] with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

242 November; land fallowed until following Novem-
243 ber.) Often fallow and planted fields are alternated between the slopes and the plains in the temporal lands.

Fertilization in field agriculture.—Tarascans make little or no attempt to apply fertilizer to maize fields. Occasionally animal manure (*estiércol*) from the stables in the house lots is spread over small parts of fields nearest the village.[36] Sheep and cattle, however, are turned into the fields after harvest, and shepherds are often paid to bed flocks in the fields. No commercial fertilizer is used, owing to its high cost. As mentioned above, new *desmontes* are fertilized by wood ash from freshly burned brush.

Uses of Maize—*Food.*—As in all indigenous
262 areas of Mexico, maize is the principal foodstuff
252 of the Tarascans. Six types of maize foods are common among modern Tarascans: (1) green corn, or roasting ears (*elote*, tiríapu); (2) toasted kernels ground to powder and mixed with sweetening (*pinole*, japúmata); (3) maize dough wrapped in maize leaves and boiled (*tamal*, k'uɹúnda); (4) maize gruel, or dough dissolved in water (*atole*, kamáta); (5) boiled maize kernels with shell removed (*pozole*, máskuta), similar to North American hominy; (6) thin cooked griddle cakes of maize dough (*tortilla*, ičúskuta), at present the most important single food item.

Elote foods.—Green corn is prepared by parching and by boiling. Without removing the inner husk, ears are often parched in the direct flames or under burning coals. Corn so prepared is called uirfkan in the Sierra. Ears roasted with husks removed are termed "uirfkata." Boiling with husks removed (jáman) is also common. Green ears are preserved by boiling and drying in the sun for many weeks. In the dried form they are called uačákata, and the consistency of fresh corn is revived by soaking and reboiling. Other types of maize foods are made from *elote:* a tamal (učépu) from early green maize; various atoles (atole de grano, atole de t'okéri, de uačákata, etc.); maize which is between the green and mature states (t'okéri) is often ground, shaped into small cakes, and boiled. The maize most frequently used for

[36] In only one instance did the writer observe systematic application of manure. This was near the new Tarascan town of Caltzontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan. In planting maize, the planter was followed by an individual who dropped a handful of manure over the seed. A plow followed, covering the seed and manure.

4: Wer K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 40-a]

262
252 the above-named foods is the highly colored flour types grown in the house-lot gardens.

Pinole has the widest distribution and is possibly the most ancient of the maize foods in the New World. Among the Tarascans usually yellow maize from the *desmontes* is employed for pinole. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then dry-ground on the metate, piloncillo being mixed in during the grinding process. *Pinole* is used almost exclusively for food on long trips. *Esquite* is prepared also by toasting whole grains of dried sweet or black *elote* corn on the *comal*, but it is not ground.

The preparation of tamales, pozole, atole, and tortillas among the Sierra Tarascans is discussed by Beals (1946, pp. 49–52). In preparing all four types, hard-shelled maize is first soaked and cooked in lime water to soften or remove the hard outer shell that covers each grain. (Beals mentions the use of oak ashes in soaking corn for pozole.) For tamales, atoles, and tortillas the soaked grains are wet-ground on the metate or in power-operated grinding mills (*molinos de nixtamal*). The fact that they form an essential part of fiesta and ritual foods of most Mexican Indians suggests that tamales and atoles may be more ancient than tortillas. The latter are commonplace in each of the two or three daily meals and carry no ritual significance. Moreover, the varieties of both tamales and atoles are numerous. Beals describes 10 atoles habitually made in Cherán; 11 kinds were noted in Sicuicho, only 5 of which were similar to those in Cherán. The varieties of atole are ordinarily distinguished by the addition of some flavoring, such as ground blackberries or herbs.

231 *Animal feed.*—Maize grain is commonly fed to livestock, notably for fattening hogs. Yellow corn, mainly Mountain Yellow, is considered the best for feed, as it has the highest oil content of all Tarascan corns; moreover, apparently the yellow color gene is associated with proper vitamin content for animal growth and fattening.*

Sale of maize.—The Tarascan Sierra is pri-
439 marily a subsistence area in terms of maize, but when crops are good surplus grain is sold to buyers from Zamora, Tangancícuaro, Uruapan, and Zacapu. The surplus maize districts are

* According to Edgar Anderson (personal communication), in Jalisco the Yellow Mountain maize brought down from the highlands sells at a premium in the bajamiento districts south of Guadalajara.

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[P. 426]

243 are planted together, the seeds being separated according to color after the harvest. The plant is cut with a sickle in November or December, the grain threshed in an open space in the fields and stored in small ollas in the troje.

The cultivation of amaranth is disappearing among the Tarascans; it would probably die out rapidly if women did not constantly remind men to plant it every year. In some Sierra pueblos it is no longer grown, but grain is brought in from [439] other towns, particularly from Pamatácuaro and its surrounding ranches and from Capacuaro.[77] Little is grown in the Lake towns or in La Cañada, the grain being imported from the Sierra. In a few pueblos it was claimed that *alegría* was neither cultivated nor eaten: Paracho, Huánsito, San Jerónimo, Puácuaro, Napízaro.[78]

262 In terms of quantity consumed, amaranth has little importance in present Tarascan diet. Its significance lies in its relict position in Indian culture. Today the most widespread amaranth 252 food among the Tarascans is a tamal called "ć'apáta," made from a mixture of ground maize and *alegría*. Blue or black ekuáru maize is dry-ground on the metate; red or black *alegría* is then ground into the maize flour; a sweetening (piloncillo) and water are stirred into the mixed flour, and the resultant dough is wrapped in maize husks and boiled in an olla. In some pueblos of La Cañada ground *alegría* is mixed with wheat flour and piloncillo, of which tamales called ć'apátas de trigo are made. Moreover, *bolitas*, confections made of white amaranth, are made, but are more common in adjacent mestizo towns. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then mixed with honey or a paste of piloncillo to make small cakes. These are commonly sold at fairs or on fiesta days.[79] Few ceremonial or religious uses of amaranth were found in the Tarascan pueblos.[80]

[77] Curiously, the Sierra pueblos which no longer cultivate *alegría*, but import grain for home use, are some of the more isolated, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Nurio, and Pomacuarán. In these towns no reason was given for not growing *alegría*. Possibly the inhabitants found it less bothersome to buy the grain than go to the trouble of raising it.

[78] Modern amaranth cultivation extends beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech in Michoacán. It is still grown and used in the former indigenous towns of Apo, Tancítaro, Sirahuén, Opopeo, and in some mestizo ranches north of Uruapan.

[79] In Pamatácuaro an atole is made of amaranth and black maize. Such atole is widespread in the highlands of northern Guerrero (Hendrichs 1945–46, vol. 1, p. 35); and is probably encountered in other indigenous areas of Mexico. In Atapan a pakáta (ground grain boiled in water to a solid mass) is made of red *alegría*.

[80] In Pamatácuaro atole of black *alegría* and black maize is taken especially at the maize planting celebrations. In Sicuicho ć'apátas are eaten at both the maize planting and harvesting fiestas. In other pueblos special uses of amaranth were denied.

243 tion.[87] Owing to dry conditions and usually poor
[132] soils, yields are low. The infrequent light winter rains (*cabañuelas*) often determine the success or failure of the temporal crop. Another wheat type, a white soft variety, is called "*trigo de aguas*"; sown in June or July and reaped in November or December, is seen in all parts
[312] of Tarasca. Most of the wheat crop of La Cañada is irrigated, being sown on the valley flats in December and harvested in May.[88] In the Sierra wheat is relegated to the less fertile slope land and *desmontes*, where it is rotated with maize. In the lake area and the northern plateau towns, where the grain is likewise a rotation crop, it is cultivated on both plains and slopes. It is occasionally sown in the house-lot gardens in all parts of Tarasca.

Primitive European methods are used in wheat cultivation (pl. 6). Land is prepared by plowing with oxen, and seed is sown broadcast and covered with a brush harrow. Grain is cut with the sickle (*hoz*), bundled and tied by hand, and threshed in the *era* (an open arena floored with stone or packed earth) located in the town or in the field. Threshing is accomplished by driving mules or burros over the bundles of wheat, but where sufficient animals are lacking, it is done by flailing. The grain is separated from straw and chaff with the tarákua, or wooden spade. All straw is carefully saved for animal feed. (Engine-powered separators are just beginning to appear in the area.)

One of the most interesting aspects of wheat
252 culture among the Tarascans is the varieties of
●262 food prepared from both metate-ground and milled flour. Those made from grain wet-ground on the metate include *tortillas de trigo*, a common food in La Cañada, but eaten on fiesta days (e. g. Corpus) in the Sierra towns.[89] In Charapan the tortillas are thin, round cakes often 1 to 1½ feet in diameter, which are cooked on the comal. Thicker tortillas, or *gordas*, are similarly made, but browned on the coals.[90] For the Corpus fiestas *gordas* (pirítcis) ¾ to 1 inch thick and shaped like

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[87] For example, most temporal wheat in the Lake region is harvested in early April, while in the Sierra ripening is retarded until May. In Cumachuán, the highest pueblo in the Sierra, harvest occurs in the first weeks of June.

[88] The *trigales*, or wheatfields, are watered three times annually, at the end of January, first of March, and at the end of March. Pan irrigation technique is used.

[89] In the Lake towns of Ihuatzio and Janitzio metate-ground wheat dough is mixed with nixtamal (maize dough) to make a tortilla called ítakeka.

[90] Beals (1946, p. 32) mentions that in Cherán *gordas de trigo* are fried in deep pork fat. This procedure was not encountered in other Tarascan towns.

252 animals (birds, rabbits, pigs) are made in some
262 Sierra towns. In La Cañada, however, such figures are prepared from leavened flour dough and baked in the oven.[91] Another wheat food, which is eaten particularly during and immediately after the wheat harvest, is called pakésa. Wheat grains are roasted on the comal, then dry-ground on the metate. The coarse flour is cooked in boiling water flavored with salt or piloncillo. The resultant dough is eaten hot or cold. Moreover, a wheat pozole (whole grains stewed with meat, chile, *tomate*, etc.) is prepared in the Lake and La Cañada areas, but rarely in the Sierra. Again, a wheat atole (trígukamáta) is found in all parts of Tarasca. Various types of bread, called *cemitas* or auákatas are also prepared from metate-ground wheat, usually by professional women bakers. The dough is often sweetened and the breads variously shaped (round or diamond). The dough is baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven, several of which are found in every Tarascan village. Unsweetened ceremonial breads (kanákua), 1½ feet in diameter and 2 or more inches thick, are made on the Saint's day in some Sierra pueblos.

Wheat foods are also prepared from flour, milled in the larger mestizo towns nearby. A bread called kuínda is baked in the Spanish oven in most pueblos. In La Cañada and the Lake towns tamales (prepared like those of maize) and tortillas are made from wheat flour.[92] Buñuelos, a special dish prepared from wheat flour, are eaten ceremonially or as an occasional treat in all parts of Tarasca. The dough, mixed with tequisquite (a lime compound), salt, and boiled green tomatoes, is thinned into flat cakes by placing on the knee, patting and pulling at the edges. The sheets of dough are cooked in boiling lard in a *casuela*. In the Sierra both men and women prepare and cook *buñuelos*, which are eaten only on certain holidays. Often on ordinary occasions this food is soaked in a sirup of piloncillo and eaten with white atole in the Lake area.

Barley cultivation.—Small amounts of barley
243 are cultivated in most parts of Tarasca, but primarily in the Sierra, for animal feed. The grain is sown in June and harvested in November and

[91] Formerly in Charapan large pottery, shaped like human figures (3½ feet high), were given at weddings to the bride as a token of fertility.

[92] Tamales de *tripo* are also seen in the large markets (Uruapan, Paracho), where they are customarily taken with atole. In Paracho they are called šaš-k.uínda or šašpit-okiri.

243 December. Being more tolerant of poor soils and frost than either maize or wheat, it is customarily grown on the upper slopes. As it is believed that barley improves the soil, it is frequently rotated with maize. Much barley is sown on the high slopes around Cumachuén and Pichátaro, where yellow-brown soils and a short-growing season prevail. Oats are rarely cultivated; small fields were reported only in Pichátaro and Cumachuén.

244 *Other European field crops.*—Broadbeans, lentils, and chickpeas are cultivated chiefly around Lake Pátzcuaró and in the northern plateau pueblos, where they are often grown with maize. [262] Although small quantities are raised in the Sierra, these crops have little place in the native diet.

HORTICULTURE

The house-lot gardens (ekuáruecа).—These have been frequently mentioned above (pl. 7). In contrast to field agriculture, cultivation in the ekuáru is intensive; a large variety of plants (maize, beans, squash, vegetables, and fruits) are raised in each small lot; the soil is replenished by application of refuse from the dwelling and manure from the stable. The ekuáru is cultivated [462] mainly by the women and children of the household; the fields, in contrast, are worked by the men. In the gardens the women, always conservative, have retained the plants that are old in indigenous culture. Moreover, although some of the larger lots are plowed with oxen, most are cultivated with two of the present forms [412] of the tarákua: the wooden *pala* and the metal-bladed *asada*.

The principal garden crop is the *elote* maize, discussed above in connection with corn types. The cultivation of the old beans, such as kokóɨ, small patches of amaranth, and various squashes in the ekuáru, has also been mentioned. The women plant in the garden other indigenous vegetables, such as chayote (apúpu; *Sechium edule*),[28] *tomate* (tóma; *Physalis angulata*), which bears the small green husk-enclosed tomatoes; and, if water is available for irrigation, chiles of various types. The most significant vegetable grown in [262] the Tarascan house gardens, however, is the

[28] The chayote bears annually small squashlike fruits, which are boiled and served with chile. In its third year the plant develops a large tuberous root, which is dug up and boiled (uaxáɨa) and is often ground on the metate to a flour, which is served as a gruel (ugú). The plant is reproduced by seed, or rather by planting the entire chayote fruit.

244 European cabbage (*col, repollo*), which the Indians
262 have thoroughly taken into their diet. Both the leaf and head varieties are cultivated. Almost every ekuáru in all Tarascan villages contains a small patch of cabbages, which are used for the famous čurípu, or meat and vegetable stew [34] (pl. 5). A more common stew (*repollo-šakuá*) is made of cabbage alone, flavored with red chile, onion, and silantro. The leaf cabbage is the
244 usual variety found in the Sierra. It is rarely planted by seed, but by replanting sprouts that occur at the base of the stalk. The plant is persistent, surviving the frosty Sierra winter; leaves are stripped off until the stock often reaches a meter in height. Other vegetables such as lettuce, radishes, carrots, peas, and turnips, although known in many parts of Tarasca since early colónial times, are today little cultivated or used in native cookery.

In addition to the food annuals, the ekuáru
247 contains various medicinal and ornamental plants,
249 mainly those of the Solanaceae, Fabaceae, and Compositae. In a great number of the house lots women plant a stalk or two of tobacco (*Nico-*
[276] *tiana rustica*, andúmukua), used not for smoking,
[278] but as medicine.[35] The *trompeta* or *floripondio* (*Datura arborea*); *colorín* or p'ołénęa (*Erythrina americana*); two euphorbias, *chupiri* (*E. calyculata*) and *flor de pascua* (*E. pulcherrima*); and the Old World *higuerilla* or castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) are not uncommon in the house gardens of the low country marginal to the Sierra. European Compositae, geraniums etc., make up most of the ornamental plants cultivated around the house.

Fruit culture in the ekuáru.—Practically every
245 house lot in most Tarascan villages contains a few fruit trees, both Old World and native. A definite climatic distribution of fruit types exists. In the Sierra are found only the cold-tolerant deciduous fruits such as the European peach, apple, pear, quince, and the native crab apple (*tejocote* or kałás) and cherry (*capulín* or šéngua). In the lowlands around the Sierra, however, both subtropical and cold-tolerant fruits are cultivated. The former include the Old World citrus (limes, oranges, lemons), figs, pomegranate (*granada de*

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[34] Čurípu is eaten principally during the maize harvest period and on religious holidays.

[35] For example, in Pichátaro tobacco is taken for fever and is chewed to cure toothache.

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[P. 46b]

245 orchard. In such cases trees are closely spaced
438 and present an unkept appearance.

Many Tarascan pueblos in the lower and warmer areas bordering the Sierra specialize in subtropical fruits, and possibly served prehistorically as fruit supply centers for the Sierra towns. Since the development of modern transportation their produce is taken to many parts of Mexico. San Angel Zurumucapio is the avocado center of the Tarascan *tierra templada*,[98] Tingambato the chirimoya town, and the former Tarascan pueblos, Ziricuritiro and Acahuato, produce bananas, mangoes, mamey, citrus, etc. Tarascan Atapan and mestizo Tingüindín supply the western part of the Sierra with citrus, guayaba, and mangoes. As early as 1581 Atapan had become a citrus-growing center, and probably before the Conquest had produced avocados and chirimoyas for Sierra trade. The La Cañada towns have ever been the northern Tarascan fruit center. Today avocados form the main fruit speciality of Acachuén, Ichán-Tacuro, and Carapan; oranges are the chief export of Tanaquillo.[99] With the possible exception of Ihuatzio, which produces large quantities of avocado, there is no specialized fruit town in the Lake area, although the aggregate subtropical fruit production there is of importance in Sierra trade.

● 262 Fruits from the *tierra caliente* have long had a special significance among the Sierra Tarascans. Today at least two tropical fruits are eaten especially at religious fiestas, and special effort is made to obtain them for such occasions. Coconuts (kóko) in some Sierra pueblos are rarely eaten except during the Ramos and Easter holidays.
[439] Formerly in Charapan 2 weeks before Easter a group composed of 15 men and boys from each barrio traveled down to the Tepalcatepec Basin to fetch coconuts for eating and coconut blossoms
[389] for church decorations. The band was ceremoniously seen off with the firing of rockets.[100] Likewise, the large plantain (*plátano macho*) is eaten

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[98] The large avocado trees in the house lots of Zurumucapio completely hide the town. Two types of the fruit are grown, the black and white-skin varieties. Both are irrigated, and the fruit is harvested in April and May. Frequently coffee plants are grown under the shade of the avocado.

[99] Other fruits produced in La Cañada: Limes, guayaba, chirimoyas, figs, apricots, jusquiniquiles (Surán), plums, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, apples, zapote blanco, capulin, a few bananas.

[100] This custom has practically disappeared in the Sierra. Most coconuts and other tropical fruit are now obtained at the Ramos (Palm Sunday) fairs at Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. In the Lake area during Easter festivities churches are often decorated with melons (*sandías*) from the Balsas.

262 raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans
[439] were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in
252 the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is
[609] taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such
262 as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

Specialized truck gardening.—This is a more
244 recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans.
312 They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratarákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden
[406] spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratarákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 25), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratarákua* is used also at Tarejaro, in the basin of Zacapu.

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kuruka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ǵíkata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the [263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax [237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat 262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded. 252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čurípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uiríkata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *casuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kurúku is apparently onomatopoetic; ǵíkata-ambés or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ǵíkata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čurípu, uiríkata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

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262 is eaten only on Sundays or on fiesta days by those who can afford it. On festive occasions, such as
252 weddings, a whole mutton is stuffed with cleaned entrails and head and roasted in a large oven. (The roast is called *tatemado*, or uirikata.) On less prominent occasions pieces of mutton are often cooked with vegetables to make a kind of čuripu.

Pork is always eaten fresh; cured pork, such as ham, bacon, and sausage—all old Spanish meats—, has no place in modern Tarascan diet. Pieces of fresh pork are fried on the *comal*, or boiled with vegetables. A popular pork dish, especially in the Sierra, is *chicharrones* (cracklings), which consist of pieces of fresh pig skin well-cooked in a large copper caldron.[115] *Carnitas*, pieces of meat and fat, including spareribs, side meat, leg, etc., are also cooked in the caldron in many pueblos, and are commonly served in the markets of the large mestizo towns nearby.

FOOD-GATHERING ACTIVITIES

222 Tarascan women and children gather various wild herbs, fungi, and fruit to supplement agri-
262 cultural products. Among these the most important are the annual greens, or šakuá,[116] collected during the rains from June through September. They are usually found in disturbed ground, e. g. within and on the edges of wheat or maize fields. The women in some Sierra pueblos recognize more than 15 varieties of šakuá that are habitually gathered.[117] These are boiled with chile and
[252] salt to make atápakua. Although eaten in all modern Tarascan villages, such greens are of greater importance in the Sierra, where the garden vegetables common in the Lake and La Cañada areas are infrequently cultivated.

Mushrooms (terékueča) are collected in all Tarascan towns, and, like the annual greens, appear only in the rainy season. They are found in the fields, in the forest growing under decaying logs,

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[115] In the spring of 1946 a *chicharrón* cooking was observed in Pamatácuaro. After killing a hog the local butchers or others set up a caldron in the plaza to cook the skin. By the time the cracklings were well done, a large group of villagers had gathered to buy them at a few centavos each. The lard so rendered was sold to one of the local stores. The cooking of *chicharrones* is also common in many mestizo towns in central and northern Mexico.

[116] Šakuá is the Tarascan equivalent of the Nahuatl "quelíti," which has been hispanicized to *quelite*, the general term now used in Mexico for any kind of wild annual used for greens.

[117] Unfortunately, the Sierra was visited during the dry season, and consequently specimens of šakuá plants could not be collected for botanical classification. Verdolaga (*Portulaca oleracea*) and tender amaranth shoots, however, are common šakuá varieties.

222 and even in sheltered spots in the village streets.
Again, collecting is done by women and children,
262 though men may bring home a mess of mushrooms found while cutting wood. Eight to ten edible varieties are known in most towns. Children are trained early to recognize the poisonous kinds, called uaríč-terékua (ghost mushroom). Terékueča are prepared by boiling and then frying
[252] in lard; they are also roasted with salt on the *comal* or over live coals; sometimes they are boiled and mixed with chile sauce. A *tamal* nákatamal-terékua) is often filled with boiled mushrooms. Aside from mushrooms, the fungus growth on maize ears is likewise called terékua (the *cuitlacoche* (*Ustilago maydis*) of the Aztecs), and is similarly prepared and eaten.

In the Sierra acid fruits, particularly berries, are other food items collected. The fruit of the native blackberry bush (*zarzamora*, ȼ'tún), which grows best in disturbed ground along hedgerows and on edges of fields, is gathered in May and June. The berries are eaten fresh with salt and are used to flavor atole (*atole de zarzamora*, ȼ'tún-kamáta). Other fruits commonly gathered include piníki, an orange-colored berry often carried to mestizo markets; *tejocote* and *capulín*, both gathered wild or semicultivated in hedgerows; wild grapes; the cherry tomato (šapíndikua), which grows along the edges of cultivated fields.

The buds (šamáš) of a wild *mezcal* type of agave is another food item commonly gathered in the Tarascan area and in most parts of Central Mexico. The buds and lower fleshy ends of the
262 leaves of the plant are roasted in a hole about 1
252 meter deep and 1 to 2 meters across, which is usually dug on the forested slopes where the wild agave is available. A fire is built in the hole, and after it has died down somewhat rocks are placed on top. When the stones become hot, the agave is placed in the hole and covered with maguey leaves and earth. After 3 days the cooked agave is taken out and carried to various markets where it is sliced and sold. Roasted agave is often termed *mezcal* (siuáta), but it must be distinguished from the distilled liquor (s'áku) of the same name. The former is rich in starch and is possibly one of the more ancient foods of Mexico.

Aside from food plants, the coarse roots of
222 zacatán grass (*Muhlenbergia macroura*) are collected by men throughout the Sierra. Called *raíz de paja* or *raíz de zacatón*, the dried roots are sold in

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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield
113 and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular Nº 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

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TABLE I

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_2*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_1*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	148	18,200	2,150	—	1.5	14.8	6.36	15,629
meat (beef)	8	40	90	4	.13	2.5	1.6	500
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
beans	3.5	27	50	0	—	.77	.05	350
milk	8	350	38	5	.30	.14	.16	155
cabbage	2	30	14	8	—	.03	0	16
chile	1.5	1,320	—	81	—	—	—	—
oranges	4.5	70	35	40	.12	.94	0	65
bananas	5	230	28	23	.07	.06	0.01	140
pears	3.5	6	5	3	.02	.02	.01	68
sugar	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	113
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
Totals		22,593	2,469	204	2.56	19.21	8.83	17,529

Diet of one adult for one week, an average of the diets given.
I. U.: International Units.
mg.: milligrams.

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146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than minimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vitamin B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories.

262 556 511

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

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Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 113

ment of Agriculture Circular Nº 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular Nº 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin Nº 707, 1939; and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

TABLE II

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
meat	10.4	52	117	5.7	.16	1.9	1.35	875
cheese	1.6	900	7	—	.25	.37	.52	179
bread	1	70	30	0	—	.1	.02	100
bananas	5.5	230	28	7	.07	.66	.11	154
milk	16	700	75	10	.60	.28	.32	310
lard	.5	—	—	—	—	—	H.5	127
beans	5	40	71	0	—	1.1	.08	495
oranges	12	117	100	107	.32	.11	.02	175
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
chiles	.7	616	—	38	—	—	—	
Totals (without maize)		3,835 [1]	433	207.7	1.50	5.01	2.42	2,685
maize (yellow)	192	23,600	2,840	—	2.07	19.2	8.26	20,280
Total		27,585	3,318	207.7	3.57	24.21	10.68	22,965
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, wealthy family.

[1] This would be the quantity of vitamin A with white maize.

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TABLE III

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	121	14,890	1,750	—	1.2	12.1	5.2	12,780
chiles	7.5	6,600	—	400	—	—	—	75
beans	1.5	10	33	—	—	.33	.02	250
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
Totals		23,120	1,807	420	1.52	12.91	5.86	13,363
(with white maize)		8,230	—					
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, very poor family.

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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

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121 [114] made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans [146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 146 One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

146 As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 435 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveal much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph, "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in The Maya and their Neighbors, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

[text continues on p. 304]

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TABLE IV

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize (yellow)	91	11,170	1,400	—	1.0	9.0	4.0	9,645
sweet potato	21	24,000	150	60	—	.38	.15	840
whole wheat bread	4	280	120	—	—	.4	.16	400
cheese	2	1,120	10	—	.32	.36	.64	223
beans	1.5	10	30	20	—	.33	.02	250
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
chile	5	4,400	—	265	—	—	—	50
milk	3.5 pints	2,450	260	35	2.1	.98	1.12	1,085
Totals		43,790	1,985	400	3.42	11.57	6.09	12,528
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Sugested improved diet of one adult for one week. This is the Table 2, (very poor family) diet, substituting whole wheat bread, sweet potatoes and milk for some of the corn and chile.

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262 the poorest families in town shows that the total food cost for a family of three adults and two children could average as little as 81½ centavos
435 a week or $42.38 (pesos) a year. This would be 16.3 centavos a day per person. In contrast to this, the diet of a relatively wealthy family, in which the household numbered ten persons, cost $12.50 per week or $650.00 per year. This would be $1.25 per person per week, or $65.00 per person per year, again disregarding age differentials.[6]

146 The suggested improved diet given in table 4 actually might cost even less than the poor family diet presented. The diet in figure 4, is,
262 however, deficient in calories, as has been stated. Even with the addition of sufficient calories, it is possible that the improved diet would not add noticeably to the cost; certainly it would not cost more than a peso a week for the five persons. These data suggest that education in the use of proper foods and the changing of food habits may sometimes be more important than economic betterment as a means of bringing about adequate nutrition.

121 It must be reiterated, however, that any conclusions suggested in this paper are tentative. Imperfect as the data and interpretations are, it is nevertheless clearly indicated that extensive and accurate nutritional studies are needed. This is true, whether the major aim is to discover the possible relation of nutrition to other cultural factors, or whether it is to map out a program of nutritional improvement for the group.

[6] In these cost estimates, it is assumed all food was purchased; actually some would be grown.

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197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

105 To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. [263] This is particularly true of the most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. [278] Similarly, *manzanillo*, probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is collected from November to May. [252] The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, 412 the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in Italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

243 although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of [262] the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter, apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and [263] chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color 243 variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types. 824 Red ears are called čóču and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called čústika and a coiled shape called tokére čústika.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest. 243 All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shell- [821] ing is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

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244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaʼitiniš and kuaʼitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *aguá miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Paricutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

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231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch
[825] the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are special-
232 ists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[184] [11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Parícutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Parícutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

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262 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled
264 squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly
262 eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, čurípo, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (očepos), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*.)

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.[13]

MEAT FOODS

252 Čurípo is a stewed meat, almost always of
262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few gara-
banzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot.
[263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground
dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

[13] Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*joconocuetle*), is used as greens in čurípo and in making chile sauce (*ándurakua*). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

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262 and as a daily food by all who can afford it,
252 which in Cherán would probably constitute a considerable majority of the population. It is often eaten with tamales of the type known as kurúndas, or with boiled chayote. Meat, if not made into čurípo, usually is boiled.[14]

Mole is a less common meat dish, probably derived from the Mestizos. It consists of a stew, preferably of turkey, but if this is not obtainable, of chicken, pork, or beef in descending order of frequency as well as preference. Pieces of the boiled meat are served in a sauce made in various ways, according to the availability of the ingredients and the knowledge of the cook. The sauce may include the following ingredients: Cloves, ginger, chocolate, cin-
[263] namon, ground toasted bread or tortillas, pumpkin seeds, garlic, onion, and chile of the type known as pasíya or "*chileancho*." The chiles are either fried in lard or dipped in hot water, ground with the other ingredients, and cooked in the meat broth. A thick, rich, and usually rather greasy sauce or gravy is the result. Mole is usually eaten on special occasions.

Fish are brought to Cherán either fresh,
[438] broiled, or dried. Fresh fish come from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro only a limited part of the year, usually just after the rainy season in the fall. It is expensive compared with meat, but is much liked. During the rainy season, broiled fish are brought from Lake Chapala; in the dry season, from Erongaricuaro.

The fish are washed carefully in hot water before cooking. Fish is boiled in water with
[263] onion and *silantro* (a pungent herb). Some people eat the intestines, removing only the bile. Seasoning with chile and tomato, ground together, is common; sometimes the broth is thickened with maize dough and sometimes onion is added. Fish may also be fried with eggs in lard, making a sort of fish hash.

Small dry fish (čaráles), resembling small dried minnows, are on sale on market day throughout the year and also at many of the stores. They are toasted on the *comal* and eaten with chile and tortillas, especially for breakfast. They are also made into a broth with chile sauce.

[14] The majority of the recipes were collected by Silvia Rendón.

[769] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.
252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common
252 form of atole. It is made as is described above
262 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is
263 usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what [273] little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast [757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made [556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk [234] or made into jojóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

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825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *kachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

A very clever man once went up on San
823 Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
821 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
263 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the
789 fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kurúka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ḱíkata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the [263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax [237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat 262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded. 252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čurípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uiríkata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *casuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kurúku is apparently onomatopoeic; ḱíkata-ambás or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ḱíkata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čurípu, uiríkata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

222 mestizo towns nearby for the manufacture of scrubbing brushes. This activity is not peculiar to Tarascans, for it is carried on by both mestizos and Indians in high altitudes of the Mesa Central where the grass grows in abundance.

263 Before the eruption of Parícutin in 1943, honey gathering was an important collecting activity in
222 the Sierra. The heavy fall of volcanic ash killed or drove away all wild bees in the area, terminating the ancient trade of the *panaleros*, or honey gatherers. Formerly there were 15 *panaleros* in Urapicho, and several in Cherán and Tanaco. In the spring of 1946 it was rumored in some pueblos farthest from the volcano that a few swarms of bees were returning. (See Beals, 1946, pp. 13–14, for a description of honey collecting in the Sierra.)

HUNTING ACTIVITIES

224 In pre-Conquest times hunting formed a significant part of the food quest among the Tarascans. Deer, rabbit, and grouse were hunted in the Sierra, while migratory waterfowl, chiefly ducks, were taken in the Lake area (Relación de Michoacán, p. 15). Today only duck hunting on Lake Pátzcuaro still has economic importance, and there it is limited chiefly to fishers—the islanders and some *rancheros* on the Tarfu-k'eri Peninsula. Nine varieties of migratory ducks (principally of the genera *Nyroca*, *Mareca*, and *Nettion*) are recognized by the fishermen. Customarily bird hunting starts on the Día de los Muertos fiestas (October 31 and November 1), when as many as 100 ducks are killed by a single hunter, and continues until the departure of the flocks in late March. The p'atámu, or spear propelled with the
411 throwing stick (ɛapáki, or the Nahuatl *atlatl*), is still employed by many duck hunters. The spear, with a *carrizo* handle 3 m. long, carries 3 points, called the *fisga* (k'ençéta), each 7 cm. in length (fig. 5). Old flintlocks (*carabinas de chispas*) are also used by the Urandén islanders, but many modern hunters from Janitzio possess modern shotguns. Ducks are eaten in the Lake pueblos and many are sold in Pátzcuaro. Waterfowl are hunted by Tarascans likewise in the Zacapu Basin.

224 In the Sierra, hunting is looked upon as a
[517] pastime by most modern Indians. Men and boys often hunt deer, squirrels, and rabbits with flintlocks and some modern rifles. Game, however, is largely depleted in the Sierra. Beals
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 52b--Analyst]

251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

264 Eating habits show considerable variability
262 as between families. They also change with
184 the season and the prevailing occupations. Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later.
[556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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184
262 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled
264 squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly
262 eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, čurípo, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (očepos), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*.)

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.[13]

MEAT FOODS

252 Čurípo is a stewed meat, almost always of
262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few gara-
banzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot.
[263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground
dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

[13] Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, tuna *agria* (*jacoacocotis*), is used as greens in čurípo and in making chile sauce (sindurakua). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

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[P.56b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas
Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)—Possibly because Capacuaro is a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, gophers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

262 184

Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

[264]

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričúskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

[p.57a]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (ćiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is *"tepache"*
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[30] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called *"esquite"*
252 (guaníto). They also carry *"esquite"* from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[30] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

184 261 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

782 532 A special "bread" of maize is used as an offering at the house altar. This is made of maize toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 262 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted. Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas.*"

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque, [273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

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184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

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576 When one meets friends of the same sex, one says "Good day," "Good afternoon," or "With God" (*Buenos días, buenos tardes, adiós*). If persons stop to talk, they touch hands in greeting and on farewell. A person of opposite sex, if well known, will be greeted in the same way verbally, but the hands will not be touched and, unless the persons are relatives or *compadres*, they will not stop and talk.

If a man visits a friend in his field or his *solar* when he is working, he always helps a bit. A woman calling at the house will help a little with any work going on. If one sees a stray animal and knows the owner, it is good manners to take it to him; if the owner is unknown, the animal should be taken to the municipal building. If one is in a group and people become angry, efforts should be made to dissuade them from fighting unless they are drunk. It is all right to drive another person's dog away (although usually people just give strange dogs a wide berth), but a pig should never be molested unless it is trespassing. It is not proper to punish another person's child, but if he throws a rock, for example, it is all right to throw rocks back.

576 If you hear a piece of land is for sale and do not know the owner, you get all the information you can about the land and then send the 432 person giving the information to talk to the owner. If you know the owner you go yourself. Most commonly the owner will come to you. It is proper to stand and talk about other things for a while and then make an appointment to go to see the land. On the trip, the final arrangements about the price are usually thrashed out if you decide to buy the land. Then you go together to the municipal building and have a bill of sale made out, for which you pay.

576 At meals the oldest man present is served first, unless there is a male guest present. 264 Then the other men are served and then the women and children. Of course, there are always the small children who come about pestering their mothers for a tortilla and, as Agustín remarked, "Of course you want to get rid of those guys first." When water is passed around and one drinks out of a common pitcher, it is polite to pour a little water on the ground,

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
●264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Paricutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL
FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is com-
476 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated
[531] with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

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262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*
252 more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed
[751] with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they
[576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with čurípo but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the
[265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets
[435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

272 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring
● 265 and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

262 A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

262 One of the poorest families in town, con-
511 sisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½
556 liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about
796 midnight and was rung intermittently all the rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a.m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
[443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the commissioners and their assistants went to the
533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

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264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

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244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaǵitiniš and kuaǵitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Paricutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

[769] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.
252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common
252 form of atole. It is made as is described above
262 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is
263 usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

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252 is drunk throughout the day, even by children
272 (including the *aguardiente*). It is made in
[273] March, April, and May.

Kágwas kamáta.—Fresh or dried nuríte is ground on the metate with three or four chiles of the type known as *cascabel* (káwas guajílyo). This is mixed with maize dough before it is dissolved in water and cooked. A little brown sugar and salt are added during the cooking. This atole is eaten in September with green corn on the cob. It is also eaten in December and January for either breakfast or supper; if the day is very cold, it may be taken during the day, for it is very "heating." For this reason it is also given to mothers for several days after parturition.

Turípiti kamáta.—This is made with maize dough and brown sugar. A quantity of corn husks is toasted until almost black; this is ground and added to the atole while cooking. The resulting atole is almost black and appears to have ashes in it. The taste is agreeable, however. Turípiti is usually eaten with nákatamales, but it is also eaten at any other time of the year, being one of the more popular atoles in Cherán. It is also sold daily at the *puestos* in Uruapan, where it is known as *atolé de cascara de cacao*, "atole of chocolate bean husks," although it has not the slightest chocolate in it.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean atole of maguey (or agave). The unfermented juice of the maguey is used instead of water. The juice is cooked until foam ceases to form on top and it is a little thick. Instead of maize dough, white maize is toasted and ground into flour, then added to the juice. It is made in the period before the rainy season, April, May June.

Srímba kamáta or téri kamáta (*šrimba, "cane," or teri, "sweet"*).—The sweet juice of mature green cornstalks is extracted by grinding the stalks on the metate. The juice is boiled until it no longer forms foam on top, and is a little thick. Green corn is cut from the cob, milled, and added to the liquid and cooked with water added. This atole is eaten only in the period green corn is available.

Iusitini kamáta.—This is a variant of nuríte kamáta, to which salt and three or four red

252 chiles are added. Everything is passed through
272 a colander before cooking.

Puči̇ti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamarindo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čarákata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamarindo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Iči̇ukua kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.[17]

252 *Tóquera ičusta.*—Uncooked maize tóquera
262 (half way between green and mature maize) is ground on the metate, mixed with brown
[751] sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo.*

Uačakata.—This is red or black maize which
251 has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at
252 least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

252 *Arroz kamáta, rice atole.*—Well-cooked rice,
262 milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

[17] It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquite. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fer-
[273] mented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast
[757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made
[556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into jojóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

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272 265 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

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262 511 556 One of the poorest families in town, consisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½ liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

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[p.57a]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (ṭiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is *"tepache"*
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[20] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and
252 toast by a fire. This is called *"esquite"* (guaníto). They also carry *"esquite"* from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[20] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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511 spent on meat. Families not regarded as poor might spend as little as 60 centavos a day on food for a family of six (two adults and four children). Checked in several ways, although obviously the quantitative data are inadequate, it appears that most prosperous (but not wealthy) families with sufficient land to produce all their own maize may spend less than 1 peso a day. It is estimated by some that this amount also includes the cost of all clothing and some maintenance of buildings but would not include special expenses, such as replacing animals, giving fiestas, holding funerals, etc. Frankly, this seems hard to believe.[25]

An approach to consumption (in terms of peso values), based on such quantitative data as it was possible to collect, indicates a much higher consumption rate for the normal Cherán family. Taking, for convenience, a family of five, the following seems a reasonably close approximation of consumption and expenditure:

	Per day	*Per year*
Home-produced goods consumed:		
Maize, 2½ liters daily	$0.15	$54.75
Vegetables and fruit	.10	36.50
Firewood	.08	29.20
Total value		$120.45
Goods requiring cash expenditure:		
Expenditures at store and butcher shop	$1.00	$365.00
Man's clothing (a rough estimate of minimum requirements for work clothing plus some "dress" clothing)		27.00
Woman's clothing (one typical woman's outfit of Tarascan type clothing, plus a couple of cotton dresses a year)		60.00
Clothing for 3 small children		15.00
Total cash expenditure a year		467.00
Total value of goods consumed a year		$587.45

In addition to the above ordinary expendi-

[25] In Mestizo Chilchota, Repáda collected the following data: For a family of two adults and four children, 6 to 22 years, food expenditures were said to be 75 centavos to 1 peso daily, mostly for meat, the remainder for beans, lard, pitch pine, chiles, tomatoes, salt, lime, and other things. The maize consumed is grown. Another family of four adults and one child of 5 years spent about a peso a day. Another family of four adults and three children, 8 to 14 years, spent a peso to a peso and a half daily. In all cases the major expenditure was said to be for meat, with beans coming second. All grew their own maize. Unlike those in Cherán, all these families consumed coffee once and sometimes twice a day.

[184]
[272]

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796 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very [793] drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities [272] of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The 438 principal item in the market is pottery, and it 323 is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

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585 kilos of rice, and a basket of corn or beans. The male relatives of the bride supply one or two loads of wood and also present to the groom agricutural tools if he is a farmer or utensils of his trade if he has some other occupation. The male and female relatives of the groom also dress the bride in a complete new outfit and present her with clothing and household and kitchen equipment. Gifts received by the bride and groom are divided with their respective relatives. The sisters of the groom carry rosaries made of *amole* tubers to indicate that they should wash with this and not with soap. (This statement is ambiguous and needs further investigation; possibly it refers to bathing the bride.)

The church wedding takes place in the early hours of the morning and is followed by a breakfast in the house where the celebration is to be held. Invariably the breakfast consists of bread and chocolate. After breakfast there is a dance, which continues through the day except for intervals in which to eat. The food is *mole* of chicken or turkey, fried rice, beans, and tortillas. After the meal a drink made of [273] pulque and called *charape* is served. If it is ●[272] not the season for pulque, the *charape* is made of a wild plant resembling the maguey and called timbiriče.

After dancing a while following the dinner, the bride is taken to the house of the godparents of the groom, in case she has been stolen, or to her own parents' house, if she has been asked for. The bride spends the night at this house without her husband. Some time during the day the sisters of the groom wash the bride and dress her.

The following day the godparents of the wedding hold a fiesta in their house similar to that on the preceding day but with some additional features. Early in the morning, when the invited guests arrive, they are served breakfast of bread and chocolate made with water. Then there is dancing. At midday a dinner is served, consisting of many of the typical Tarascan foods such as čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and meat), kurúndas (yellow tamales), chayote, and cooked squash (*chilacayote*).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the dancing goes on in the house of the godparents of the wedding, the godparents of baptism of

243 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are
492 rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented
or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize
[427] or money equal to the rent is usually made. Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

The time of the harvest varies in different
243 places. If the "plain" west of town is planted,
632 the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

As the harvest is a time of joint work, even
243 though not communal in character, it also is a
527 rather festive and social occasion. Moreover,
692 many workmen have more money than at any
273 other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

In 1940 the following schedule of harvests
243 was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

White maize and yellow maize are stored un-
251 shelled in the lofts of "*trojes*." Little effort is
243 taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

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244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaʒitiniš and kuaʒitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Paricutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

[769] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.
252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common
252 form of atole. It is made as is described above
262 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is
263 usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

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252 is drunk throughout the day, even by children
272 (including the *aguardiente*). It is made in
[273] March, April, and May.

Kágwas kamáta.—Fresh or dried nurite is ground on the metate with three or four chiles of the type known as *cascabel* (káwas guajílyo). This is mixed with maize dough before it is dissolved in water and cooked. A little brown sugar and salt are added during the cooking. This atole is eaten in September with green corn on the cob. It is also eaten in December and January for either breakfast or supper; if the day is very cold, it may be taken during the day, for it is very "heating." For this reason it is also given to mothers for several days after parturition.

Turípiti kamáta.—This is made with maize dough and brown sugar. A quantity of corn husks is toasted until almost black; this is ground and added to the atole while cooking. The resulting atole is almost black and appears to have ashes in it. The taste is agreeable, however. Turípiti is usually eaten with nákatamales, but it is also eaten at any other time of the year, being one of the more popular atoles in Cherán. It is also sold daily at the *puestos* in Uruapan, where it is known as *atole de cascara de cacao*, "atole of chocolate bean husks," although it has not the slightest chocolate in it.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean atole of maguey (or agave). The unfermented juice of the maguey is used instead of water. The juice is cooked until foam ceases to form on top and it is a little thick. Instead of maize dough, white maize is toasted and ground into flour, then added to the juice. It is made in the period before the rainy season, April, May June.

Srímba kamáta or téri kamáta (*šrimba*, "*cane*," *or teri*, "*sweet*").—The sweet juice of mature green cornstalks is extracted by grinding the stalks on the metate. The juice is boiled until it no longer forms foam on top, and is a little thick. Green corn is cut from the cob, milled, and added to the liquid and cooked with water added. This atole is eaten only in the period green corn is available.

Iusitini kamáta.—This is a variant of nurite kamáta, to which salt and three or four red

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what [273] little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast [757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made [556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into *jojóke*, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (¢iráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*"
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[30] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*"
252 (guaníto). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[30] In Oaxaca, "*tepache*" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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184 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like
261 maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

A special "bread" of maize is used as an offer-
782 ing at the house altar. This is made of maize
532 toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted.
262 Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas*."

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque,
[273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

Eating habits seem to vary little from town
264 to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

527 The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
541 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

527 The procedures described above were re-
541 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

527 While the market continued to some extent
443 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

342 and are served. While all this is going on, a
574 few women start dancing.

Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuelgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuelgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuelgas*. Single *cuelgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

[273] The host, on the occasion observed, drank very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

796 A few data collected on fiestas from other towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colchas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and [437] begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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585 of the groom. To the mother and the godmothers of the groom are given 5 or 10 centavos each. The form of presentation is always the same; the money is placed in a china plate covered with a cloth. The recipient tips the plate so the money slides into her hand without the amount being visible to anyone else. The recipient shakes the hand of the donor and in the case of the mother, who is standing, curtseys. Sometimes money is given to the males in lieu of cigarettes. If the family is large, the godmothers and the mother may receive from 8 to 15 pesos. Shortly after the arrival of the bride's party, the parents and uncles of the bride and groom, and sometimes other relatives, all enter the kitchen. There the marriage manager performs a ceremony (described on p. 103) by which all become *compadres*.]

The father of the groom now orders the distribution to all the relatives of the bride [and in observed weddings, to everyone present] of one piece of bread each. The bread was prepared in advance and is an obligation of the father. This is called the ɛʌɛ́ʌki t'iréŋ́kua. Ordinarily these pieces are in the form of a crown which we call kanákua. [The *compadres* or brothers of the groom's father help him with the distribution, handing him a piece of bread which the father himself usually hands to each guest on a lacquered tray (pl. 7, upper right). The order of events in the account here does not coincide with any wedding witnessed. The distribution of bread usually came after the exchange of clothing and bread described below. Only if there were to be little or no clothing exchange or dancing would the distribution of bread be this early in the proceedings. The time of distribution is regarded as indicating the probable length of the wedding; the later it is distributed, the longer the wedding will last. In the case of the latest distribution observed, the wedding lasted 3 days. Similarly, the beginning of the drinking usually did not take place until the clothing and bread exchange was well under way.]

When this act [the distribution of the bread] was [273] finished, they begin to bring out the bottles of *charanda* and all begin to drink until they are quite drunk. It should be noted that only the relatives of the groom have the right to buy and carry liquor, the relatives of the bride drinking what is offered them [which is abundant. The person who produces a bottle drinks from it first.] While they are drinking, at the same time they are making the exchange of the clothing and bread in the following form.

All of the women relatives of the bride such as the maternal and paternal aunts give clothing to the uncles and aunts and other relatives (of the groom) as well as the parents, who are those who receive the best clothing. These in their turn in recompense return bread in a quantity not more than $1.50 and not less than $1.00, while the musicians are playing regional tunes and *jarabes* and others are dancing. [For a somewhat different sequence of events with some additional details, see the account of the Sánchez wedding below.] In a word, there is a very great movement.

585 kilos of rice, and a basket of corn or beans. The male relatives of the bride supply one or two loads of wood and also present to the groom agricutural tools if he is a farmer or utensils of his trade if he has some other occupation. The male and female relatives of the groom also dress the bride in a complete new outfit and present her with clothing and household and kitchen equipment. Gifts received by the bride and groom are divided with their respective relatives. The sisters of the groom carry rosaries made of *amole* tubers to indicate that they should wash with this and not with soap. (This statement is ambiguous and needs further investigation; possibly it refers to bathing the bride.)

The church wedding takes place in the early hours of the morning and is followed by a breakfast in the house where the celebration is to be held. Invariably the breakfast consists of bread and chocolate. After breakfast there is a dance, which continues through the day except for intervals in which to eat. The food is *mole* of chicken or turkey, fried rice, beans, and tortillas. After the meal a drink made of [273] pulque and called *charape* is served. If it is [272] not the season for pulque, the *charape* is made of a wild plant resembling the maguey and called timbiriče.

After dancing a while following the dinner, the bride is taken to the house of the godparents of the groom, in case she has been stolen, or to her own parents' house, if she has been asked for. The bride spends the night at this house without her husband. Some time during the day the sisters of the groom wash the bride and dress her.

The following day the godparents of the wedding hold a fiesta in their house similar to that on the preceding day but with some additional features. Early in the morning, when the invited guests arrive, they are served breakfast of bread and chocolate made with water. Then there is dancing. At midday a dinner is served, consisting of many of the typical Tarascan foods such as čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and meat), kurúndas (yellow tamales), chayote, and cooked squash (*chilacayote*).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the dancing goes on in the house of the godparents of the wedding, the godparents of baptism of

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

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[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

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Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

342 owner, the master builder, and his helpers, and the nearer relatives of the house owner are now decorated with festoons of pieces of bread, some in the shape of animals, toasted wheat tortillas, and flowers. These are brought in a procession from the house of a relative. Women carry baskets on their heads and dance in the streets. The musicians accompany the party. The various articles are tied to the women's belts and then are hung about the necks of the men. These strings are called "*cuelgas*" (pl. 8, right). As a special guest, Beals was decorated with the others, and care was taken to explain to him that it was customary to return the belts. The master builder and, particularly, the house owner received several festoons of this kind.

Following this ceremony there was dancing, which lasted until late at night. In the particular [273] ceremony described, the householder drank very little. The next day several of the relatives returned with liquor and insisted that he get drunk with them as he had not drunk the day before.

The other major occasion on which ceremonies 483 occur in connection with houses is when a house is 342 moved from one location to another. A man wishing to move a house to a new location hires a 476 master builder to supervise the work. He also invites all his relatives, who are obligated to come. The women aid in preparing food, while the men take apart the house, carry it to the new location, and erect it again. The house owner takes no part in this work; in fact, he is apt to become drunk and be something of a nuisance. The relatives are fed at midday and again in the evening, but they do not ordinarily drink much until evening. Even then most of them are apt to go home before eating or immediately after eating. Ordinarily, a house will be moved completely in 1 day; sometimes, however, part of the roof will be unfinished, in which case a few men will return the next day to complete the work.

A special feature observed at a house moving, but nowhere else, was the serving of tobacco from the lowlands and corn husks for rolling cigarettes. At all other ceremonies the host frequently passed around cirgarettes, but they were of the usual commercial type.

342 The house is the center of numerous other festivities and ceremonials, but they do not pertain to the house directly. The major occasions are

252 *Squash foods.*—Both common-squash and chilacayote are cut into pieces and boiled with the rind. Squash is often candied with piloncillo in mestizo towns nearby, but rarely in Indian communities. Squash blossoms (kukúmu, puɾú-ɸaɸáki) are boiled and eaten with salt and chile, and immature fruits are often stewed. Chilacayote, which has a watery, stringy flesh, is especially liked throughout the Tarascan area, and in the Sierra during the spring (when other vegetables are unavailable) it is eaten with an atole flavored with the nuríteni herb. In many pueblos the flesh is soaked in [273] water and permitted to ferment, forming a refreshing drink called *tepache.*[75] Finally, an atápakua, or stew of chilacayote, is often made by the Sierra Tarascans; the flesh is boiled with onion, silantro, and chile.

243 **Other native crops.**—Apart from the maize-bean-squash complex, a few other indigenous cultigens are found in modern Tarascan field agriculture. From the point of view of culture history, one of the most significant of these is amaranth (*Amaranthus cruentus*), which in most parts of Mexico is called *alegría* or *bledo* and in Tarascan, paii. The tiny (1 mm. diameter), round seeds, which occur in spikes at the head of the plant (1½–2½ meters tall), are rich in starch and oil. Sauer (1936) has suggested amaranth as one of the pre-maize cultigens of southern North America. Today it is cultivated in small amounts in many parts of central Mexico, usually in isolated Indian pueblos.

Among the modern Tarascans, especially those of the Sierra, three varieties of amaranth are grown: white, red, and black. Cultivation is usually limited to *t'upúri* soils of the highlands and to the house-lot gardens. It is planted both in plowland and in *desmontes*, but only in small patches within or at the edge of maize fields.[76] In the plowland the small grain is planted in *quemazones.* The log (usually oak) is burned in January and the seed planted in late May, immediately before the rains. The seed is also sown in freshly burned *desmontes*, but in the house lots ash fertilizer is rarely used. All three varieties

[75] Tepache is a general name for a number of drinks common to western Mexico, e. g. *tepache de piña, de silacayote,* etc. To make *tepache de silacayote,* the flesh of the squash is placed in an *olla;* water, piloncillo, and often soda water (carbonate) are added. Fermentation sets in immediately, and after 3 days the beverage is ready for consumption. After the first *olla of tepache* is consumed, more water, etc. is added to the flesh and the process repeated. The meat of one chilacayote is said to last 1 year of repeated fermentation.

[76] Fields of *alegría,* similar to those around Tulyehualco at the southern edge of the Valley of Mexico, are never seen in the present Tarascan area.

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535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored [574 by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in 273] nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music 533 because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." 535 He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, 178 very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar 535 dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said 796 it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week 114 after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the
796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
[443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com-
527 missioners and their assistants went to the
533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

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Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

244 European cabbage (*col, repollo*), which the Indians
262 have thoroughly taken into their diet. Both the leaf and head varieties are cultivated. Almost every ekuáru in all Tarascan villages contains a small patch of cabbages, which are used for the famous čurípu, or meat and vegetable stew [94] (pl. 5). A more common stew (*repollo*-šakuá) is made of cabbage alone, flavored with red chile, onion, and silantro. The leaf cabbage is the
244 usual variety found in the Sierra. It is rarely planted by seed, but by replanting sprouts that occur at the base of the stalk. The plant is persistent, surviving the frosty Sierra winter; leaves are stripped off until the stock often reaches a meter in height. Other vegetables such as lettuce, radishes, carrots, peas, and turnips, although known in many parts of Tarasca since early colónial times, are today little cultivated or used in native cookery.

In addition to the food annuals, the ekuáru
247 contains various medicinal and ornamental plants,
249 mainly those of the Solanaceae, Fabaceae, and Compositae. In a great number of the house lots women plant a stalk or two of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*, andúmukua), used not for smoking,
[276] [278] but as medicine.[95] The *trompeta* or *floripondio* (*Datura arborea*); *colorín* or p'ɔɹénɛ́ʌ (*Erythrina americana*); two euphorbias, *chupiri* (*E. calyculata*) and *flor de pascua* (*E. pulcherrima*); and the Old World *higuerilla* or castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) are not uncommon in the house gardens of the low country marginal to the Sierra. European Compositae, geraniums etc., make up most of the ornamental plants cultivated around the house.

Fruit culture in the ekuáru.—Practically every
245 house lot in most Tarascan villages contains a few fruit trees, both Old World and native. A definite climatic distribution of fruit types exists. In the Sierra are found only the cold-tolerant deciduous fruits such as the European peach, apple, pear, quince, and the native crab apple (*tejocote* or kaɹás) and cherry (*capulín* or šéngua). In the lowlands around the Sierra, however, both subtropical and cold-tolerant fruits are cultivated. The former include the Old World citrus (limes, oranges, lemons), figs, pomegranate (*granada de*

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[94] Čurípu is eaten principally during the maize harvest period and on religious holidays.

[95] For example, in Pichátaro tobacco is taken for fever and is chewed to cure toothache.

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[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

105 To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the [263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*, [278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is collected from November to May. [252] The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 412 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly of some importance, is collecting *raíz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italics unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaʼitiniš and kuaʼitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

● [278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [279] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Pariautin village, chayotes (apápo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

796 of *catucho* (a word I have not identified) and are carrying spears.

On Friday, the three times that Christ falls with the cross are represented with a cross and the image of Jesus of Nazareth. The cross is very large, but it is made of light materials, so it weighs little. The figure carrying the cross is put on a table, and it is manipulated from beneath the table to make it fall slowly and rise again. While the figure falls, the Jews pretend to beat it and mistreat it.

The Crucifixion is represented at a *velorio*. Three crosses, one bearing a crucified Christ, are placed upright in a corner of the church. The Jews pretend to beat the figure and injure it with their lances. Later in the same service the figure is lowered from the cross and placed in a special box. This represents the Holy Sepulcher and is guarded by the Jews.

On Saturday morning, 12 boys are placed in a corner near the altar. One of these washes the feet of the others. This act (obviously out of place in the chronology of events) is the only representation of the Twelve Apostles.

Some 20 years ago a somewhat more elaborate representation was given which included the portrayal of the garden of Gethsemane. Persons representing Pilate, Herod, and the Jews went about the plaza asking for Jesus. One, representing Judas, went up to a Christ image surrounded by branches and kissed the image. Jesus now answered, and the whole group fell down. Then they tore down the branches and took the image prisoner. Judas went around showing people the money he had received. On two occasions in the past the apocryphal incident of Veronica was also represented in connection with the three falls of Christ. After one of the falls, a girl pretended to wipe the face of the image with her handkerchief.

The activities in connection with Easter week are carried on by the persons attached to the church and the various societies. Nurukáta, laurel, is brought from the mountains in large quantities and is used to decorate the church during the week. After it has been "sanctified" it is taken home and kept in the [278] houses. It may later be used for medicinal purposes. A special food for Easter week is

754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 In addition to the above methods of bewitch-
892 ment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 Methods of prevention and cure against
751 witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured
755 by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

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842 no remedies are taken for barrenness. Others reported that women speak to the professional midwives, who give them herbal remedies, [278] anoint the abdomen with mountain lion grease, or give stew made of mountain lion meat. However, none of the midwives reported any such practices.

Despite these attitudes, belief exists that 847 pregnancy can be prevented or abortion caused. It is believed by some that only families of poor economic standing who already have two to four children attempt to use these methods. Others suggest absence of love in the home as a reason; some women carrying on illicit affairs are believed to practice abortion. A good many people seem to know of the existence of abortion and to have knowledge of the herbs used. Consequently attempted abortion probably is more frequent than people wish to admit. The [842] ideal of Cherán is the large family; people prefer not to talk about those who do not share the ideal and some refuse to talk about it. It is also said that the municipal officials are vigilant in punishing such cases, but as the penalty is [684] said to be a fine of $1.00 or $1.50 or a night in jail after recovery, this probably would not be a great deterrent even if the danger of detection were great.

847 Four plants are named as being taken to cause abortion. One, *artamisa*, taken with 278 plenty of salt, was mentioned by one of the midwives. Another admitted to using iris root for this purpose, although generally the midwives claim to be opposed to abortion. The two plants most used, however, are *ruda* and *gobernadorcillo*, KUASA. It is possible that these are the same plants; at least descriptions of their use appear to be the same. If they are effective (and local medical men are sharply contradictory in their opinions), many unintentional abortions are probably caused, for *ruda* is a regular remedy for stomach pains. It is not taken, except intentionally, when pregnancy has occurred, as the herb is widely known as producing abortion. The herb is also believed to be helpful to women who have been unable to have children.

Much the same accounts were given of [842] *gobernadorcillo*. To have children, the herb is cooked with a tablet of chocolate and taken just before the menstrual period is expected.

847 To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain
●278 the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobernadorcillo* is
[844] also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

One midwife purges barren women with the
842 bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are
278 used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant
847 mothers are often fearful of this and sometimes will not go to curers when they are ill for fear they will be given a medicine which will cause abortion. A woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who was suffering fever and spitting blood refused to go to the curer for fear of being given abortive drugs. Drinking is believed to cause many abortions, and heavy work, such as lifting a log while helping to build a fence, is recognized as a possible cause of abortion. If the mother "likes something too much," for example, a horse or a kind of food, the child may be born prematurely, but apparently may live. Solar eclipses are likewise
[821] believed to cause early births. The midwife is sometimes called if abortion is feared. One midwife anoints the coccyx and abdomen with the white of an egg (which has been beaten on the ground) and also with lard and oil. Another midwife gives the flower of maize, tomato peel, a shoot of verbena, and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware. The potsherd is ground and the whole made into an infusion. This is taken twice and the coccyx and abdomen are rubbed with the white of an egg beaten on the ground.

Some people believe that the first child takes
843 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

844 Sometimes, when the pains first start, the patient is laid on a blanket which is then lifted by four persons, one at each corner. The mother is then turned around gently for 15 or 20 minutes. This is believed to hasten the birth and aid the child to get into the proper position. The midwife may also walk from one side to another, saying, "I am coming," to hurry the child.

Most midwives specify certain materials which should be provided by the family in advance. These things include scissors, cooking oil, lard, cotton, and silk thread. Parents provide clothing for the child; the midwife does not specify anything for the infant.

844 Some midwives, when the birth pains begin, give the mother *gobernadorcillo* or possibly
278 other plants to accelerate the birth. In any case it is asserted that the same herbs believed to cause abortion are administered at this time, usually with sugar or brown sugar. One herb (unidentified) is called zihuapaxtle, a Nahua name. There is no use of wheat rust, however.
844 When the crown of the head of the child is visible, the midwife tries to hurry through the rest of the birth so that there will be less danger of the child being born dead.

It is said that many normal births take only about 15 minutes. This can hardly be counted from the time the first labor pains are felt but is possibly from the time the labor becomes intense. Many mothers in Cherán, however,
845 seem to have fairly difficult births. Cases of labor lasting as much as 6 or 7 hours are reported.

In case the labor is difficult and prolonged, remedies of various sorts are used. The helpers apply pressure to the abdomen. One midwife boils a bezoar, the calcareous secretion from the intestines of some ruminant, brought from the hot country, and has the patient drink the water. Another gives the mother hot chocolate made with water and sugar, and massages the abdomen. Another covers the patient with a blanket and has her breathe the fumes from sugar or some sweet thing burned in a brazier. One midwife stated that when the patient is very "dry," that is, there is no discharge of blood and no breaking of the amniotic membrane, a bit of *nopal* (prickly pear) leaf is roasted in

845 inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were [821] born dead. The phenomena were attributed to an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

[805] Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

846 After the birth of the child the mother stays in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife [278] may still massage her with unguents, either coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

846 757 One case of what was probably a postpartur-ient infection was recorded. The midwife

753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness which are quite generalized, that is, they may
278 be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nurite, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe,* and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

753 Of considerable interest is a class of diseases and ailments which seem to be of supernatural
754 causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was something attacking only drunkards and per-
755 sons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

244 European cabbage (*col, repollo*), which the Indians
262 have thoroughly taken into their diet. Both the leaf and head varieties are cultivated. Almost every ekuáɹu in all Tarascan villages contains a small patch of cabbages, which are used for the famous čuɹípu, or meat and vegetable stew [94] (pl. 5). A more common stew (*repollo*-šakuá) is made of cabbage alone, flavored with red chile, onion, and silantro. The leaf cabbage is the
244 usual variety found in the Sierra. It is rarely planted by seed, but by replanting sprouts that occur at the base of the stalk. The plant is persistent, surviving the frosty Sierra winter; leaves are stripped off until the stock often reaches a meter in height. Other vegetables such as lettuce, radishes, carrots, peas, and turnips, although known in many parts of Tarasca since early colónial times, are today little cultivated or used in native cookery.

In addition to the food annuals, the ekuáɹu
247 contains various medicinal and ornamental plants,
249 mainly those of the Solanaceae, Fabaceae, and Compositae. In a great number of the house lots women plant a stalk or two of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*, andúmukua), used not for smoking,
[276] [278] but as medicine.[95] The *trompeta* or *floripondio* (*Datura arborea*); *colorín* or p'oɹénɛ́a (*Erythrina americana*); two euphorbias, *chupiri* (*E. calyculata*) and *flor de pascua* (*E. pulcherrima*); and the Old World *higuerilla* or castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) are not uncommon in the house gardens of the low country marginal to the Sierra. European Compositae, geraniums etc., make up most of the ornamental plants cultivated around the house.

Fruit culture in the ekuáɹu.—Practically every
245 house lot in most Tarascan villages contains a few fruit trees, both Old World and native. A definite climatic distribution of fruit types exists. In the Sierra are found only the cold-tolerant deciduous fruits such as the European peach, apple, pear, quince, and the native crab apple (*tejocote* or kaɹás) and cherry (*capulín* or šéngua). In the lowlands around the Sierra, however, both subtropical and cold-tolerant fruits are cultivated. The former include the Old World citrus (limes, oranges, lemons), figs, pomegranate (*granada de*

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[94] Čuɹípu is eaten principally during the maize harvest period and on religious holidays.

[95] For example, in Pichátaro tobacco is taken for fever and is chewed to cure toothache.

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236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, [241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

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231 the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the
231 more common animals in Cherán. Often kept
492 in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not
[262] castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the
[281] hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or
231 perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals"
[552] such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, sheepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Parícutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squir-
[224] rels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

389 elaborate, as they require fuses of various speeds, different colors of fire, and slow-burning types of powder. As handbooks exist for this type of manufacture and supply houses also furnish information to their patrons, it was felt that detailed inquiry into techniques was not worth while. The *cohetero* usually receives a small advance payment—5 to 15 pesos—when he accepts an order. He receives no further payment until the *castillo* is burned. Should [686] there be a failure, not only may the *cohetero* fail to receive his pay, but he may be jailed and fined.

Stonecutting.—Several men do stonecutting 324 on a part-time basis. Doorsills and bases for door posts and pillars are the major products, although some men also make grinding stones for *nixtamal* mills. A fine-grained gray lava from the barranca north of town is the most-used material. Tools include an iron-headed hammer, weighing about 2 pounds, steel chisels, and a pair of calipers. Stones for the *nixtamal* mills are made in pairs and are about a foot in diameter and 6 to 8 inches thick. About 3 days are required to make a pair.

Tanning.—The only full-time tanner of hides 281 in Cherán is a native of Aranza, who moved to Cherán because of the better water supply. He has a house and lot on the east side of town beside the aqueduct. Most of his work is done on hides brought him by shoemakers and *guarache* makers. Such work is charged for on a fee basis.

A man and his uncle also tan hides on a part-time basis. They are primarily farmers and do relatively little of the tanning in Cherán.

Cowhides are tanned with oak bark. The process takes 20 to 30 days, mostly occupied with soaking the hides in the tanning mixture. Sheepskins, used for inner soles of shoes, must be put through a lye bath, scraped, and then soaked with oak bark. A batch of five or six sheepskins requires 2 days' labor and about 8 days' soaking.

The principal equipment consists of a number of large hollow logs for soaking the hides.

Lacquer.—One woman learned lacquer mak- 532 ing in Uruapan. She works fairly steadily, producing a typical Uruapan black-background lacquer with floral designs in four or five colors. She sells all her product in Cherán.

[Text continues on page 46 a]

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294 433 434 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a [435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in [439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 434 [394] *Candlemaking:*

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	$2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	$0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*

Horsehair $0.50 per kilo	$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	$1.50
Gross profit per day	$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 433 434 *Shoemaking:*

Equipment:	
Sewing machine	$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?
Labor:	
1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices	
[435] Value of product (per pair)	$3.00–7.00
Estimated gross income:	
Per day	1.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 435 434 *Tanning:*

Charge per cowhide	$5.00–$10.00
Charge per sheepskin	.50
Average daily return	1.25

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

322 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

256 433 434 *Bakers (commercial):*

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

177 aboriginal and European products and techniques.
463 Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern wood-
[412] work the adz and the lathe are probably European and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide
●[281] have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal.
[286] Although the ancient belt loom is used for most cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European tech-
[325] niques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

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438 An interesting aspect of cottage industries is
178 their ephemeral character. Owing to movement
of artisan families from one pueblo to another and
[166] changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts
disappear in some towns and reappear in others.
In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and
ranchos have lost old crafts or gained new ones;
27 have retained their characteristic trades
(table 2).[134] The pottery industry in Santa Fé
[323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter
of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was
[294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees
from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan
[282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and
shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but
now, owing to changes in transportation and the
rise of factory production, local leather products
have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft
[325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically
vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained
more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[134] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

322 It is first mentioned as an established industry in the report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344), indicating that it had been introduced for some time.

LACQUER WORK

386 Modern lacquerwork in Michoacán is closely associated with wood carved with the adz and
322 lathe. Before the Spanish Conquest various gourds (*Lagenaria*, *Cucurbita*, and *Crescentia*) were lacquered with a varnish made from the insect *axin* (*Coccus axin*) and *chía* (*Salvia* sp.) This industry probably centered in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins (Brand, 1944, p. 60) and was extended into the towns near the southern edge of the Sierra, e. g., Peribán and Uruapan. After the introduction of Spanish adz work during the colonial period, lacquer was applied to wooden *bateas* in Peribán, Zirosto, Zacán, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. *Bateas* were painted, but not lacquered, in Cucupao (Quiroga) and Santa Fé de la Laguna. Today few Tarascans practice the art, the famous *bateas* of Uruapan being lacquered by mestizos. Some of the turned vases and bowls of Paracho are finished with tung oil and synthetic lacquer purchased in mestizo markets.

LEATHERCRAFT

● 282 Probably one of the first native Tarascan crafts stimulated and expanded by the early Spaniards was leatherwork. With the introduction of cattle, Tarascan tanners were able to multiply leather production, which formerly had been based on deerskin, to meet the heavy Spanish demand for saddles, halters, shoes (the famous "*zapatos de baqueta de mechoacán*").[182] Tanning was done with local oak bark, as it is today (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13). During the colonial period leather-
282 crafts were centered in the northern Tarascan
438 towns near the pastures and hide supply, and in a few pueblos of the Sierra. The latter included Cherán, Cheranátzicurin, Ocumicho, and Nahuatzen, which was one of the largest tanning centers

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[182] Fray Toribio de Motolinía's statement of 1540 on the Tarascan leather industry is revealing: "*Han deprendido a curtir cerombras . . . son buenos zapateros, que hacen zapatos y sevillas* [slippers], *borceguíes* [high shoes], *pantuflos, chapinas* [wooden shoes with leather straps] *de mugeres; . . . este oficio comenzó en Michoacán, porque allí se curten los buenos cueros de venados. Hacen todo lo que es menester para una silla ginete basto y fuste, coraza y sobrecoraza . . .*" (Motolinía, 1903, p. 183). According to the Relación de Michoacán (p. 16) "*cotaras de cuero,*" or leather sandals, were made for the cuitzeatsiti in pre-Conquest times.

282 in the Tarascan area.[183] By the latter part of the
438 19th century leathercrafts began to decline, and today within the Tarascan area only Nahuatzen (largely mestizo) continues to tan hides and make saddles and other riding equipment.[184] Some Tarascan towns now boast of one or two *zapateros* who make huaraches of imported leather for local consumption. The principal huarache-making centers are now the surrounding mestizo towns: Cosneo, Zacapu, Tinguindín, Los Reyes, Uruapan, Ario de Rosales.

METALCRAFT

325 **Copper work.**—The Tarascans were probably the foremost metallurgists in pre-Columbian Mexico. They worked gold, silver, and copper. The precious metals were formed into ornaments and disks, which the *cáltzontzin* stored on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro; useful objects, such as axes, *coas*, and spearheads, were made of copper (Relación de Michoacán, pp. 104–109, 122–123). Although definite archeological evi-
325 dence is not yet at hand, it is probable that the
172 Tarascans purified native copper and extracted metal from simple oxide ores by smelting (Hendrichs, 1940, p. 327).[185] From cursory inspection of copper artifacts extant in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia, it appears that Tarascans cast copper objects (axheads) in stone molds. After casting, the axes seem to have been further shaped and possibly hardened by hammering.[186] Accidental, rather than deliberate, alloying with tin and zinc probably occurred.

325 The Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins contained
316 the ancient copper mines and metallurgical sites.
172 Hendrichs (1940, 1945–46) has described several probable ancient copper mines sites in both the

[183] AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13; Zavala and Castillo, 1939–45, vol. 7, pp. 361–362; AGN Historia, vol. 72, f. 178–179. The present northern Tarascan towns of Ziplajo, Azajo, Cumpanja, Tanajoro, Tirindaro, Naranja, and Turumendo were all producers of shoes and saddles in the latter part of the 18th and in the 19th century.

[184] Beals (1946, p. 44) states that in 1940 one person from Aranza was tanning hides in Charán. The old men of Cocucho remember the manufacture of the black "zapatos de zapatos" in their town during the last century. These were sold throughout the Sierra as well as in surrounding mestizo towns.

[185] The Lienzo de Jucutacato, a 16th-century representation of the migration of a people from the Gulf of Mexico into the Tarascan country (where they learned metallurgy) clearly depicts smelting of ore or metal (probably copper) apparently with the aid of charcoal and forced air draft (blowpipes) at the ancient copper center of Jiculán (Jiculán Viejo), 20 km. south of Uruapan.

[186] Microanalysis of Tarascan copperware has not yet been undertaken. Until the results of such analyses are known, it is impossible to make definite statements as to ancient metallurgical methods. Interestingly, the flange shape of the modern Tarascan steel axhead is identical with that of the copper axes found in archeological sites in the Balsas Basin.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

296 of petticoats are made by one woman, although
531 this technique is primarily found in Nahuatzen. The proportion of women doing this work seems significantly smaller in the third *cuartel* or *barrio* when compared with the other *cuartels*.

The crochet may be replaced by embroidery or drawn work, especially on finer materials such as linen or rayon. Designs either come "from one's head" or patterns may be bought in market. Usually the poorest designs come from the market, but no evidence was found either to indicate preservation of traditional patterns on the part of those not using commercial patterns, or to indicate creativeness in designs. Blouses decorated with crochet involve 1 week's part-time work, and embroidered or drawn-work blouses, from 1 to 3 weeks.

286 *Blanket weaving.*—About four men in Cherán weave blankets. These men buy raw wool, and wash, clean, card, and spin the wool, and do the weaving. White, brown, and black colors are usually natural wool colors. For blue, the [386] only other common color, the weaver dyes white wool with indigo. A urine mordant is used. To produce a gray thread, white, black, and blue wool are mixed together before carding. Raw wool is washed and cleaned, losing about one-third its weight in the process.

283 Carding is done with commercial steel cards which cost $8.00 a set and last about 3 years.
[435] A handful of wool is placed on one card and the other is drawn across it several times. The wool is then folded on one of the cards and the process repeated. If wool of two or more colors is being mixed, the rectangles of carded wool are torn into pieces, mixed together, and carded a second time in order to give a more uniform color.

Spinning is done with a wheel (fig. 6). The edges of a rectangle of carded wool are folded along the long side. The rectangle is then pulled apart down the middle except at one end, giving a strip of carded wool about 1½ inches wide. One end is thrown over the left arm and the other end fed into the yarn with the left hand while the wheel is turned with the right. When 6 to 8 inches are lightly twisted, the yarn is stretched to from 24 to 30 inches, given a tighter twist, and then wound on the spindle (fig. 6). [Text continued on page 36 b]

283
[405]

[402]

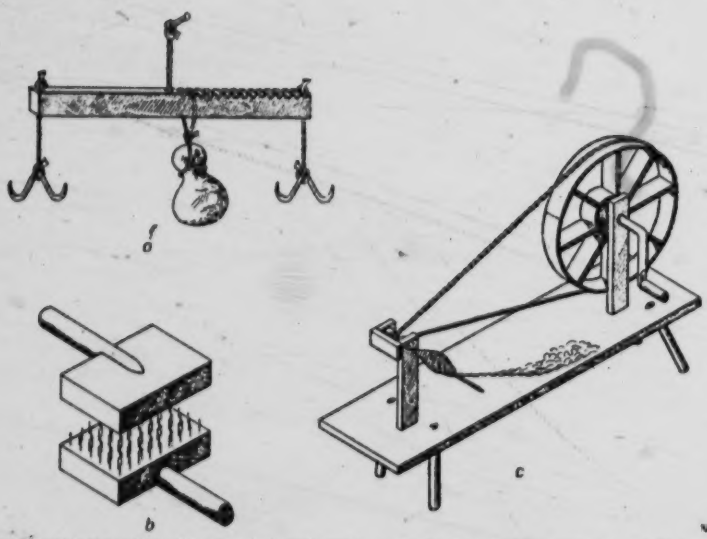

FIGURE 6.—Spinning wheel and associated implements. *a*, Scales for weighing wool; the weight is a 1-pound stone; length of the beam is 14½ inches. *b*, Carders used to prepare wool for spinning, about 9 by 12 inches; the wires are merely indicated schematically and actually are much more numerous. *c*, Home-made spinning wheel; the wheel is turned with the right hand, the wool fed into the thread with the left hand; the spinner stands to operate the apparatus.

[p. 36a]

283

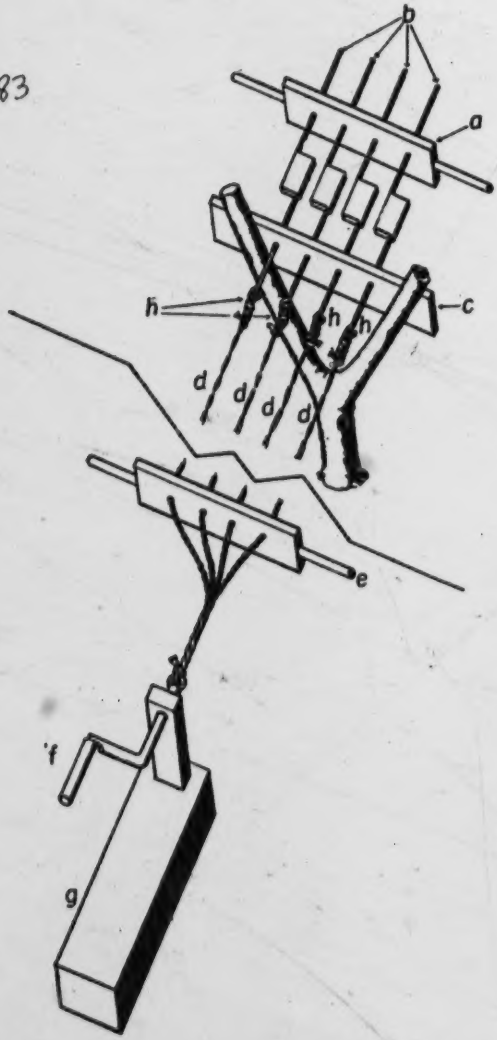

FIGURE 10.—Four-ply rope-twisting device used in making horsehair lead ropes. Three men are needed to operate the device. Four groups of horsehair threads (spun on a simple spinning device, not illustrated) are fastened at *h* and at *f*, passing through the holes in the piece of wood *e*. *e* is a second perforated piece of wood fastened to a Y-shaped stump. Crank *f* is first blocked so it will not revolve. The first operator rotates the piece of wood at *e*, causing cranks *b* to revolve and twist the four hanks of thread (*d*), into cords. Crank *f* is now released. The first operator holds the board (*a*) stationary, a second operator rotates the crank (*f*), and a third operator moves the board (*e*) toward *c* as the rope is formed by twisting the four cords (*d*) together. *g* is a heavy billet of wood, about 5 by 1 by 1 foot. As the cords and rope are twisted, the increasing tension drags *g* forward about 6 or 8 feet. *h* are short maguey fiber strings attaching the cords (*d*) to the cranks (*b*). These strings are not part of the finished rope.

[p. 45]

1:Beah E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

283 *Rope and twine.*—One man makes kite strings during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

303 *Hair brushes.*—One family of four makes its entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

532 *Masks.*—One family makes wooden masks to order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are [439] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

294 433 434 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a [435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in [439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 434 [394] *Candlemaking:*

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	$2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	$0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*

Horsehair $0.50 per kilo	$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	$1.50
Gross profit per day	$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 433 434 *Shoemaking:*

Equipment:

Sewing machine	$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?

Labor:

1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices

[435] Value of product (per pair)	$3.00–7.00

Estimated gross income:

Per day	1.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 435 434 *Tanning:*

Charge per cowhide	$5.00–$10.00
Charge per sheepskin	.50
Average daily return	1.25

438
323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and
[439] Mexico City.

Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the
[177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous
[177] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

● 283 **Spinning.**—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.)
[986] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

286 **Weaving.**—Tarascans weave all agave and cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáıatakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

286 found in most parts of indigenous America south of the United States (pl. 11). Customarily, only women operate this loom; however, in Tarecuato agave fiber is woven with it by both men and women, and in Tanaco, exclusively by men. Until the 1880's the most important fabric made with the belt loom was the cotton *manta*, a simple white cloth used for native clothing since pre-Conquest days. The cheap factory-made cottons [177] of Puebla and Veracruz have completely displaced the indigenous *manta*, so that today Tarascans weave women's and men's belts (*fajas*), shawls (*rebozos*), aprons (*delanteras*), tablecloths and napkins (*servilletas*). Widths of cloth ranging from 1½ inches (women's belts) to more than a yard (*rebozos*) can be woven on these looms. Designs are usually woven into the above-named articles, the warp threads being first arranged for large widths on a long stick (šekuárakua) and for the narrow *fajas* on the šekuáni, an arrangement of four to five small sticks placed in the ground. Some of the finest examples of cotton weaving are found in the Sierra pueblos: Paracho (whose women make the Tarascan "*rebozo corriente*"), Ahuíran (women's belts), Angahuan (women's belts, aprons, *rebozos*), Charapan (belts, aprons, tablecloths), San Lorenzo (tablecloths, belts).

In the early colonial period the weaving of agave fiber was apparently widespread in the Sierra (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14), but today it is limited to Tarecuato and Tanaco.[139] In these villages the main agave fiber products are *morrales* (square bag with shoulder straps), *ayates* (coarse piece for wrapping articles to be carried on back), and *costales* (coarsely woven sacks for carrying goods on mules and burros). The fiber of *maguey bruto* 283 (akámba t'aímiti) is used for the finely woven morrales, while that of *maguey del toro* (torakámba) is employed for the coarser *ayates* and *costales*. Leaves of the agave plant are cut and the fiber extracted and carded. After drying, it is spun by (1) rolling fibers on the thigh with the hand, or (2) with the malacate. The fibers are woven on [286] the belt loom in the same fashion as cotton[140] (pl. 11). A piece of the agave fabric is doubled over and sewn on the sides to make the morral, and a shoulder cord is added. Other agave fiber [439] products made in Tarecuato include rope and

[139] Agave fiber products were manufactured in Pichátaro during the last century (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

[140] The loom for weaving agave fiber is called uápstakua in Tarecuato.

283
439 cord; these and the woven articles are marketed in Guanajuato, Jalisco, the *tierra caliente*, and in all parts of the present Tarascan area.

286 Woolen products are woven mainly on the European loom, which was introduced early in
[177] the 16th century.[141] During most of the colonial period this loom was used principally in the *obrajes*, or cloth mills established by Spaniards in various parts of Mexico near an abundant supply of wool. Indians first learned European weaving techniques in these mills, the labor for which came from surrounding native pueblos. By 1540 an *obraje*, operated by 26 forced native workers, had been set up in Acámbaro (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 33), and before the close of the century woolen mills existed in Taximaroa and Valladolid (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 225). Moreover, Indians quickly learned to spin wool, for tributes of spun wool were exacted from some pueblos, possibly to supply *obrajes* nearby.[142] It is not clear when the Tarascans began to use the hand loom in their own villages; possibly some looms were set up in the northern towns in the 16th century.[143] A report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) on the Tarascan pueblos of Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra, however, mentions the use only of the native loom. The first indication of a native wool industry in the Tarascan area comes from the Martínez de Lejarza report of 1822, which cites the *obrajeros* of San Juan Parangaricutiro (later the most renowned of the Tarascan blanket-weaving towns) and of several northern mestizo towns.[144] Tarascan wool weaving on a commercial scale may be post-colonial, having little economic basis until the break-down of the large woolen mills at the close of the colonial period. Today woolen blankets
[439] (*cobijas*, *serapes*) are made on the European hand loom in 24 Tarascan towns, Nahuatzen and pre-volcano Parangaricutiro being the largest pro-
ducers.

[141] Strands of wool are sometimes mixed with cotton in making women's belts. Often the warp is of woolen strands, the woof of cotton thread.

[142] For example, ca. 1540 the people of Puruándiro (Michoacán) contributed each week two arrobas of spun wool (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 117).

[143] The Relación de Chilchota (Mss. Nac.) states that some natives in the town made clothes of wool, but the type of loom used is not given. Moreover, according to the Relación de Cuitzeo (Mss. Nac.), the Indians living around the lake "... *hacían lana a los cuamecanos para hacer ropa para vestirse, y sus mugeres la benefiziaban* ..." Again, the type of loom used to weave wool is not given.

[144] The northern towns mentioned: Morelia, Zinapécuaro, Zitácuaro, Taximaroa, Jiquilpan, Huaracháta, La Piedad, Huaniqueo, and Tangamandapio. At that time the latter pueblo was wholly Tarascan; according to Martínez de Lejarza (1824, p. 227), "... *sus habitantes trabajan telares de algodón y lana.*"

285 438 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'uírakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[149] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 438 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton [283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

294 [171] **Capote making.**—In many parts of indigenous Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made [438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are im- [439] ported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[150] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[Text continues top of P. 67a]

[149] Other types: The k'amérita (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the čimánitepémuečа (1 m.×50 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; ióstiťan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranches along the shore of the Tarípu-k'éri Peninsula.

[150] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

243 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine
221 tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set
674 firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

When the ears are well formed, but while
243 stalks and leaves are still green, fodder
246 ("*rastrojo*") is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

The main work of harvesting is done by men.
243 Women bring food to the men, and they also
[462] glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-
[482] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the
[285] back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

The harvest is the busiest time of year.
243 Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the
464 infirm, everyone works, either on his own har-
466 vest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardicnte* (čarǎnda).

Most of the harvest is carried to town and
243 the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to
492 hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are
[493] used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

939 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [438] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture men's hats of palm straw braid, although pro- 439 duction does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

Production:

333 Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

433 *Price:*

434 From 80 centavos a meter to $1.25; about $1 a meter seemed most common

[435] *Average return:*

From 80 centavos to $1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

324 *Tools:*

433 2-pound iron mallet

434 Chisels

Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair) ....3 days

Door bases (pair) .....1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

[435] *Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) $9

Door bases and sills (each) 10

Comment: The figures suggest a $3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

295 *Tule mats:*

433 *Costs:*

434

Tules at Erongaricuaro, per bundle	$0.25
Rent of burro, 3 days	1.00
Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load)	3.50

Labor:	*Days*
Getting tules	3
Weaving 13 mats	6½
Selling mats	2½–3
Average total time	12

[435]

Sales price at 60 centavos each	$7.80
Gross profit	4.30
Daily profit per worker	.35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

415

FIGURE 17.—Utensils commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

[285]

[p. 23]

294 438 *trensas*. In practically every Tarascan pueblo women, children, and sometimes men weave *trensas* in their spare time, while walking to and from market, and while herding sheep. Braids are sold in the main markets, where they are purchased by hat makers. Little wheat straw is now braided, palm leaf being more durable and more easily handled.[147] After they are pressed and straightened with wooden rollers (fashioned like a clothes wringer), the braids are sewed together in spiral form, beginning at the crown. The brim and crown are made separately and sewed together. In Jarácuaro wooden forms are used to block crowns. Most hatters employ a Singer sewing machine, but those of Urapicho, Pamatácuaro, and Zacán sew by hand. In some towns hat making is disappearing, owing largely to factory competition. Pichátaro, formerly an important hat town, now has but four hatters. In 1936 the industry disappeared completely in Tiríndaro.

285 438 **Tule weaving.**—The indigenous sleeping mat or *petate* (k'uírakua) is found in most of highland Mexico. Also, the fire fan or *soplador* (p'unítatarákua), an indispensable kitchen utensil, is woven of tule. Mats and fire fans are made wherever tule is available—along the shores of shallow lakes, marshy areas, and river banks. Consequently, the villagers living around Lake Pátzcuaro are the chief tule weavers in the present Tarascan area (map 20; pl. 12). In San Andrés 90 percent of the working population make *petates*. Even a few families in the Sierra towns of Pichátaro and Cherán fabricate mats from tule reeds imported from Erongarícuaro. Formerly the towns near the northern march[1] districts were important *petate* producers, but there the industry has greatly declined with the desiccation of wet areas and disappearance of the tule brakes.[148] Tule is likewise being depleted along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. The *petateros* of Puácuaro, Napízaro, and Uricho import reeds from Jarácuaro Island, the local supply having been exhausted years ago.

Tule reeds are cut with the sickle, semidried, and bundled for transport or storage (pl. 8). In

[147] Hats of wheat straw are now made only in Pamatácuaro, Tarasnedo, and Apo (mestizo).

[148] A few *petates* are still made in Tarascan Tarejero, on the border of the former Zacapu marshes; in mestizo Etúcuaro (Tangancícuaro Basin); and in Tacátzeuaro (near the Cotija graben lakes). Moreover, the industry is still carried on in some of the Lerma Delta towns east of Lake Chapala, and in a few villages around Lake Cuitzeo.

[1] [probably should read 'marsh'.—Analyst]

285 438 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'uírakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[148] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 438 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton [283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

294 [171] **Capote making.**—In many parts of indigenous Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made [438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are im- [439] ported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[149] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 67a]

[148] Other types: The k'amériča (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the šimánitepémuča (1 m.×50 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; ištičan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranchos along the shore of the Tanfu-k'éri Peninsula.

[149] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

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133

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516
[294]

[531]
[415]

PLATE 12.—Tortillas. *a*, A milpa of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many petate makers own their own milpas, but sometimes portions of the brakes are leased to tule sellers, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into manojos and stacked in shocks. *c*, Weaving petates, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making atoles, Aranza-pueu. Work is done inside the kitchen. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the bowl of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tarécuato. *f*, Baskets woven at Ihuatzio. The large one (left), called *tuite*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The flat round basket is called *t'ahkata* and is used to carry fish and tamales. The twilled basket is a *tlaxal* (the Tarascans call it "*uaxkie*") for tortillas. The handled basket at the right (simply named "*canasta*") is for carrying eggs, pinoncillo, and often fish.

[End-plate 12]

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated
with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted
down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and
then a white varnish (*blanco de España*).
None of these materials was further identified.
The price obtained for hats varies with the
thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing,
and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
[462] or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
time occupation. Women's blouses are some-
times equipped with crocheted yolks. Cro-
cheted bands are also placed on the short blouse
sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

296 of petticoats are made by one woman, although
531 this technique is primarily found in Nahuatzen. The proportion of women doing this work seems significantly smaller in the third *cuartel* or *barrio* when compared with the other *cuartels*.

The crochet may be replaced by embroidery or drawn work, especially on finer materials such as linen or rayon. Designs either come "from one's head" or patterns may be bought in market. Usually the poorest designs come from the market, but no evidence was found either to indicate preservation of traditional patterns on the part of those not using commercial patterns, or to indicate creativeness in designs. Blouses decorated with crochet involve 1 week's part-time work, and embroidered or drawn-work blouses, from 1 to 3 weeks.

286 *Blanket weaving.*—About four men in Cherán weave blankets. These men buy raw wool, and wash, clean, card, and spin the wool, and do the weaving. White, brown, and black colors are usually natural wool colors. For blue, the
[386] only other common color, the weaver dyes white wool with indigo. A urine mordant is used. To produce a gray thread, white, black, and blue wool are mixed together before carding. Raw wool is washed and cleaned, losing about one-third its weight in the process.

293 Carding is done with commercial steel cards which cost $8.00 a set and last about 3 years.
[435] A handful of wool is placed on one card and the other is drawn across it several times. The wool is then folded on one of the cards and the process repeated. If wool of two or more colors is being mixed, the rectangles of carded wool are torn into pieces, mixed together, and carded a second time in order to give a more uniform color.

Spinning is done with a wheel (fig. 6). The edges of a rectangle of carded wool are folded along the long side. The rectangle is then pulled apart down the middle except at one end, giving a strip of carded wool about 1½ inches wide. One end is thrown over the left arm and the other end fed into the yarn with the left hand while the wheel is turned with the right. When 6 to 8 inches are lightly twisted, the yarn is stretched to from 24 to 30 inches, given a tighter twist, and then wound on the spindle (fig. 6). [Text continued on page 36 b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 36b]

286 294 Weaving is done on a wooden European type loom with heddles and treddle. A blanket is always woven in two strips, and then sewed together with an opening left in the center so it may be worn as a poncho. Further details are omitted pending a study of the handicraft in a town specializing in weaving.

286 *Lace weaving.*—It is probable that this technique is misnamed. In any case it is not properly a Cherán technique, the only weaver being a woman from Aranza. So far as is known, only six or eight women in the latter village know the technique.

A broadloom frame is used, about 8 feet by 4 feet. It is warped with white cotton thread. The weft, also of cotton thread, is placed with the fingers. Designs are set off by open work and consist of human and animal figures. [435] A bedspread or tablecloth takes 2 months or more to make and sells at $75.00 and up (asking price). Often the design is

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 36c]

286 arranged to be cut up in small pieces. A 2-
435 foot square piece in coarse thread (which weaves faster than fine thread) with figures of a man, a burro, and two deer, was purchased for $2.00.

Belt weaving.—Perhaps five or six women
286 in Cherán weave narrow belts for women. A small belt loom is used. One end is tied to a house post or tree, and the weaver kneels on a mat. A circular warp slips freely about the yarn beams. Two heddles, a spreader, two or more shed dividers, and a batten are employed (fig. 7). The belts always have a central design with plain border. The main warp is cotton, but the central design area has a double warp, one being of wool. Sheds for intricate parts of the design are picked up with a small stick, not with the heddle. There is no shuttle; the weft threads are wound in small balls or on a piece of paper. No patterns are used for designs. Belts take about 2 days of fairly in-

[text continued on page 38a]

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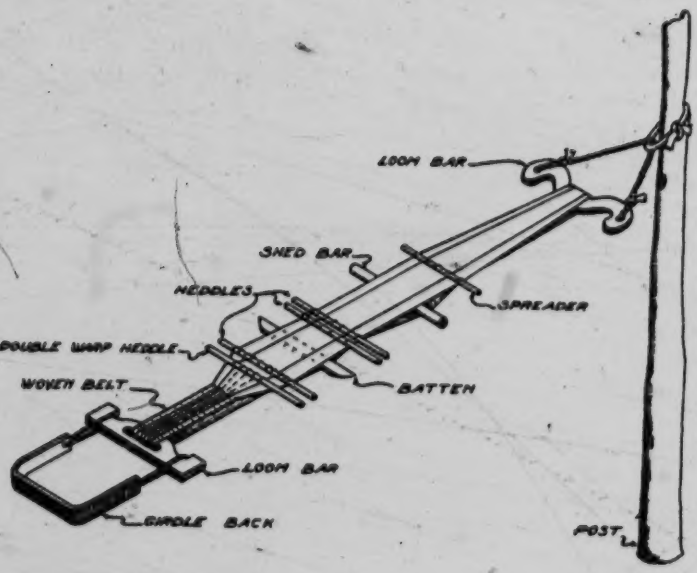

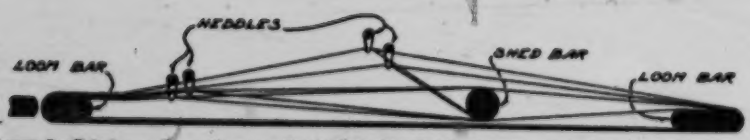

FIGURE 7.—Belt loom. Proportions are distorted to show detail; the actual width of the belt is about 1¼ inches. The central part of the warp is double. The lower view shows schematically the various sheds created by the shed bar and the four heddles. Length is 8 feet 9 inches between the loom bars.

[p. 37]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

286 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 463 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town [511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards [177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside [439] in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

291 177 *Men's dress.*—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p171b]

295 433 434 *Hats:*

Cost of materials:

Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at $0.30 to $0.40	$0.90–$1.60
Thread, per hat	.15
Sizing materials for white hats	Unknown
Total	1.05–1.75 (?)

Labor, per hat	3–9 hours (approximately)
[435] Selling price, per hat	$1.25–4.00
Gross profit, per hat	$0.20–2.10
Return for labor, per hour	$0.06⅔–0.23 plus (?)
Return for labor, per day	$0.60–2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs [427] $40 to $50 second-hand, or rents at $10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the $1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

286 433 434 [435] *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:*

Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated)	$1.00
Labor (part time)	1–8 weeks
Selling price	$4.00–$12.00
Gross profit	$3.00–$11.00
Return for labor, per week	$3.00
Return for labor, per day	$0.40–$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:[1]

Cards, life 3 years	$3.00
Spinning wheel, life indefinite	12.00
Loom, life indefinite	?

[1] Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

286 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season) $11.25
434 Labor:
[435]

	Days
Purchase of wool	1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time)	1
Carding	2
Spinning	2
Weaving	2
Total	8

[435]

Asking price	$25.00	
Average sales price	20.00	
Gross profit	8.75	
Return for labor per day	1.09	plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis	.58	plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:

Materials, thread and yarn	?	
Labor, part time	2 days	
Asking price	$1.25	
Actual selling price	1.00	
Gross profit, estimated	.80–.90	
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours)	.40–.45	

[435]

Clothing manufacture:

294
433
434

Capital investment:
Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based on steady work on low-priced garments.

[585] Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
[435] Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

438 Handicrafts are very important to the economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
● 286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 337.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 68.

177 aboriginal and European products and techniques.
463 Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern wood-
[412] work the adz and the lathe are probably European and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide
[281] have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal.
[286] Although the ancient belt loom is used for most cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European tech-
[325] niques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

438
323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and Mexico City.

[439] Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the [177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous [177] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

Spinning.—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun 283 raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.) [386] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

Weaving.—Tarascans weave all agave and 286 cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáıatakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

286 found in most parts of indigenous America south of the United States (pl. 11). Customarily, only women operate this loom; however, in Tarecuato agave fiber is woven with it by both men and women, and in Tanaco, exclusively by men. Until the 1880's the most important fabric made with the belt loom was the cotton *manta*, a simple white cloth used for native clothing since pre-Conquest days. The cheap factory-made cottons [177] of Puebla and Veracruz have completely displaced the indigenous *manta*, so that today Tarascans weave women's and men's belts (*fajas*), shawls (*rebozos*), aprons (*delanteras*), tablecloths and napkins (*servilletas*). Widths of cloth ranging from 1½ inches (women's belts) to more than a yard (*rebozos*) can be woven on these looms. Designs are usually woven into the above-named articles, the warp threads being first arranged for large widths on a long stick (šekuárakua) and for the narrow *fajas* on the šekuáni, an arrangement of four to five small sticks placed in the ground. Some of the finest examples of cotton weaving are found in the Sierra pueblos: Paracho (whose women make the Tarascan "*rebozo corriente*"), Ahuíran (women's belts), Angahuan (women's belts, aprons, *rebozos*), Charapan (belts, aprons, tablecloths), San Lorenzo (tablecloths, belts).

In the early colonial period the weaving of agave fiber was apparently widespread in the Sierra (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14), but today it is limited to Tarecuato and Tanaco.[139] In these villages the main agave fiber products are *morrales* (square bag with shoulder straps), *ayates* (coarse piece for wrapping articles to be carried on back), and *costales* (coarsely woven sacks for carrying goods on mules and burros). The fiber of *maguey bruto* 283 (akámba t'aímiti) is used for the finely woven morrales, while that of *maguey del toro* (torakámba) is employed for the coarser *ayates* and *costales*. Leaves of the agave plant are cut and the fiber extracted and carded. After drying, it is spun by (1) rolling fibers on the thigh with the hand, or [286] (2) with the malacate. The fibers are woven on the belt loom in the same fashion as cotton[140] (pl. 11). A piece of the agave fabric is doubled over and sewn on the sides to make the morral, and a shoulder cord is added. Other agave fiber [439] products made in Tarecuato include rope and

[139] Agave fiber products were manufactured in Pichátaro during the last century (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 767).

[140] The loom for weaving agave fiber is called nápatakua in Tarecuato.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 65-a]

283
439 cord; these and the woven articles are marketed in Guanajuato, Jalisco, the *tierra caliente*, and in all parts of the present Tarascan area.

286 Woolen products are woven mainly on the European loom, which was introduced early in the 16th century.[141] During most of the colonial [177] period this loom was used principally in the *obrajes*, or cloth mills established by Spaniards in various parts of Mexico near an abundant supply of wool. Indians first learned European weaving techniques in these mills, the labor for which came from surrounding native pueblos. By 1540 an *obraje*, operated by 26 forced native workers, had been set up in Acámbaro (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 33), and before the close of the century woolen mills existed in Taximaroa and Valladolid (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 225). Moreover, Indians quickly learned to spin wool, for tributes of spun wool were exacted from some pueblos, possibly to supply *obrajes* nearby.[142] It is not clear when the Tarascans began to use the hand loom in their own villages; possibly some looms were set up in the northern towns in the 16th century.[143] A report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) on the Tarascan pueblos of Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra, however, mentions the use only of the native loom. The first indication of a native wool industry in the Tarascan area comes from the Martínez de Lejarza report of 1822, which cites the *obrajeros* of San Juan Parangaricutiro (later the most renowned of the Tarascan blanket-weaving towns) and of several northern mestizo towns.[144] Tarascan wool weaving on a commercial scale may be post-colonial, having little economic basis until the break-down of the large woolen mills at the close of the colonial period. Today woolen blankets [438] (*cobijas*, *serapes*) are made on the European hand loom in 24 Tarascan towns, Nahuatzen and pre-volcano Parangaricutiro being the largest pro-
ducers.

[141] Strands of wool are sometimes mixed with cotton in making women's belts. Often the warp is of woolen strands, the woof of cotton thread.

[142] For example, ca. 1540 the people of Puraándiro (Michoacán) contributed each week two arrobas of spun wool (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 117).

[143] The Relación de Chilchota (Mus. Nac.) states that some natives in the town made clothes of wool, but the type of loom used is not given. Moreover, according to the Relación de Cuitzeo (Mus. Nac.), the Indians living around the lake "... *hacen lana a los comerciantes para hacer ropa para vestirse, y sus mujeres la benefician* ..." Again, the type of loom used to weave wool is not given.

[144] The northern towns mentioned: Morelia, Zinapécuaro, Zitácuaro, Tarímaroa, Jiquilpan, Huarachita, La Piedad, Huaniqueo, and Tangamandapio. At that time the latter pueblo was wholly Tarascan; according to Martínez de Lejarza (1824, p. 227), "... *sus habitantes trabajan telares de algodón y lana.*"

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 65b]

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets,
[438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

Embroidery and sewing.—In the Sierra villages
531 of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran,
438 Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro.
286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180).
[439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus-
294 try was introduced probably in early colonial
[177] days.[145] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurío (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.)
294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of
438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[145] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 63.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

285 438 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'ufrakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[169] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 438 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton [283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

Capote making.—In many parts of indigenous 294 Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to [171] those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made [438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are im- [439] ported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[170] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 67a]

[169] Other types: The k'amérita (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the šimánitepémuša (1 m.×50 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; ístiban, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranchos along the shore of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula.

[170] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

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PLATE 11.—Textiles. *a*, Weaving cotton cloth for aprons on the native belt loom, Charapan. *b*, Weaving women's belts (*fajas*), Ajuio. The belts vary in width from 1½ to 3 inches, carry various designs, and each is of several brilliant colors. *c*, Weaving men's sashes of white cotton thread, Janitzio. Cardel is drying on the petate, lower right. *d*, Weaving a morral of agave fiber, Turecuato. *e*, Stretching woven pieces of agave fiber, Turecuato. Each piece is doubled over to make a morral. *f*, Weaving agave fiber on the belt loom, Turecuato. *g*, Spinning agave fiber with the malacate, Turecuato.

[End-plate 11]

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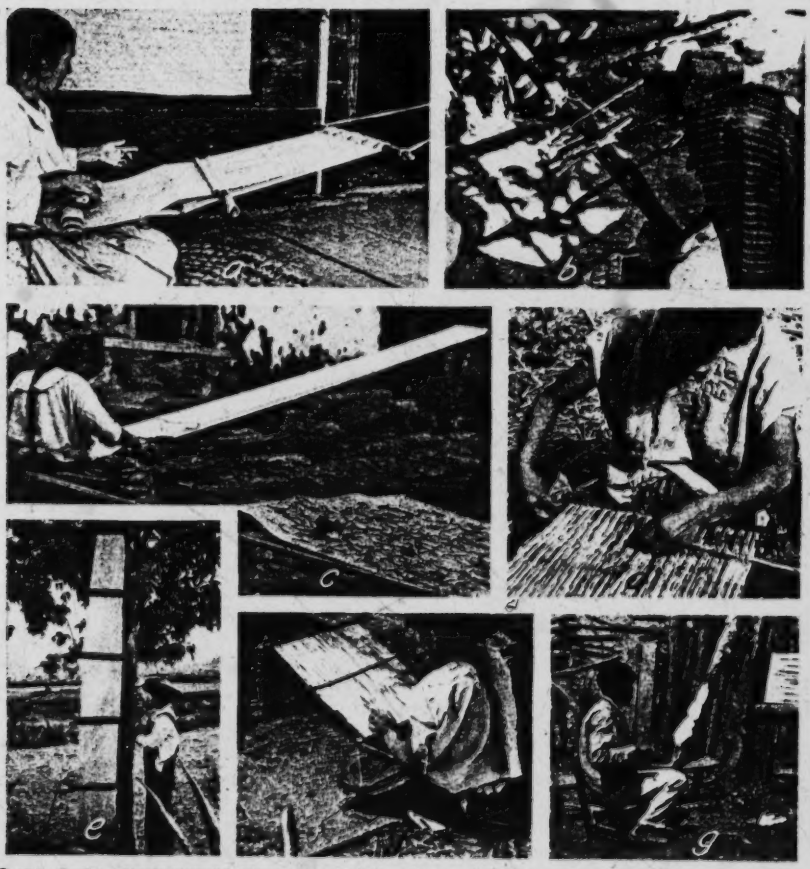

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[End-plate 11]

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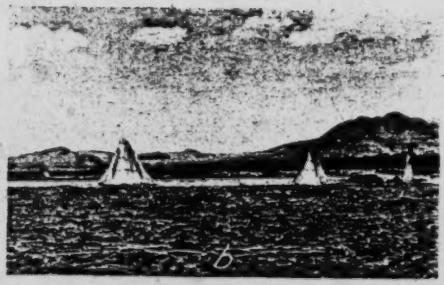

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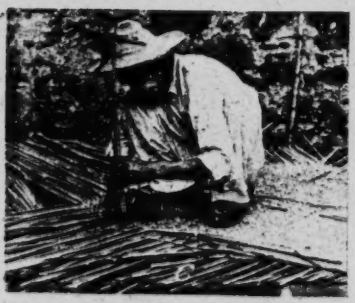

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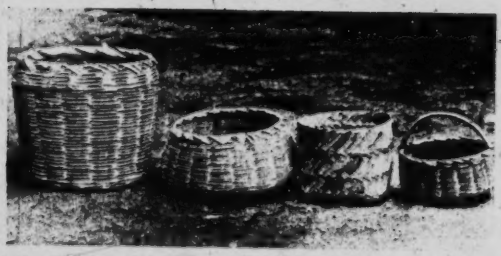

PLATE 12.—Textiles. *a*, A stripe of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many potato farmers own their own stripe, but sometimes portions of the brakes are leased to tule-sellers, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into sacques and stacked in shocks. *c*, Washing potatoes, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making sopatas, Arantepacua. Work is done inside the kitchen. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the *bateo* of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tarécuato. *f*, Baskets woven at Ihuatzio. The large one (left), called *tuke*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The flat round basket is called *g'ákiára* and is used to carry fish and tamales. The twilled basket is a classed (the Tarascans call it "*nanáki*") for tortillas. The handled basket at the right (simply named "*canasta*") is for carrying eggs, *pinocillo*, and often fish.

[End-plate 12]

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PLATE 13.—Woodwork. a, Gouging tools, Paracho. b, Wooden spoons and ladles, Paracho. c, Modern electrically powered lathe shop, Paracho. d, Turned objects made at Paracho. e, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cuanajo. f, Making umbrellas with the bow lathe, Paracho. g, Nest of wooden boxes, Cuanajo. h, Small (3 feet high) sliding chair commonly made in Cuanajo. i, Boxes made of logs.

[End-plate 13]

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PLATE 14.—Markets and transport. *a*, The Sunday firewood and fish market, Erongarícuaro. The wood vendor at left has already bartered a pile of plantains for a few fish in the basket. *b*, Pottery section of the Sunday market at Uruapan. *c*, The bread section of the Erongarícuaro market on the plaza. *d*, A truck of barrels bringing pine pulp forest from the sierra adjacent to Arío de Rosales. *e*, Boats form Janitzio landing on the mud flats at Erongarícuaro for the Sunday market. *f*, Hauling dismantled chairs and tables from Cocupao to the Uruapan market.

[End-plate 14]

286 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 463 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town [511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards [177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside [439] in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

291 177 *Men's dress.*—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

291 The most prominent and significant change
177 in men's dress in Cherán is not the entry of the *catrín* garments of storekeeper and professional man of the towns, but of the blue denim jeans or overalls of the mechanic and factory worker, the garment of the proletariat. As the con-
[665] trolling group in town is allied to the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanas, the town officials, including mayor and secretary, often wear over-
[292] alls, reserving their *catrín* clothes for visits to Uruapan or Morelia or for important civic events.

291 The working dress of Cherán males, and the exclusive dress of many, is trousers (*calzones*), shirt or blouse of unbleached muslin (*manta*), straw hat, and sandals (*guaraches*). A blanket or poncho (*serape*) is worn or carried as protection against cold or rain (pls. 3; 4, lower right).

The *calzones* or trousers are tight-fitting in the legs but cut full at the waist with a baggy seat. There are no buttons on the fly; instead of a fastening, the two ample sides of the fly are lapped over each other, and a sash, about 6 inches in width, is wrapped about the waist to hold the trousers. The lower part of the trouser leg has a piece of cloth tape attached which is used to tie the bottom of the *calzones* tightly around the ankle. The shirt, or more properly, blouse, likewise has no buttons. It usually has no tails, or very abbreviated ones, and is usually worn outside the *calzones*. It is open part way down the front and has a roll collar, but neither opening nor collar ordinarily is fastened. Buttons are never used, except in attempts to copy city garments, but strings may be provided. Such fitting as is attempted is badly done. A coat of *manta* may also be worn on special occasions; it differs from the blouse primarily in being open down the front and in being of heavier material. It may also be stitched in bright-colored thread.

Both shirt and coat may be modified by at-
[177] tempt to copy urban models and sometimes are purchased ready-made.

Sandals or *guaraches* have a heavy pointed double thick leather sole and leather heel. Part of the top is of leather pieces nailed to the sole, but the major portion is made of woven leather strips passing through slits in the upper sole

291 and the nailed portions of the uppers. The toe is open. As the manufacture of *guaraches* is practiced by only a few Cherán residents, most of them recent arrivals, no detailed description of techniques is given.

An inseparable part of the costume is the straw hat. From infancy, every male is equipped with a hat, which he always wears outdoors, no matter how inconvenient the circumstances. Awkward jobs, such as carrying heavy timbers, are infinitely delayed because every time a man's hat falls off, the entire operation stops until the hat is replaced. Moreover, the first way in which a man makes an extra "luxury" expenditure in clothing is to buy a more expensive hat. The hat is frequently embellished by a bright-colored string about the front of the crown and, passing through two holes at each side, then going around the back of the head. Flowers also are often worn on the hat. Hat manufacture is described under weaving.

From the above-described working costume, many departures occur. Without achieving *catrín* styles, a gay and well-dressed man may wear a brilliant rayon blouse or shirt of blue, red, or yellow, and bright-yellow high shoes (the latter without socks). A brilliant rayon kerchief may be added, as well as a colorful *serape* or poncho, although in Cherán the latter is usually dull in color. In such a town as [292] Capacuaro, however, Sunday or fiesta dress might consist of *calzones* of *manta* supported by a brilliant red sash, a vivid blue rayon shirt, bright green rayon kerchief, yellow shoes, a striking orange or strong pink poncho folded over one shoulder, and a large whitened straw hat with a big spray of pink gladiolus or a cluster of geraniums. Worn with an air, the ensemble is impressive.

In Cherán a good many men have shirts bought in market or in Uruapan; a necktie; a pair or two of cotton trousers, perhaps made by a tailor in Uruapan; a woolen sack coat; and a felt hat. Such a costume normally would be worn on Sunday or on trips by bus to Uruapan or some other town. Very rare, though, are individuals with a complete wool suit. Sweaters are fairly common for lounging about home or on the streets.

The dress of male children is similar to that

291 of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of [885] an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

Today both men and boys wear the hair 302 short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only 178 one boy in Cherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remem- [856] bered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of 291 women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only

[Text continues on page 40 b]

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Sierra Tarascans

[p. 40a]

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FIGURE 8.—Women's dress. See text for description. The petticoat is made more visible than usual in order to indicate the embroidered edging. The apron commonly reaches the bottom of the skirt. The rebozo would normally be on the head or about the shoulders, but is shown on the arm to permit a view of details of the blouse, hairdress, etc.

29) for visiting or receiving guests, while a great many conservative women wear it constantly. In the latter case, if they can afford it, women have two costumes, an old one for everyday, a newer one for special occasions.

The complete Tarascan woman's dress consists of petticoat, skirt, blouse, apron, *rebozo* or shawl, and a number of woven belts (fig. 8). The greatest variation is in the blouse. This may be of cheap *manta* or even discarded flour sacking, in which case it merely has an opening for the head, short sleeves, 4 to 6 inches in length, and is unsewn down the sides. The [853] open-sided blouse is often worn by nursing mothers, even though the materials are of better quality. No matter how cheap the materials, however, some design in cross-stitching is usually found about the neck opening.

Finer blouses may be of good cotton, rayon, or even silk, although cotton is the most common. The short sleeves may have a drawstring at the end to tie them closely about the arm. This gives a puffed sleeve appearance, although there is no fitting. More commonly, except in garments made for tourists, the lower end of the sleeve is finished with a crocheted band about 1 inch wide in a contrasting color. Often the lower seam of the sleeve is not carried to the body of the garment. The side seam of the latter is also often incomplete for about 2 inches below the sleeve. The opening left compensates to some extent for the lack of fitting. The neck opening is bound either by solid cross-stitching or a crocheted band similar to that on the sleeve. An extensive cross-stitched design usually gives the effect of a yoke, although front and back of the blouse are a single piece. The neck opening is tied together with two pieces of cord, a piece sewn to each side. Garments for sale may have a drawstring about the neck opening, which then is not extended down the front of the garment.

Cherán women's blouses are usually plainer [184] than those worn in other villages. The decoration is usually a dull yellowish brown and is applied with restraint. No study of the designs was attempted, as it is hoped a general study of the Tarascan textile and garment industry will be made.

The petticoat is of white cotton cloth or *manta*. It reaches from the waist nearly to the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

291 ground, and the lower edge is decorated with a band nearly 2 inches wide of cross-stitched designs in blue, strong pink, or red. These designs are made in Nahuatzen on long strips of *manta* and are purchased and sewn on the lower edge of the petticoat. The garment itself is tubular with a circumference of at least 6 yards. The top edge is folded back a foot or more, giving a double thickness of cloth about the waist. It is worn flat across the front and then skillfully gathered in knife pleats across the back, forming almost a ridge of material across the back. The pleats are not sewn but are laid in place each time the petticoat is donned. The top of the petticoat comes at least 6 inches above the waist. A woven belt of wool, usually in brilliant colors, about 2 inches wide and 2 or more yards long, is then placed very tightly about the waist to support the petticoat. Only training from childhood makes it possible to endure the tightness of the belt constantly.

If Tarascan dress is worn constantly, women frequently wear the petticoat without the skirt and apron while working. This is true even when running errands on the street. Any formal occasion, however, is thought to require the outer skirt and apron.

The outer skirt is of very dark-blue or black wool cloth, either of commercial origin, or hand-
[438] loomed materials from Paracho or Nahuatzen. Two widths of the latter are required. The skirt is tubular also, and the circumference should equal or exceed that of the petticoat, the limit being the purse of the family and the fortitude of the woman. Skirts over 30 yards in circumference are known; a 15-yard circumference is probably about the minimum for a really stylish garment. The top is folded in, and the surplus material is gathered, as in the petticoat, in knife pleats across the back. The top of the skirt is well above the waist and is held in place by several narrow woven belts of bright colors and designs. Despite their elaborate designs, these belts are wrapped one on top of the other. Although one would suffice, ideally one belt is superimposed on another until they reach a thickness of as much as 2 inches (pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2, upper right and left).

The pleats of the skirt must be prepared more carefully than those of the petticoat.

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 [854] When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 [438] [435] For special occasions, women who can afford them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *rebozo is* sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children [432] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the rebozo. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

291 of the *rebozo* (pl. 2, upper right and left). The bare arms are also usually covered by the *rebozo*. The ends may be used to lift hot objects or as a handkerchief. The *rebozo* is worn with cotton dresses as well as with the traditional costume.

Women usually go barefooted on all occasions. Today some wear shoes, but no woman was even seen to wear *guaraches*. Occasionally women may wear a man's straw hat over the *rebozo* when traveling in hot sun. Usually, though, a leafly branch is plucked and held to shade the head.

302 Women dress one another's hair. The hair is carefully combed and brushed, frequently with brushes from urban sources or with brushes of *raiz de paja*. Oil or lemon juice is often rubbed on the hair to impart a sheen and preserve the hairdress for 2 or 3 days. The hair is parted in the middle and then carefully braided in two braids. Young women and some older women braid in pieces of bright-colored yarn or narrow ribbons. Small girls usually have yarn or ribbon only in one braid. Very old women sometimes do not comb the hair, letting it hang in a tangled mass, possibly because they have no relatives or friends to do this. A band or cord may, in this case, be tied around the head to keep the hair out of the face. In Mestizoized Chilchota, women still do not comb their own hair but do it for each other.[12]

291 Girls frequently are put in the traditional
854 costume before they can walk. Usually a portion of a worn-out skirt or *serape* is bound on the infant with a belt. When the child can walk, a miniature blouse and petticoat are provided, and usually a portion of a skirt, even
[856] though ragged. Thus, even from infancy, the girl is tightly bound about the waist and at an older age is able to stand the tight belt necessary to support the heavy petticoat and skirt (pl. 2, lower right and left).

301 Both women and girls wear necklaces of tubular red glass beads called *corales* (corals). Three or four to several dozen strings are worn. The strings go only part way around the neck, being attached to two ribbons which are tied behind the neck. Earrings are also worn.

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[12] In Sopoco in La Cañada, women dress each other's hair after the weekly bath. The hair is "dressed" with lemon juice and the juice of an unidentified herb.

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Some children walk
-868 as early as 8 months, but most later, and some
145 not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be papá, mamá, ueksínga ("I want"), and auáka ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 8 months.

Toilet training is not rigorous and little is
863 done until the child is able to walk. Up to this
854 time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In
[155] general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

As soon as children begin to walk, they are
854 dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments.
● 291 In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn. Little girls wore a tiny *rollo*, while boys wore cotton trousers and shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little
854 girls are pierced by their mothers, using a
304 needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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553 the child of the latter being known as Pablo Juan or Luisa Juan, etc.

CHILDHOOD

854 Small children are usually clothed today. Occasionally a small boy is seen wearing nothing but a shirt, but this is uncommon, while girls able to walk always have a blouse and a skirt. In early childhood there is a good deal of affection between parents and children. Adults of both sexes play with the children and carry them about a great deal. Small children are kissed by both parents. Fear of strangers is absent. While opportunities for observation were limited, on several occasions when I had opportunity to be with children while talking with parents, they responded immediately to any caress on my part, often promptly climbing into my lap, or seizing hold of my clothing if I were standing. At this age there is evidently little correction. Some children cry and whimper a good deal and are reproved for it or told to hush, but nothing is done if the child continues.

[291]

As the child grows a little older, it evidently goes through a somewhat trying period of readjustment. This probably coincides with the coming of another child and also with the increasing care of the child by older brothers and sisters. At this period some rough treatment is given by the parents. Several times children were seen to stumble and fall on the street. When the child began to cry, the father either smacked it on the rump or kicked it along, gently it is true.

854 A boy about 4 was observed in a temper
152 tantrum on the Cherán plaza. The tantrum began when the mother took a large piece of sugarcane held by the child, broke it, prepared the smaller piece, and gave it to the child. The child began to scream and weep, demanding the larger piece back. The mother laughed good-naturedly and told him to come along. He refused, and finally the mother gave the boy a gentle tap on the rump with her piece of sugarcane. The child screamed and beat at the mother with his cane. She continued to laugh, made some comments to others passing by and gradually got the child moved along, but he continued screaming as long as he was within earshot. In this case the mother showed more

592 Table
352 3 chairs (usually small low style)
415 Machete
½ dozen spoons
2 table forks (rare)
1 table knife (rare)
1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

412 Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)
592 Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs
Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes
Wooden pitchfork
Wooden hook
Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)
Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)
Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

Clothing must also be secured. The man will ●291 own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.194b]

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 342 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 556 581 When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important. Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 556 554 As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will
517 always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums.
517 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well
525 patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5
[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

● 291 Tastes are fixed even in some matters of dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 201a]

291 unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

521 Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in Cherán is simply talking. Both men and
517 women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

538 With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

887 The transition from adult to old age is not a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents
886 whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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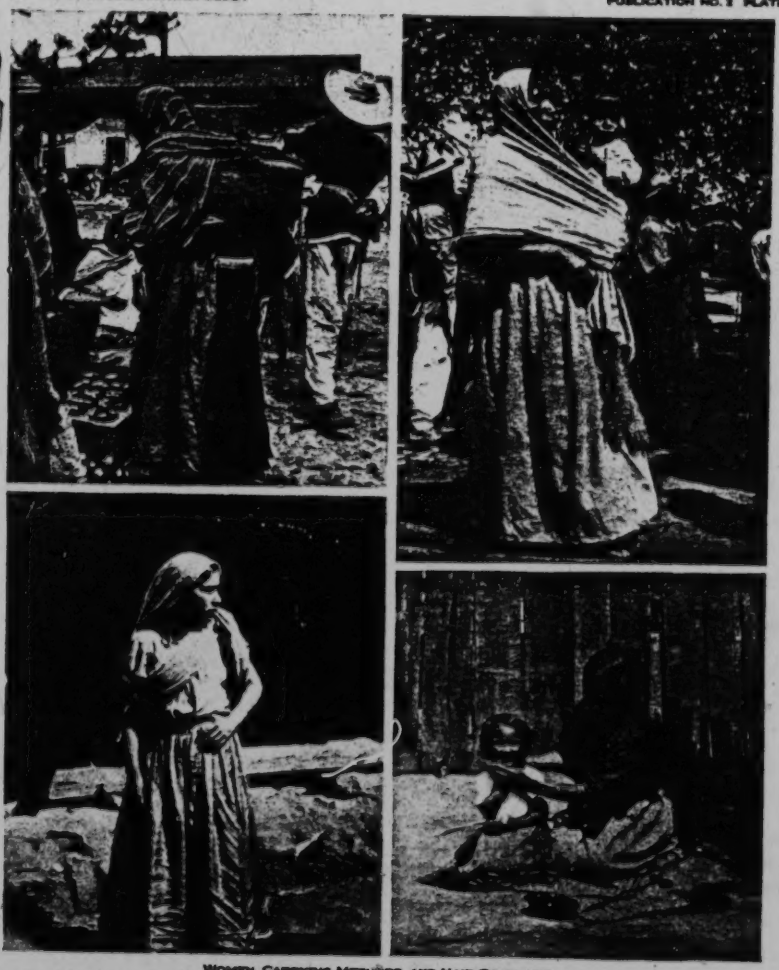

[516]
[302]

WOMEN, CARRYING METHODS, AND HAIR GROOMING.

Upper (left): Woman bargaining for tomatoes, showing typical method of carrying burdens on the back, i. e., by a sling of sacking which supports a basket and passes around the shoulders and across the chest. Her rollo is clearly visible. The man in the short poncho is probably a Mestizo attending the fiesta. *Upper (right):* Woman using *rebozo* in carrying a child. Musicians in background. *Lower (left):* Unmarried young woman of San Lorenzo with *rayon* apron and light *rebozo* for a fiesta. *Lower (right):* Mother combs her daughter's hair and anoints it with oil or lemon juice (in bowl) to give it a sheen.

[End Plate 2]

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PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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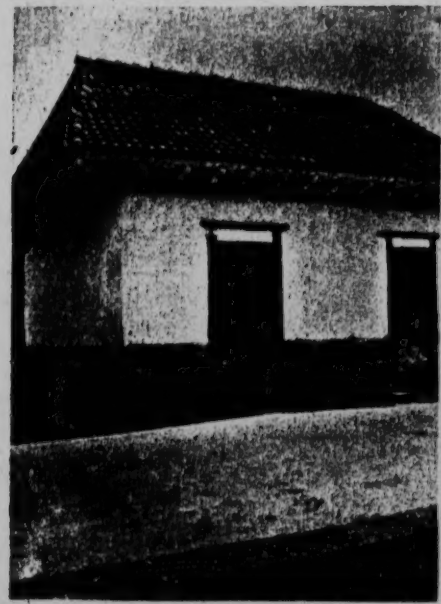

Left: A well-built stone structure in Paracho with the wide eaves characteristic of Central Michoacán. *Right:* Scene in a house-roofing fiesta in Cherán. The house owner is in the foreground bedecked with strings of bread and flowers; the relatives are in the background.

[End plate 8]

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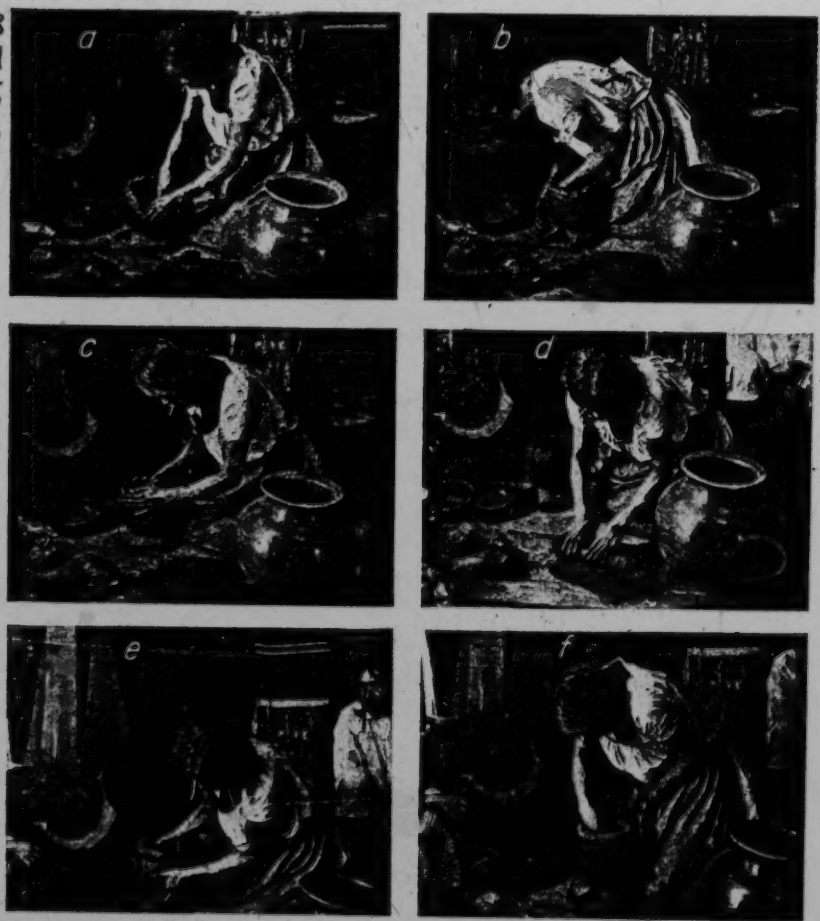

PLATE 9.—Cocucho: Pottery making at Cocucho. *a*, Vessel being started from a single dank of clay. The vessel is worked on top of the mouth of a broken olla. *b*, and *c*, Bottom portion of vessel being shaped. *d*, Piece of clay being rolled out on board. *e* and *f*, Sides of vessel are built up by adding pieces of rolled clay.

[End plate-9]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[176] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[403] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[End Plate 3]

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.
Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

291 The most prominent and significant change
177 in men's dress in Cherán is not the entry of the *catrín* garments of storekeeper and professional man of the towns, but of the blue denim jeans or overalls of the mechanic and factory worker, the garment of the proletariat. As the con-
[665] trolling group in town is allied to the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos, the town officials, including mayor and secretary, often wear over-
[292] alls, reserving their *catrín* clothes for visits to Uruapan or Morelia or for important civic events.

291 The working dress of Cherán males, and the exclusive dress of many, is trousers (*calzones*), shirt or blouse of unbleached muslin (*manta*), straw hat, and sandals (*guaraches*). A blanket or poncho (*serape*) is worn or carried as protection against cold or rain (pls. 3; 4, lower right).

The *calzones* or trousers are tight-fitting in the legs but cut full at the waist with a baggy seat. There are no buttons on the fly; instead of a fastening, the two ample sides of the fly are lapped over each other, and a sash, about 6 inches in width, is wrapped about the waist to hold the trousers. The lower part of the trouser leg has a piece of cloth tape attached which is used to tie the bottom of the *calzones* tightly around the ankle. The shirt, or more properly, blouse, likewise has no buttons. It usually has no tails, or very abbreviated ones, and is usually worn outside the *calzones*. It is open part way down the front and has a roll collar, but neither opening nor collar ordinarily is fastened. Buttons are never used, except in attempts to copy city garments, but strings may be provided. Such fitting as is attempted is badly done. A coat of *manta* may also be worn on special occasions; it differs from the blouse primarily in being open down the front and in being of heavier material. It may also be stitched in bright-colored thread.

Both shirt and coat may be modified by at-
[177] tempt to copy urban models and sometimes are purchased ready-made.

Sandals or *guaraches* have a heavy pointed double thick leather sole and leather heel. Part of the top is of leather pieces nailed to the sole, but the major portion is made of woven leather strips passing through slits in the upper sole

291 and the nailed portions of the uppers. The toe is open. As the manufacture of *guaraches* is practiced by only a few Cherán residents, most of them recent arrivals, no detailed description of techniques is given.

An inseparable part of the costume is the straw hat. From infancy, every male is equipped with a hat, which he always wears outdoors, no matter how inconvenient the circumstances. Awkward jobs, such as carrying heavy timbers, are infinitely delayed because every time a man's hat falls off, the entire operation stops until the hat is replaced. Moreover, the first way in which a man makes an extra "luxury" expenditure in clothing is to buy a more expensive hat. The hat is frequently embellished by a bright-colored string about the front of the crown and, passing through two holes at each side, then going around the back of the head. Flowers also are often worn on the hat. Hat manufacture is described under weaving.

From the above-described working costume, many departures occur. Without achieving *catrin* styles, a gay and well-dressed man may wear a brilliant rayon blouse or shirt of blue, red, or yellow, and bright-yellow high shoes (the latter without socks). A brilliant rayon kerchief may be added, as well as a colorful *serape* or poncho, although in Cherán the latter is usually dull in color. In such a town as [292] Capacuaro, however, Sunday or fiesta dress might consist of *calzones* of *manta* supported by a brilliant red sash, a vivid blue rayon shirt, bright green rayon kerchief, yellow shoes, a striking orange or strong pink poncho folded over one shoulder, and a large whitened straw hat with a big spray of pink gladiolus or a cluster of geraniums. Worn with an air, the ensemble is impressive.

In Cherán a good many men have shirts bought in market or in Uruapan; a necktie; a pair or two of cotton trousers, perhaps made by a tailor in Uruapan; a woolen sack coat; and a felt hat. Such a costume normally would be worn on Sunday or on trips by bus to Uruapan or some other town. Very rare, though, are individuals with a complete wool suit. Sweaters are fairly common for lounging about home or on the streets.

The dress of male children is similar to that

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a
[854] ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 For special occasions, women who can afford
[438] them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may
[435] cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, how-
[492] ever, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the *rebozo*. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

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PLATE 10.—Cocucho: Pottery making at Cocucho (continued). *g* and *h*, Rolled pieces of clay are worked into sides of vessel. *i*, Sides of vessel are smoothed with cornsoob. *j* and *k*, Lip of vessel being shaped. *l*, The finished pile. The vessel was made in about 2½ minutes.

[End-plate 10]

535 796 [532] known as the caballita uaiárica dance of the little horses. The figures of horses are made of withes from certain plants, with openings in the middle in which the girls stand. The head is made so it can move, and the dance consists mostly of the girls standing and moving the horses' heads in time to the music. Again, little attention is paid to the dance, and the *carguero* often does not arrange to have it performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges a dance known as the uáris. The dancers consist simply of unmarried girls and young women who dress in the traditional costume but perhaps with a few more ornaments than usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned of in other towns. The *pastorela* of Capacuaro was the most thoroughly studied, but the data remain superficial and unrelated to the ceremonial setting. The dancers are connected with the *carguero* for the December 25th ceremonies. A pole is erected in his patio with a large paper lantern suspended from the top (this is done by the kéni at Cherán, but use of this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage is erected at one end of the patio on which some of the *relatos* are given. The house is also decorated with paper flowers and pine boughs. A table altar on the porch has a *creche* with miniature figures. The dancers appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting 18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the *carguero's* house. Doubt of this statement seems indicated.

292 535 796 The dancers consist of between 35 and 40 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of 8 to12. In addition, there were two "hermits" or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and carried a whip, serving, among other functions, as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europeos* [532] were dressed in white wooden masks with long blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

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"demons" were dressed in black, wearing a crown of feathers on the back of the head, with a black veil over most of the face. The devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*. Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers. Two small boys represented angels (one, Michael, with a sword), but the majority were dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes, and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

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The performance begins with a long *relato* by the devils in which they talk about a journey they are going to make, the curious things they are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a *ranchero* dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros* supervise the two files of children. Then there is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers give their crooks to friends or relatives and dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of children alone or occasionally with the hermits. The devils and the hermits, on the other hand, constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one another. Occasionally one or two of the devils will capture a hermit and force him to dance along with them. Also, from time to time the hermits use their whips to keep the children from crowding in too much on the dancers.

[522]

The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One was seen "praying" before the church with his hands together but with both thumbs to his nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd with their whips or if they identified the offender, would pursue him with their whips—and sometimes used them if the stones had been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of the church before the saints' images, which are brought out of the church for this. Then the dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after which they dance. Then they go to various houses and dance. The householders give them fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts. Then they return to the house of the *carguero* to eat once more.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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chosen was born in another community and another was technically illegitimate—since her parents, although living together for many years, had never been wed either in civil or religious ceremony. The Huananchas came from all quarters of the pueblo. Participation itself, through enabling one to be among those directly concerned with "making the holiday," may well have been a means of acquiring prestige in the community. The Huananchas *may* have been chosen in the same manner as were the *Cargueros* (the officers of the trade groups) in the past. That is, a committee decided who should participate and then notified those nominated; these people might then beg off if they had good arguments. This was the procedure outlined for naming the *Cargueros* who were then responsible for organizing the various trade groups in past years, however no specific comments were made about the manner of choice of the Huananchas.

In the dance all of the little girls wore pink satin or sateen dresses. These apparently were made for the occasion. On their heads they wore gilded crowns with brightly colored artificial flowers attached. The elegance of each dancer's dress and the number of sprays of flowers on her crown were subjects of much comparison, both by the dancers themselves and by their mothers. It was observed that one of the dancers was visibly distressed over some unkindly comments about her hair which was not curled like that of the others, and because her crown bore fewer flowers. There is thus an informal, but effective, status ranking of the dancers and their families in terms of the costumes worn.

In the dance the four biggest girls—representing those who formerly used to carry the image of the Virgin—form a rectangle. Between them are the three shorter and younger girls. (See "a," Fig. 1). We were told that the center dancer of these last three represents the pennant bearer and is supposed to carry a blue pennant. She is known as *Pendonpasi*. One of the others was supposed to carry copal or incense, and the third one a candle. Actually, the dancers carried nothing when they performed in 1948. It is probable that the description given really refers to what the Huananchas used to carry in processions, and not what they held in their hands during the dance.

The only step for the entire dance is an extremely slow and, to the outsider, monotonous "simple" but the patterns which the dancers perform vary.[5] When dancing in the town hall for the various political and other officials the performance continued for approximately 45 minutes; at other times the dance was limited to about 20 minutes by elimination of the repetition of the various patterns. In the town hall and elsewhere the girls were surrounded on all sides by observers during their performance. In the description which follows, "front" refers to the two dancers closest to the officials, "back," to the two dancers farthest from the guests of honor. The three other dancers form a center row. All dancers face the guests of honor most of the time.

The dance begins with all seven girls making two very slow turns in place in

[5] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Here the authors have the following to say about a religious dance which they observed in the Internado in Paracho: "The dances are very prolonged and they always last several hours, accompanied by a terribly monotonous music." (Translated from the Spanish).

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 [128] [173] [167] The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their presumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

[175] Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 805 [175] The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 796 793 173 292 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the nation and its princes.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient.

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it.

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces.

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri.

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.346]

339 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make [438] them locally. The mats are made of tules imported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture 439 men's hats of palm straw braid, although production does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.35a]

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated
with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted
down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and
then a white varnish (*blanco de España*).
None of these materials was further identified.
The price obtained for hats varies with the
thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing,
and the finish applied.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.—A
286 number of women ornament women's blouses
531 or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
[462] time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 36b]

286 Weaving is done on a wooden European type
294 loom with heddles and treddle. A blanket is always woven in two strips, and then sewed together with an opening left in the center so it may be worn as a poncho. Further details are omitted pending a study of the handicraft in a town specializing in weaving.

Lace weaving.—It is probable that this tech-
286 nique is misnamed. In any case it is not properly a Cherán technique, the only weaver being a woman from Aranza. So far as is known, only six or eight women in the latter village know the technique.

A broadloom frame is used, about 8 feet by 4 feet. It is warped with white cotton thread. The weft, also of cotton thread, is placed with the fingers. Designs are set off by open work and consist of human and animal figures.
[435] A bedspread or tablecloth takes 2 months or more to make and sells at $75.00 and up (asking price). Often the design is

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

286 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 463 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town [511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards [177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside [439] in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

291 177 *Men's dress.*—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

286 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and
434 season) $11.25
[435] Labor:

	Days
Purchase of wool	1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time)	1
Carding	2
Spinning	2
Weaving	2
Total	8

[435]

Asking price	$25.00
Average sales price	20.00
Gross profit	8.75
Return for labor per day	1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis	.58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:

Materials, thread and yarn	?
Labor, part time	2 days
Asking price	$1.25
[435] Actual selling price	1.00
Gross profit, estimated	.80–.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours)	.40–.45

Clothing manufacture:

294 Capital investment:
433 Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
434 Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based
[585] on steady work on low-priced garments.
Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to
[435] 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

294 433 434 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a [435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in [439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 434 *Candlemaking:*

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	$2.25–$2.50
[394] Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	$0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*

Horsehair $0.50 per kilo	$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	$1.50
Gross profit per day	$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 433 434 *Shoemaking:*

Equipment:

Sewing machine	$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?

Labor:

1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices

[435] Value of product (per pair)	$3.00–7.00

Estimated gross income:

Per day	.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 435 434 *Tanning:*

Charge per cowhide	$5.00–$10.00
Charge per sheepskin	.50
Average daily return	1.25

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 An interesting aspect of cottage industries is
178 their ephemeral character. Owing to movement
[166] of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[184] The pottery industry in Santa Fé
[323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was
[294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan
[282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft
[325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[184] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 65b]

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets,
[438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

Embroidery and sewing.—In the Sierra villages
531 of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran,
438 Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro.
286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180).
[439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus-
294 try was introduced probably in early colonial
[177] days.[145] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurío (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.)
294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of
438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[145] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 62.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

294 *trensas*. In practically every Tarascan pueblo
438 women, children, and sometimes men weave *trensas* in their spare time, while walking to and from market, and while herding sheep. Braids are sold in the main markets, where they are purchased by hat makers. Little wheat straw is now braided, palm leaf being more durable and more easily handled.[147] After they are pressed and straightened with wooden rollers (fashioned like a clothes wringer), the braids are sewed together in spiral form, beginning at the crown. The brim and crown are made separately and sewed together. In Jarácuaro wooden forms are used to block crowns. Most hatters employ a Singer sewing machine, but those of Urapicho, Pamatácuaro, and Zacán sew by hand. In some towns hat making is disappearing, owing largely to factory competition. Pichátaro, formerly an important hat town, now has but four hatters. In 1936 the industry disappeared completely in Tiríndaro.

285 **Tule weaving.**—The indigenous sleeping mat or
438 *petate* (k'uírakua) is found in most of highland Mexico. Also, the fire fan or *soplador* (p'unítarákua), an indispensable kitchen utensil, is woven of tule. Mats and fire fans are made wherever tule is available—along the shores of shallow lakes, marshy areas, and river banks. Consequently, the villagers living around Lake Pátzcuaro are the chief tule weavers in the present Tarascan area (map 20; pl. 12). In San Andrés 90 percent of the working population make *petates*. Even a few families in the Sierra towns of Pichátaro and Cherán fabricate mats from tule reeds imported from Erongarícuaro. Formerly the towns near the northern march[1] districts were important *petate* producers, but there the industry has greatly declined with the desiccation of wet areas and disappearance of the tule brakes.[148] Tule is likewise being depleted along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. The *petateros* of Puácuaro, Napízaro, and Uricho import reeds from Jarácuaro Island, the local supply having been exhausted years ago.

Tule reeds are cut with the sickle, semidried, and bundled for transport or storage (pl. 8). In

[147] Hats of wheat straw are now made only in Pamatácuaro, Teremedo, and Apo (mestizo).

[148] A few *petates* are still made in Tarascan Tarejero, on the border of the former Zacapu marshes; in mestizo Etúcuaro (Tangancícuaro Basin); and in Tacátzcuaro (near the Cotija graben lakes). Moreover, the industry is still carried on in some of the Lerma Delta towns east of Lake Chapala, and in a few villages around Lake Cuitzeo.

[1] [probably should read 'marsh'.—Analyst]

285 438 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'ufrakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[149] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 438 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton [283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

Capote making.—In many parts of indigenous 294 Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to [171] those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made [438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are im- [439] ported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[150] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 67a]

[149] Other types: The k'amérita (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the šimánitapémuata (1 m.×50 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; šóstiran, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the rancherías along the shore of the Tazu-k'éri Peninsula.

[150] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 679]

294 palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are [439] marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an [177] introduced trait.

412 **Broommaking.**—This is another minor industry now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. [171] The result is a common broom found in all parts of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

322 According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the [177] natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[180a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[180a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1889, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in García Library, Univ. of Texas).

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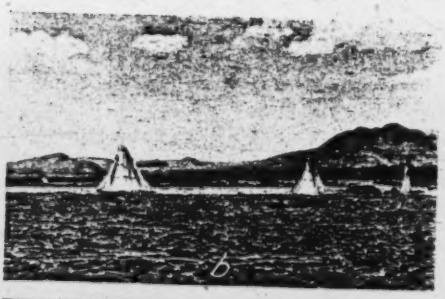

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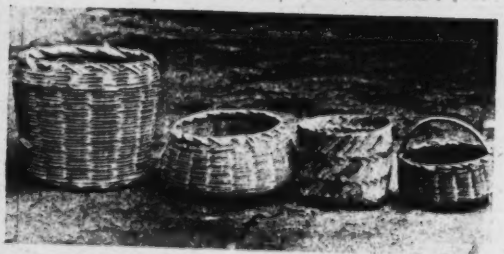

PLATE 12.—Textiles. *a*, A milpa of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many potato makers own their own milpas, but sometimes portions of the brakes are leased to tule cutters, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into zacapus and stacked in shocks. *c*, Weaving petates, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making zapotes, Arantepacua. Work is done inside the kiosos. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the tubs of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tzurumutaro. *f*, Baskets woven at Ihuatzio. The large one (left), called *tutiz*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The twilled basket in a tharal (the Tzurumutaro call it "*uacúa*") for tortillas. The bundled basket at the right (simply named "*canasta*") is for carrying eggs, pitaxahis, and often fish.

[End-plate 12]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings
283 during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its
303 entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to
532 order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are
[438] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

295 *Hats:*

Cost of materials:

433 Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at $0.30 to $0.40 ..... $0.90–$1.60

434 Thread, per hat ..... .15

Sizing materials for white hats ..... Unknown

Total ..... 1.05–1.75 (?)

Labor, per hat ..... 3–9 hours (approximately)

[435] Selling price, per hat $1.25–4.00

Gross profit, per hat $0.20–2.10

Return for labor, per hour ... $0.06⅔–0.23 plus (?)

Return for labor, per day $0.60–2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs [427] $40 to $50 second-hand, or rents at $10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the $1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:

286 Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated) $1.00

433 Labor (part time) ..... 1–3 weeks

434 Selling price ..... $4.00–$12.00

[435] Gross profit ..... $3.00–$11.00

Return for labor, per week $3.00

Return for labor, per day ..... $0.40–$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:[1]

Cards, life 3 years $8.00

Spinning wheel, life indefinite 12.00

Loom, life indefinite ..... ?

[1] Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

294 Some persons make and sell finished garments.
433 Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of
434 material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a
[435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in
[439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 *Candlemaking:*
434 Cost of wax (per kilo) .....
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax ... $2.25–$2.50
[394] Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment) ..... $0.50–$1.00

Rope making (horsehair):
[283] Horsehair $0.50 per kilo $0.37½
Labor ..... 1 day
Sale price $1.50
Gross profit per day $1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

Shoemaking:
295 Equipment:
433 Sewing machine $55.00
434 Lasts ..... ?
Knives ..... ?

Labor:
1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices
[435] Value of product (per pair) $3.00–7.00
Estimated gross income:
Per day 1.50
Per pair of shoes 1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

Tanning:
281 Charge per cowhide ..... $5.00–$10.00
435 Charge per sheepskin ..... .50
434 Average daily return 1.25

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 [854] When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 [438] [435] For special occasions, women who can afford them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children [492] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the rebozo. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

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FIGURE 8.—Woman's dress. See text for description. The petticoat is made more visible than usual in order to indicate the embroidered edging. The apron commonly reaches the bottom of the skirt. The *rebozo* would normally be on the head or about the shoulders, but is shown on the arm to permit a view of details of the blouse, hairdress, etc.

291 of the *rebozo* (pl. 2, upper right and left). The bare arms are also usually covered by the *rebozo*. The ends may be used to lift hot objects or as a handkerchief. The *rebozo* is worn with cotton dresses as well as with the traditional costume.

Women usually go barefooted on all occasions. Today some wear shoes, but no woman was even seen to wear *guaraches*. Occasionally women may wear a man's straw hat over the *rebozo* when traveling in hot sun. Usually, though, a leafy branch is plucked and held to shade the head.

302 Women dress one another's hair. The hair is carefully combed and brushed, frequently with brushes from urban sources or with brushes of *raiz de paja*. Oil or lemon juice is often rubbed on the hair to impart a sheen and preserve the hairdress for 2 or 3 days. The hair is parted in the middle and then carefully braided in two braids. Young women and some older women braid in pieces of bright-colored yarn or narrow ribbons. Small girls usually have yarn or ribbon only in one braid. Very old women sometimes do not comb the hair, letting it hang in a tangled mass, possibly because they have no relatives or friends to do this. A band or cord may, in this case, be tied around the head to keep the hair out of the face. In Mestizoized Chilchota, women still do not comb their own hair but do it for each other.[12]

291 854 Girls frequently are put in the traditional costume before they can walk. Usually a portion of a worn-out skirt or *serape* is bound on the infant with a belt. When the child can walk, a miniature blouse and petticoat are provided, and usually a portion of a skirt, even [856] though ragged. Thus, even from infancy, the girl is tightly bound about the waist and at an older age is able to stand the tight belt necessary to support the heavy petticoat and skirt (pl. 2, lower right and left).

301 Both women and girls wear necklaces of tubular red glass beads called *corales* (corals). Three or four to several dozen strings are worn. The strings go only part way around the neck, being attached to two ribbons which are tied behind the neck. Earrings are also worn.

[12] In Sopoco in La Cañada, women dress each other's hair after the weekly bath. The hair is "fixed" with lemon juice and the juice of an unidentified herb.

301 Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs [435] about $35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

335 Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán 322 except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

The differences in the economic well-being of 511 towns situated only a few miles apart are 465 sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive $1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually 335 consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

[text continues on p. 436]

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291 of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of [885] an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

Today both men and boys wear the hair 302 short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only 178 one boy in Gherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remem- [856] bered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of 291 women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only

[Text continues on page 40 b]

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[p. 40a]

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FIGURE 8.—Women's dress. See text for description. The petticoat is made more visible than usual in order to indicate the embroidered edging. The apron commonly reaches the bottom of the skirt. The rebozo would normally be on the head or about the shoulders, but is shown on the arm to permit a view of details of the blouse, hairdress, etc.

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WOMEN, CARRYING METHODS, AND HAIR GROOMING.

Upper (left): Woman bargaining for tomatoes, showing typical method of carrying burdens on the back, i. e., by a sling of cotching which supports a basket and passes around the shoulders and across the chest. Her rolls is clearly visible. The man in the short poncho is probably a Mestizo attending the fiesta. *Upper (right)*: Woman using rebozo in carrying a child. Mestizos in background. *Lower (left)*: Unmarried young woman of San Lorenzo with rayon apron and light rebozo for a fiesta. *Lower (right)*: Mother combs her daughter's hair and anoints it with oil or lemon juice (in bowl) to give it a shine.

[End Plate 2]

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295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings
283 during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its
303 entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to
532 order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are
[438] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

Some children walk
868 as early as 8 months, but most later, and some
145 not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be papá, mamá, ueksínga ("I want"), and auáka ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 8 months.

863 Toilet training is not rigorous and little is
done until the child is able to walk. Up to this
854 time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In
[155] general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

854 As soon as children begin to walk, they are
dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments.
291 In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn. Little girls wore a tiny *rollo*, while boys wore cotton trousers and
854 shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little
girls are pierced by their mothers, using a
● 304 needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

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854 regarded as necessary for any other reason,
304 nor are there any beliefs about the operation.

The infant is ordinarily baptized between 10
851 days and 2 months after birth. The tendency
608 in recent years is for the period to lengthen. Selecting godparents is important, for the care of the child in the event of death of the parents may devolve on the godparents, and intimate relations will exist in any event. For this reason people will often refuse to accept the responsibility or do so only after repeated invitations. Normally a married couple are sought to act as godparents but sometimes an unmarried man serves as godfather. In this case, when he marries, his wife will automatically become godmother. More rarely an unmarried man and unmarried woman are asked to serve as godparents. Agustín R. acted as godparent one time and had never met the woman who served as godmother.

Most commonly the godfather takes the child to church for baptism unaccompanied by the godmother, but sometimes the godmother goes along and carries the child. The godfather pays the priest the fee for baptism, $2.50. In the case of Agustín R., mentioned above, he was accompanied by his mother who supplied the information the priest needed to enter the baptism in the parochial register.

When the godfather returns the child to its parents, the godmother goes to the house of the parents for food. She takes with her 2 to
[431] 5 cakes of chocolate, 2 bars of soap to wash the child, and 3 to 5 pieces of bread worth 10 centavos each. If the godfather is unmarried, he gives money to some woman to buy these things and take them to the child's parents.

The parents of the child prepare beef cooked in broth (čurípo), tamales, tortillas, and sometimes other things. The godmother eats at the parents' house, and sometimes they invite others. The godfather cannot eat at the parents' house, but they send food to him at his own house, which he eats by himself or he may invite a few of his friends in to help him. In the case of Agustín, he was sent 2 chickens cooked in mole sauce, a big pan of rice, a large basket of tortillas and some tamales. He ate most of the food by himself, his parents refusing to partake of it.

333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

● 305 *Barbers.*—Most men in Cherán now have their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

312 482 462 *Water carriers.*—In most households the women bring the water from the fountain or aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders. However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

128 Consideration of food processing in this section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

251 The storage of food is confined primarily to maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

256 402 433 434 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included. Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

● 305 434 *Barbers:*

Prices:	
Haircuts:	
Weekdays	**$0.15**
Sundays	**.20**
Shaves	**.10–.15**
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	**4–8**
Saturday	**10–15**
Income (a week)	**$6.00–$7.50**

Comment: **Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.**

533 434 *Musicians:*

Wages:	
For 2-day fiesta	**$10**
For wedding	**2**
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	**90**
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	**60**
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	**100**

Comment: **The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.**

338 434 *Painters, plasterers:*

Daily wage	**$1.75–2.50**

Comment: **Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.**

529 433 434 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	**$1,500–$1,700**
Rent (monthly)	**10–20**
Charge per game	**.05**

Comment: **No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.**

253 433 434 *Butchers:*

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	**$80–$150**
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

13| ritory is close to the railroad which runs through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
10| The southern boundary might be defined roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan and thence close to the railway from Uruapan to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs just inside the northern limits and in others, just outside. Within or near the borders of the present-day Tarascan area occur a number of old Mexican towns closely associated with the historic Tarascans and their contemporary culture, which provide the administrative centers and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
[563] towns of local importance have arisen more recently, towns which were once Tarascan but are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated Tarascans. A good example of such a town is Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may be characterized generally as an elevated temperate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood forests. In detail there are differences, and a number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages are either on the shore or upon islands in the lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but is concentrated in the summer months. The climate is temperate and cool even in midsummer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about by hills and mountains covered with forest. Although there is but little difference in elevation from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warmer and some tropical or subtropical plants such as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada. Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[312] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas, and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 7a]

13 West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about
133 equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcu-
[361] aro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

137 Except for occasional marginal farm clear-
[311] ings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

311 Wherever the land is sufficiently level to permit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smal-
311 ler extent, wheat, are almost the only field
241 crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

The town of Cherán has a population of
632 about 5,000. The community is unique among
162 Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherias. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherias or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the
632 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
311 a large area. Much of this area is mountain
578 and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan
361 agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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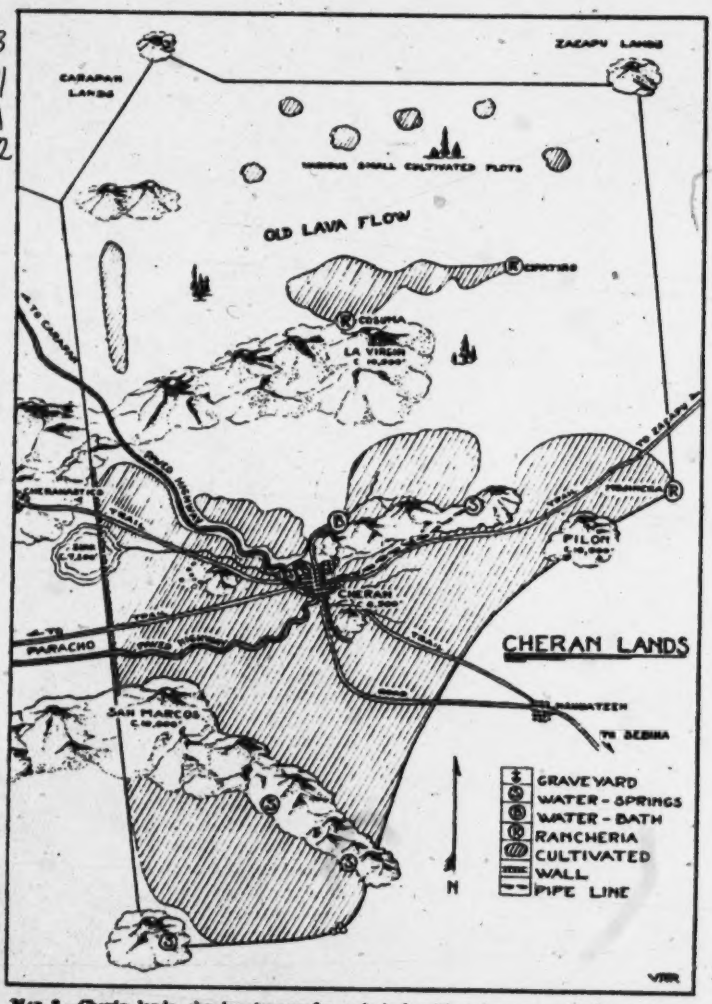

MAP 2.—Cheran lands, showing topography, principal cultivated areas, and various cultural features.

[p. 8]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

136 to the fauna is equally unsatisfactory. Despite the extensive forests, wild life is scarce. No
136 one in Cherán gets a living from hunting, and the amount of game taken forms an incon-
224 siderable amount of the food supply. Deer and peccary are sometimes hunted and occasionally damage outlying fields, but they do not seem to be numerous. Squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, and quail are among the animals of most economic importance. Badgers are known, but are not eaten. An exception to the general scarcity of wild life is the coyote. This animal appears to be numerous and to be a danger to livestock in the outskirts of the town. Larger predatory animals, such as the jaguar and the mountain lion, are unknown. Informants could recall only one mountain lion being seen or killed in the vicinity of the town. The region is, of course, too high for the absence of the jaguar to be surprising, but smaller members of the genus *Felis* are also rare. Only the wildcat is reported. The rattlesnake and *culebrilla* occur, but are not common. As there are few handicrafts practiced in Cherán, the community is consequently primarily agricul-
[311] tural and the only use of the forests is for lumbering, charcoal making, and grazing.

Little need be said about the people of Cherán
142 or their language. Although white admixture certainly exists in the town's population, there
[144] are virtually no acknowledged Mestizos. Until studies of the Tarascan population are completed, it perhaps will suffice to say that the people of Cherán seem to be typical Tarascans, on the average relatively short and slender, although stocky individuals are not uncommon. Their complexion is relatively dark, the hair is straight, and the features are attractive. Cor-
164 pulence in old age is very rare. Goiter or incipient goiter is common, especially in the
147 mountain towns, although the disease is less frequent in Cherán than in many other settlements. Teeth are bad, a condition observed for the area in pre-Columbian remains also. Not only are caries frequent, but malocclusion is common. Individuals with attractive regular teeth are the exception. (Pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2; 3, center and lower right and left.)

197 The language of Cherán is Tarascan, a tongue which shows relatively few dialectic differences.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.206]

241 Maguey (agave) Crab apples
Chayote *Zapote blanco*

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but [438] grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

311 The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans all have soils almost exclusively composed of 134 volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

311 Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called "*joyas*," consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

[423] The so-called "plains" consist of several large areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are 241 the principal crops grown. The "plains" are 311 cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

311 The largest "plain," usually referred to simply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

311 boundary with Aranza and Cheranástico (pl. 1, upper left). The second most important "plain" is south and southeast of the town and extends on the east to the boundary with Nahuatzen. On the north and south the plain is bounded by hills and mountains, on the west by the slope to *el plan*. This area is usually referred to as Sharicho (šaričo). The "*plan* of Arantepacuaro" is south of the range of mountains of San Marcos, and extends to the boundary of Arantepacuaro on the south. The fourth and smallest "plain" of importance is northeast of the mountain of El Pilón.

Patches of sloping land under permanent cultivation are found scattered throughout the *municipio*. A large number of plots are found on the slope between *el plan* and the town and on the lower, gentler slopes of many mountains and cinder cones. These lands may be fenced or, more commonly, protected by deep ditches with hedges of agave on each side. Thorny crab apple or other fruit trees sometimes are also planted along ditches. Weak spots may be guarded by thorny brush and poles (pl. 4, lower left).

The so-called "joyas" are usually patches of only a few acres, often in isolated places far from town. They may be fenced or ditched to keep out animals and, like the other areas, are privately owned. Unless they are unusually fertile, "*joyas*" are cultivated only every other year.

The garden plots are within the town proper. In a few cases they may occupy an entire block, but normally they are merely part of a building lot (*solar*). Few of them are as large as half an acre. They are fenced and, unlike any other areas, they are cultivated every year.

Temporary fields are created by clearing the forest on community lands. Permission must [656] be obtained from the Federal Department of Forestry, Hunting and Fishing. Extra forest [651] taxes must be paid, but charges are nominal. Usually the areas cleared are steep and the soil is poor and badly leached. Frequently, serious erosion results from such fields. Although cultivated only in alternate years, these fields are short-lived and are abandoned after a decade or so. Only use rights exist for such fields and after abandonment they revert to the public domain.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
435 The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of $40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, $400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as $25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as $10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community.
423 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
311 and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

The use of forest lands formerly was open to
311 all who paid a small fee to aid the community
656 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

The sex division of labor in Cherán bars
462 women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European —children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or
3 days while in pasture.

427 The question may be raised why horses or
434 mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:	*Days*	
First plowing	10	
Second plowing	10	
Sowing and harrowing	2	(or less)
Harvesting	4½	
Total labor	26½	
Costs:		
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92	
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00	
Taxes	1.00	
Seed	1.00	
Total production costs	$28.92	
Interest on capital investment	11.00	
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92	

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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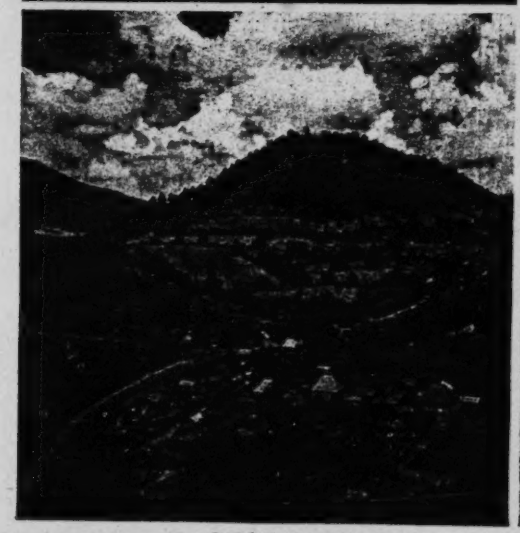

CHERÁN LANDSCAPES AND METHODS OF CARRYING OBJECTS.

Upper (left): The plains below Cherán, the major agricultural area, about 7,000 feet elevation, viewed from the highway, near southeast corner of the town. Darker portions are plowed fields; the remainder not yet plowed. *Upper (right):* Women carrying water in typical manner, with the usual Cherán water jar. A method of wearing the *rebozo* is shown. The church and priest's residence are in background. *Lower (left):* The northwest *barrio* of Cherán. The new highway curves along the edge of the barranca. Typical cultivated fields slope gently up to the cinder cone, which rises 1,000 feet above the town. *Lower (right):* Carrying bowls of masa (corn ground for tortillas) from the mill. Carrying on the head is unusual, but the method used by the girl is common for small objects. The woman's skirt has the thick pleat or rollo.

[End Plate 1]

2:Carrasco E4-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 169] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
648 regarding the distribution of the property
656 of extinct Indian communities (*Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas*, 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys (*apoderados*); that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 464-6.

175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting
621 of the villages into opposite parties in re-
578 lation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have [65] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

> "The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 32-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 33; Beals, 1946, 31, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 176-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.18a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
182 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for
433 consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1946, 26.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

133 higher hills and mountains rise 2,600 to 4,000 feet above the surrounding plains.

The young volcanic land forms found in the Sierra are lacking in much of the northern area, where the principal elevations consist of eroded composite Tertiary volcanoes. A few tongues of Recent lava flow from the Sierra into the northern edge of the plains, and cinder cones extend northward from El Zirate. Many lakes, some occupying structural basins, dot the northern area. The extensive sections of old alluvium, which form a good part of the plains, probably represent beds of Pleistocene lakes. At the northern and northwestern base of the Sierra many spring-fed lakes and marshes existed in historical times, e. g., Ciénaga de Zacapu, de Tangancícuaro, de Chapala, etc. The lacustrine basins and the borders of the former lakes and marshes were the major areas of Spanish settlement in the Tarascan North, for both afforded year-round pasture and sites for irrigated wheat farms. Some marshy sections [311] still exist, but natural desiccation and artifical drainage have converted much of the wet area to dry farmland. The once extensive chain of lakes in the Cotija graben, west of the Sierra, has almost completely disappeared, and the marshes of Zacapu, around which are grouped a few remnant Tarascan pueblos, have been converted into a large farming area.

A unique physiographic subarea of the northern zone, called "La Cañada," a narrow east-west depression at the northern base of the Sierra, is still one of the significant Tarascan regions. The valley floor, 10 km. long and 2 km. wide, decreases rapidly in altitude from 6,360 feet at its eastern end to 5,840 feet at Chilchota, near the western extremity (pl. 1). The western end of the valley is marked by an ancient lava flow, which once partially blocked normal drainage. Subsequent deposition of alluvium (possibly lacustrine) behind the lava dam has resulted in the present wide flattish floor of the valley's western half. Today the stream draining the valley flows subsequently through a deep gorge cut through the northern end of the lava flow. The numerous intermittent streams which descend from the adjacent hills have built up small alluvial fans along the valley sides. Like other areas at the edge of the Sierra, [312] La Cañada is favored by numerous large springs [361] issuing from fissures at the southern and eastern borders of the depression. Alluvium and water

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32 a]

342 within or near pine forests. By 1789 most of the
177 buildings in Tarascan towns in the Lake and Sierra regions were roofed with shakes (map 18). Today in the towns bordering the Sierra the red Castilian tile has completely replaced *tejamanil* and is slowly penetrating into the Sierra towns.[43]

THE LAND SYSTEM AND THE PUEBLO

621 Tarascan settlements are fundamentally agri-
423 cultural villages. They include not only dwellings arranged along streets and in house lots, but also the surrounding farm land. The land is the body of the pueblo, whose political and economic life revolves around land ownership and boundaries, crop planting and harvesting.

423 Few records exist on the ancient Tarascan land
311 system; most lands, however, were probably held in common. Each community owned surrounding lands, the limits of which were determined by metes and bounds; the record and adjudication of pueblo boundaries were in the hands of the village chief, who apportioned agricultural plots to his subjects.[44] As in many modern Indian areas of Mexico, the aboriginal concept of village lands and their established boundaries is indurated in the present political and economic structure of the Tarascan pueblos.[45] Such holdings in the Sierra include various types of land: *monte*, or woodland pasture on steep mountain slopes and on lava flows; cropland in basin floors (*planes*, t'pákua), on lower mountain slopes (*laderas*, uanáten), and in craters of cinder cones (*joyas*, t'pákua-supíču). In La Cañada often the following lands are held by a given pueblo: irrigable alluvium on the valley floor, *temporal* lands and *monte* on the adjacent slopes, and *humedad* lands in the Sierra. In the Lake area types of land vary from pueblo to pueblo. Often small strips of irrigable vegetable plots are held along the lake shore; most towns hold *temporal* land on the lower slopes; those on

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[43] Although used in most Spanish towns (except mining centers) in New Spain since the late 16th century, tiles began to appear in the Lake Pátzcuaro district only in the late 18th century. In 1789 Pátzcuaro was the only town in the vicinity with tile roofs (approximately 50 percent of the houses were roofed with tile, the remainder, with shakes). In the same year one house in Naranja boasted of a tile roof. (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285, 318.)

[44] A copy of an aboriginal land title (1519) of Cherankitzeuriu is extant in AGN Tierras, vol. 867, exped. 3.

[45] In many respects the native land system in central Mexico paralleled that of 18th century Spain. Particularly was this true in regard to the concept of village holdings.

423 the western and southern shore often have fields
[311] in the Sierra.

Two systems of land ownership—communal and private—prevail in most of modern Tarasca. Since the land reforms of 1915, the *ejido*, a third type of holding, has displaced most of the haciendas around the margins of the Sierra.

Since Spanish contact most of the Tarascan agricultural land has become private property of family heads. Even in the few remaining pueblos which claim complete communal ownership of their lands, a strong individualization of property has developed. The historical process of the shift from communal to private ownership is not clear. Late 18th-century documents on land disputes among the Tarascan pueblos indicate that at that time the communal system prevailed at least in the Sierra. The issuance of individual land titles may not have occurred until after the reforms of 1857. In the Sierra private landholders (*propietarios*) often possess one or more plots in the *plan*, and still others on the less fertile *laderas*. Size of individual holdings varies greatly, since land is purchasable. Normal holdings average 2 to 3 hectares per family. Traces of the communal concept exist in the minds of the modern proprietors. Although legally possible, there is little desire to sell land to nonmembers of the community. If such a transaction should arise, it usually must be approved by the town council.[46] Consequently, pueblo lands are kept intact. Moreover, individual holdings, especially those in the *plan*, are rarely enclosed, for after harvest the fields are used as communal pasture.[47] Accordingly, the final date for removal of crops and the first date for planting in unenclosed lands of each pueblo is communally regulated.

Vestiges of the ancient land system are retained in the special communal holdings found in most modern Tarascan villages. Five pueblos in La Cañada—Tanaquillo, Acachuén, Ichán, Tacuro, and Carapan—retain communal ownership of all lands, at least in name. Family heads are allotted one plot of *temporal* near the pueblo and another of *humedad* in the Sierra to the south and east. The individual allotments vary from 2 to 4

[46] The Tarascan town council is normally composed of the *representante del pueblo* and his committee of six. The *representante* deals with most internal affairs of the pueblo.
[623]

[47] Fences and ditches are used most frequently to divide cultivated lands from pasture and to separate individual holdings on the *laderas*, or slope land.
[351]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-b]

423 Before the promulgation of the Federal forest laws
311 (1930's), all members of the pueblo reserved the
[656] right to cut wood and lumber in the *monte* with permission of the *representante*. Today a Federal tax must be paid (but is often evaded) by each pueblo for lumber rights. Small plots of land (*desmontes*) may be cleared and planted in any part of the forest, but the farmer must first gain permission of the *representante* and his committee. In addition to the *monte* many pueblos possess certain croplands, called *tierras de la comunidad*, which are not assigned permanently to individuals, but are worked communally, usually by landless farmers, who receive a portion of the harvest as remuneration. The remainder of the crop is often stored in the pueblo as communal property to be sold by the *representante* for the town treasury or to be used as food in time of shortage.

TARASCAN
ECONOMY

241 still forms the leading crop complex, but the
177 European grains—wheat, barley, the broadbean and lentil—have become intimately associated with Tarascan agriculture. European fruits are grown with native types; Old World vegetables, mainly cabbage, have become an integral part of native food habits. But the modern Tarascan considers such crops, most of which were introduced over 400 years ago, as part of his aboriginal culture. Furthermore, although Tarascans still practice pre-Columbian shifting agriculture on steep slopes, the Old World plow has transformed indigenous cultivation on level and gently sloping lands.

Agricultural acculturation continues constantly. Tarascan *braceros* returning from the United States have brought in apple cuttings from the Yakima Valley, grapevines from California, corn from Iowa. Within the last three decades a South American *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*) has been introduced in the Sierra south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Again, alfalfa cultivation is slowly penetrating into many parts of the Sierra. Recent-
[654] ly the Federal Government introduced a few steel plows in some Tarascan villages, and here and there one sees engine-powered threshing machines slowly replacing the ancient European threshing floor and flail.

133 Coalcomán, which again reaches elevations of over 10,000 feet. The rain shadow of this [132] range accounts for the subarid conditions of part of the basin area. Although these mountains are little known, apparently they rise fairly steeply on both faces and the coastal area beyond is narrow and of little use.

The drainage of Michoacán presents some peculiarities. In the north and west central region are lakes of various size, of which perhaps the best known is Lake Pátzcuaro. In common with some other lakes in the area, Lake Pátzucuaro has no outlet, but its waters are nevertheless not brackish. The high porosity of the volcanic soil may account for this phenomenon, for the lake has evidently been isolated from other drainages for a long period of time. This isolation is attested by the fact [136] that the native fish are all very primitive viviparous species.

Moreover, despite heavy rainfall in some [132] areas (at Lake Pátzcuaro the average annual rainfall is around 60 inches), there are virtually no permanent streams and even springs are rare. Most Tarascan towns suffer from [312] almost constant water shortage despite the heavy precipitation. In contrast, some of the lower lands have abundant large running streams. In places, underground springs of great size emerge at elevations of about 5,500 feet. Near Uruapan, for example, a large stream is formed by a group of such springs.

The present-day range of the Tarascans can- 131 not be defined with great accuracy, partly be- 101 cause of the lack of detailed studies and partly because of the degree of acculturation undergone by many settlements. Villages which outwardly differ in no visible respect from well-known Tarascan settlements often contain no persons speaking Tarascan. All around the edges of Tarascan territory occur villages in various degrees of assimilation to Mexican culture and with various degrees of physical mixture with the Mestizo population. As a result, the present-day distribution of the Tarascans can only be approximated (map 1).

On the east, the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro is definitely Tarascan, although some towns, such as Tzintzuntzan, the traditional capital of the Tarascan "Empire," are no longer Tarascan-speaking. The western edge of Tarascan ter-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

131 ritory is close to the railroad which runs
through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
101 The southern boundary might be defined
roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan
and thence close to the railway from Uruapan
to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from
Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs
just inside the northern limits and in others,
just outside. Within or near the borders of
the present-day Tarascan area occur a number
of old Mexican towns closely associated with the
historic Tarascans and their contemporary cul-
ture, which provide the administrative centers
and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los
Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
towns of local importance have arisen more
[563] recently, towns which were once Tarascan but
are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated
Tarascans. A good example of such a town is
Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may
be characterized generally as an elevated tem-
perate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic
soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood
forests. In detail there are differences, and a
number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake
Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages
are either on the shore or upon islands in the
lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to
cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but
is concentrated in the summer months. The
climate is temperate and cool even in mid-
summer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile
valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about
by hills and mountains covered with forest.
Although there is but little difference in eleva-
tion from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warm-
er and some tropical or subtropical plants such
as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of
Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada.
Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[912] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas,
and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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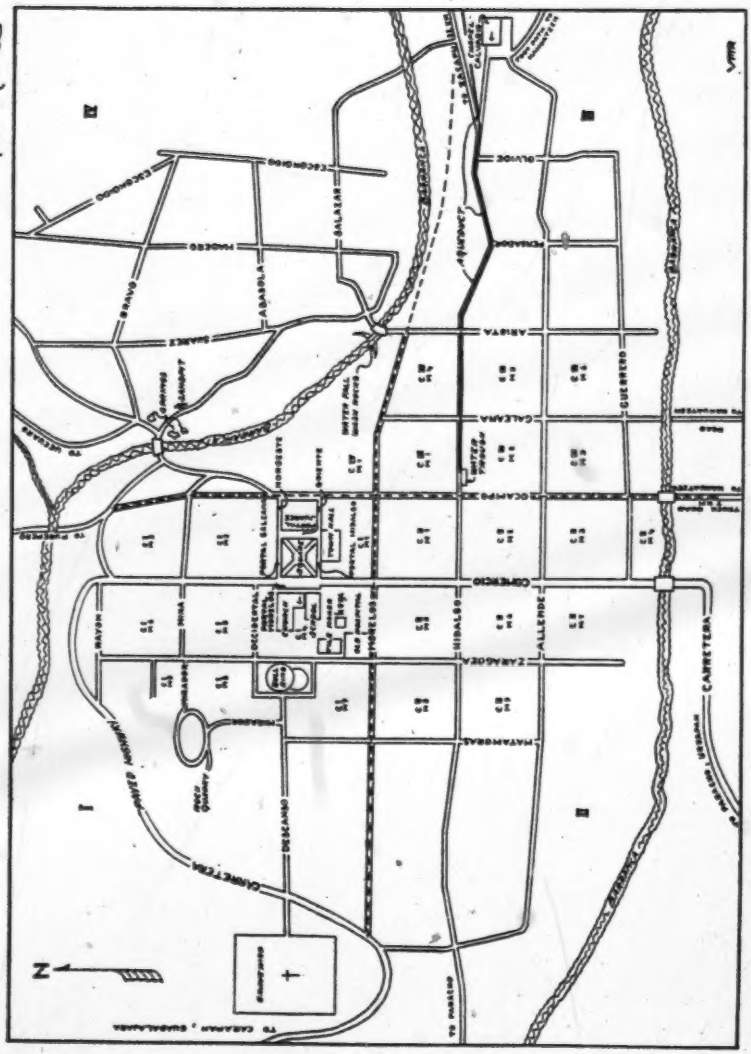
N
TO CARAPAN, SIRAMUTARO
CEMENTERIO
CAMINO
CAPRETERA
TO PARICUTIN
TO CHERÁN
TO PARICUTIN
TO CHERÁN
TO PARICUTIN
TO CHERÁN

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.15a]

317 either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and [492] taken into town on muleback.

Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made 333 from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles (*"huinomo"*)[6] or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

● 312 Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Paricutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

[6] Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

[104]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. [438] In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a *carga* [435] (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

305 *Barbers.*—Most men in Cherán now have their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

312 *Water carriers.*—In most households the
482 women bring the water from the fountain or aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders.
462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

128 Consideration of food processing in this section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

251 The storage of food is confined primarily to maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

253 15 *arrobas* (375 pounds) $90
433 14 *arrobas* (350 pounds) 65
434 16 *arrobas* (400 pounds) 92

Retail price (per kilo) ..... .70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo) ..... .40–.45
Price of pigs ..... 30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week 7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig 3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 *Field watchers:*
434 Wages:
In maize ..... 1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize) ..... $60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 *Water carrying:*
434 Charge for two 25-liter cans $0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 *Beekeeping:*
433 12 hives produced:
434 15 liters of honey at $0.60 ..... $ 9.00
3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50 6.70–10.00
Wax:
1 kilo makes 10–centavo candles worth 3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10–centavo candles worth 9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles 18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 *Fireworks making:*
433 Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán
434 proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts seem reasonable.

632 forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter. Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

632 It was evidently felt that the *representante* would be involved in boundary disputes if they
578 affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *tenencia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

632 In addition to the function of the *barrio* or *cuartel* as an administrative device as described
621 above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

632 The major duty performed by the *barrio* is
621 the maintenance of the water system. Each
312 *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which
it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the
[767] graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government.
Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*,
653 but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
● 312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

377 This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
632 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
653 tending a power line to the town and supplying
621 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

491 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

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796 The duties of the kámbiti are to pay the ex-
794 penses of the Holy Week festivities and to deco-
rate the front of the main altar with fruits from the hot country, such as bananas, watermelons, mameys, coconuts, mangoes, and sugarcane. The fruits are suspended in small nets or are perforated and hung from strings. The ceremony is called uirímutakua, which means "to adorn the front of something."

On Holy Saturday the young people of the town divide in two groups and go through the town, the girls carrying an image of Mary Magdalene, the men one of Saint Joseph. At strategic points the two groups meet and have races with the images. Certain young girls also place themselves at the door of the church during Holy Week and offer the refreshments known as čarápes to all comers. These girls must change the flowers on the altars during the ensuing year and are known as cacaki jaʼirati. All these ceremonies are regulated by the kámbiti.

The petájpe gathers the young men at his house in February and feeds them *"esquite,"* of the type known as kanita takunji. At this
[312] time he announces the date for cleaning the spring from which the town gets its water. The day the spring is cleaned, the petájpe provides music and rice, beans, and pork for the helpers at his house. At the spring, many families go along and take picnic food, singing and enjoying themselves while the young men clean the spring. When the spring is cleaned, they carry *ollas* of water to their houses, using it as drinking water in preference to water from the pipes until it is gone.

There are no data on the office of biskál. Rendón's notes suggest that the offices of petajpe and biskál are the same.

To reach the office of *mayor*, one must give a fiesta to the patron saint and appear as a moro dancer. The moros dance on December 25 and 26 in the houses of the elders. On the 24th they worship in the church. *Mayores* must aid their superiors with firewood and their wives grind and carry water when the *alcalde* or kámbiti or petájpe hold a fiesta.

The kiéⁿi has similar duties to the kéⁿi of Cherán. He is entrusted with the care of the church and follows the orders of the *alcalde* in cleaning and adorning the structure. He

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[p. 1976]

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Octava, 4 days
Corpus, 4 days
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
San Juan, 1 day
San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
Wedding, 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

462 Women, in general, work longer hours at more varied tasks and with numerous interruptions.
● 312 While women also attend fiestas and weddings in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are [482] always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo*, which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 The best picture of women's activities may
462 be presented by giving a number of actual

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CHERÁN AQUEDUCTS, BOARD SAWING, SHAKE SPLITTING, AND WHEAT WINNOWING.

Upper (left): The Cherán aqueducts, east of town. *Upper (right):* Sawing planks with sawpit. Often, the timber is raised on a pole framework instead of being placed over a pit. *Lower (left):* Splitting off a shake with a rajador. *Lower (right):* Starting to split a shake with a machete struck with a wooden mallet. *Center:* Cherán man winnowing wheat.

[End Plate 3]

342 where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

[continued on p. 7b]

The Town of Cherán THE TOWN

361 The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley
133 floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine
[312] afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring 9½ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center.
[135] At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

363 Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north-south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

[p. 7a] [continued bottom of page 7-b]

133 historical examples of vulcanism within or adjacent to the area. However, vulcanism associated with human ancient settlement in the area, [172] is unquestionably evidenced by the occurrence of charred maize ears embedded in a basaltic lava flow 18 km. northwest of Morelia.[4]

Aside from land forms resulting directly from vulcanism, others caused by depositional processes occur within the Sierra. Between the old composite volcanoes and young cinder cones flattish surfaces have been formed first by ash and cinder fall and later by aeolian and alluvial deposition from surrounding slopes. Such surfaces, which compose only a small percentage of total land area, are the agriculturally important sections of the Sierra. Some form saddles or cols between adjacent hills; the larger plains form basins of interior drainage. The largest basins are Llano Grande, southeast of Charapan; the Plan de Nurío; that of Paracho, Aranza, and Cherán; the plain of Nahuatzen; of Sevina; of Paracho; etc. (map 2; pl. 1). Minor forms include dissected aprons of alluvium and semiconsolidated ash at the base of volcanoes and steep-sided arroyos eroded into alluvium in the upper parts of the basin plains.

One of the most characteristic physical features of the Sierra is the paucity of perennial streams and lakes. Although this is an area of moderate summer precipitation, the porous volcanic surface quickly absorbs most of the available moisture. A few permanent, spring-fed streams occur on the northern and western flanks of Cerro de Patamban and on the western and southern sides of Cerro de Tancítaro. Small springs occur on [312] the flanks of the old composite volcanoes, whose porous rocks form a reservoir of rain water. Such springs afford the sole water supply for many Sierra villages. Only on the edges of the Sierra plateau, at the contact of porous and impervious rock layers, do large springs occur.

The Lake area.—At the eastern edge of the Sierra exists a depression filled by Lake Pátzcuaro. Sierran geomorphology (young and old volcanic forms) almost surrounds the lake, but predominates on its northern, western, and southern shores. Twelve kilometers south of Pátzcuaro small Lake Zirahuén, within the eastern prong of the Sierra, appears to have been formed by a lava-blocked

[4] An excellent specimen of charred maize so embedded is in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia.

133 higher hills and mountains rise 2,600 to 4,000 feet above the surrounding plains.

The young volcanic land forms found in the Sierra are lacking in much of the northern area, where the principal elevations consist of eroded composite Tertiary volcanoes. A few tongues of Recent lava flow from the Sierra into the northern edge of the plains, and cinder cones extend northward from El Zirate. Many lakes, some occupying structural basins, dot the northern area. The extensive sections of old alluvium, which form a good part of the plains, probably represent beds of Pleistocene lakes. At the northern and northwestern base of the Sierra many spring-fed lakes and marshes existed in historical times, e. g., Ciénaga de Zacapu, de Tangancícuaro, de Chapala, etc. The lacustrine basins and the borders of the former lakes and marshes were the major areas of Spanish settlement in the Tarascan North, for both afforded year-round pasture and sites for irrigated wheat farms. Some marshy sections still exist, but natural desiccation and artifical [311] drainage have converted much of the wet area to dry farmland. The once extensive chain of lakes in the Cotija graben, west of the Sierra, has almost completely disappeared, and the marshes of Zacapu, around which are grouped a few remnant Tarascan pueblos, have been converted into a large farming area.

A unique physiographic subarea of the northern zone, called "La Cañada," a narrow east-west depression at the northern base of the Sierra, is still one of the significant Tarascan regions. The valley floor, 10 km. long and 2 km. wide, decreases rapidly in altitude from 6,360 feet at its eastern end to 5,840 feet at Chilchota, near the western extremity (pl. 1). The western end of the valley is marked by an ancient lava flow, which once partially blocked normal drainage. Subsequent deposition of alluvium (possibly lacustrine) behind the lava dam has resulted in the present wide flattish floor of the valley's western half. Today the stream draining the valley flows subsequently through a deep gorge cut through the northern end of the lava flow. The numerous intermittent streams which descend from the adjacent hills have built up small alluvial fans along the valley sides. Like other areas at the edge of the Sierra, [312] La Cañada is favored by numerous large springs [361] issuing from fissures at the southern and eastern borders of the depression. Alluvium and water

133 have attracted human settlement to the valley
[312] since prehistoric times. Sierra Tarascans, who
[361] call La Cañada "Erášemen" (view from above),
[102] probably visited the valley for chile and early maize before the Spanish Conquest. Spaniards immediately seized the well-watered plains near Chilchota for wheat fields. Today La Cañada is a garden spot of orchards and wheat fields amid rocky volcanic hills.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

132 **Meteorological data.**—In dealing with meteorology, northwestern Michoacán will be treated as a whole; attempts will be made to point out regional differences in temperature and rainfall. Meteorological stations in the area are few; data are entirely lacking for the Sierra. Consequently, only general statements can be made concerning the weather and climate of modern Tarasca.

361 micho, occupy benches on hill slopes. With the exception of Paracho, Sierra settlements avoid the centers of basin flats. Likely, many villages were moved from pre-Conquest mountain sites to present locations near abundant plow land. The inhabitants of Urapicho, for example, tell a legend concerning the former location of their pueblo on the high slopes of the Cerro de Urapicho nearby. Formerly many of the La Cañada pueblos occupied protective slope and hill sites in the surrounding mountains, but after the end of the 16th century they were concentrated in their present locations in the alluvial floor of the valley (map 14).

312 [361] **Settlement and water supply.**—One of the most significant factors in the location of Tarascan settlements has been water supply. Aside from the Lake pueblos, almost every town in Tarasca is located near a spring. While the northern plateau and southern escarpment areas abound in springs, the Sierra has ever been a problem area in terms of water supply. In pre-Conquest

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 269 ---ANLYST]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 26a]

312 times many towns supplemented the scanty flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts (čekákua, *canoas*) of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from large springs some distance away. Furthermore, wooden reservoirs caulked with pine pitch were constructed at springs to conserve water during the dry season (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, f. 10v.; Ponce Relación, vol. 2, p. 6). Wooden aqueducts are still employed in many Sierra pueblos to conduct water from springs to the village outskirts (pl. 2).

The progressive exhaustion of springs constitutes one of the most urgent welfare problems in the Sierra today. Scarcity of water in that area, however, is no modern difficulty, for during the 18th century many pueblos were sorely pressed in the dry season (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 212–226).
[313] The present scarcity has been aggravated by continuous destruction of the forest. Some towns have partially solved the local water problem by digging wells in the adjacent basin flats. Nurío and Urapicho, whose springs have long been dry, obtain water from a common group of wells in a large basin nearby. Located within a basin, Paracho has always obtained water from wells. Moreover, the peculiar geological structure of Charapan's bench site has permitted the development of water-bearing strata beneath the town. These strata are now tapped by private wells dug in the house lots and public wells in various parts of town (pl. 2). Even the water level in wells is continually diminishing. During the dry season water must be carefully rationed to the inhabitants and their livestock. Other pueblos, which are located far from water-bearing strata in the basins and have springs that cease to flow in the dry season, suffer even more. The women of Azajo travel with burros 8 km. to San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro to fill their *cántaros*, and those of Ocumicho walk 3 km. and many from Patamban go 8 km. to the large spring at San José for water. Few towns have received Federal or State aid for the improvement of the local water supply; on their own initiative the people of some pueblos (e. g. San Felipe) have constructed concrete reservoirs to store spring water and have installed pipe to carry water to various points in the village. The majority of the towns, however, lack sufficient resources to improve their plight and continue to suffer through the dry season.

000 **Plans of settlements.**—The planning of pueblos

244 Tarascans plant few other minor native cultigens in the field. Camote or the sweetpotato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and jícama (*Pachyrrhizus erosus*) are planted in small amounts in La Cañada, but commercial production is found in the warm lands around Zamora, Lake Chapala, and the southern escarpment, outside the Tarascan area. Native vegetables such as chile and tomatoes are discussed under horticulture.

177 **Introduced New World crops.**—In Tarascan field agriculture these consist of two tubers: the
244 South American potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) and, as mentioned earlier, an *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*).[81] Neither has much place in Tarascan food habits. The potato is now grown in some lowlands bordering the Sierra, e. g. in Comanja, where it is planted with maize. Its cultivation is slowly penetrating the Sierra, though most of the highland pueblos still reject it. Beals (1946, p. 26) states that Cherán residents began to grow potatoes around 1938.

Old World crops in Tarascan field agriculture.—
243 Among the crops which the Spaniards introduced
177 into Tarascan culture the small grains, wheat and barley, were the more significant in terms of both food value and degree of adaptation. Wheat was probably first sown in the Lake area by Spanish missionaries during the 1530's; the Spanish ranchers and *encomenderos*, however, for whom white bread was the main item of diet, were the principal carriers of wheat culture among the natives. By the mid-16th century Spanish wheat fields had been established in many parts of the northern plateau, and Tarascans of various pueblos in that area were cultivating the grain in special fields in order to meet tribute demands of the Crown and *encomenderos*.[82] Arabic irrigation
[312] techniques appear to have been introduced jointly with wheat culture, for both early Spanish and Indian wheat fields in the northern Tarascan area were artificially watered.[83] The Relaciones Geo-

[81] The name "*papa de Castilla*" might indicate that the *Oxalis* species has been cultivated in Mexico for some time. According to local informants, however, it has been known in the area south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro for only 30 or 40 years. The tuber is often seen in the Pátzcuaro market. In Pichátaro it is boiled and eaten with piloncillo.

[82] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1) mentions that wheat was cultivated in the following indigenous pueblos of Michoacán: Acámbaro, Chocándiro, Chiquimito, Chilchota, Guanazo (Santa María Ario), Taymeo, Indaparapeo, Zacapu. Indians, however, were slow to adopt wheat foods. During the last quarter of the 16th century the Indians of La Cañada ate wheat only in times of maize famine (Mss. Nac. leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1579).

[83] Spaniards had introduced a Mediterranean grain adapted to winter rains and dry summers into a land of dry winters and wet summers. Con-

243 gráficas of 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) indicate
177 that by the end of the 16th century wheat cultivation was well established in the Tarascan area around the margins of the Sierra, i. e., in those areas first settled by Spanish ranchers.[84] Wheat penetrated slowly into the conservative Sierra. The Relación of Tingüindín (1581) states that in the Sierra villages the Indians had not taken to wheat cultivation. Even by 1789 some of the Sierra pueblos did not grow wheat, but by 1820 the grain was at last being cultivated in all the towns, Urapicho, Cocucho, Pamatácuaro, and Cheranátzicurin being among the last to adopt it (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memoria estadística, 1841).[85]

243 Today in most Sierra pueblos wheat is considered second only to maize in terms of acreage. Some towns raise the grain chiefly as a cash crop; others consume a large portion of the harvest. The Lake area and La Cañada, however, are the principal Tarascan wheat districts. In both, wheat acreage exceeds that of maize.[86] Although wheat foods are eaten in all Tarascan towns, in none do they replace maize as the chief item of diet. Throughout the present indigenous area
[177] wheat foods play a significant part in religious festivals, apparently an adoption of European customs through Church influence.

A soft wheat called "colorado," probably a descendant of the Spanish grain introduced 400 years ago, is the principal type sown by Tarascan farmers. Both bearded and beardless varieties occur. This wheat is the *"trigo de temporal"* or *"trigo aventurado,"* planted in October and harvested from April to June, depending on eleva-

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[312] sequently, to insure good yields, they resorted at once to irrigation. Later, experiments probably showed that a poor to fair yield could be obtained without irrigation in central Mexico, where occasional light winter rains occur.

[84] The wheat-growing areas mentioned: all of the northern plateau region, including La Cañada; Tarecuato (trigo de temporal); Tingüindín; and Peribán. The Pareg Relacion (observations made in 1886) mentions wheat at various Lake towns: Tzintzuntzan, San Jerónimo, Erongarícuaro, and Tacupato (Cocupao or present Quiroga).

[85] The Calderón report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) mentions wheat only in a few Tarascan pueblos. It specifies, however, that only two pueblos (Ocumicho and Pamatácuaro) of the Sierra grew maize exclusively. The report may have neglected to indicate many pueblos in which small amounts of wheat might have been cultivated.

[86] According to data from Secretaría de Agricultura records (1940), wheat acreage equaled that of maize in the municipio of Pátzcuaro; in those of Erongarícuaro and Quiroga the acreage of wheat was more than twice that of maize; in Tzintzuntzan, however, maize acreage exceeded that of wheat by eight times. In the municipio of Chilchota (which includes La Cañada) approximately 800 hectares were planted to maize, while 813 were in wheat. Considering the valley of La Cañada alone, wheat acreage probably would exceed that of maize.

243 tion.[87] Owing to dry conditions and usually poor
[132] soils, yields are low. The infrequent light winter rains (*cabañuelas*) often determine the success or failure of the temporal crop. Another wheat type, a white soft variety, is called "*trigo de aguas*"; sown in June or July and reaped in November or December, it is seen in all parts
[312] of Tarasca. Most of the wheat crop of La Cañada is irrigated, being sown on the valley flats in December and harvested in May.[88] In the Sierra wheat is relegated to the less fertile slope land and *desmontes*, where it is rotated with maize. In the lake area and the northern plateau towns, where the grain is likewise a rotation crop, it is cultivated on both plains and slopes. It is occasionally sown in the house-lot gardens in all parts of Tarasca.

Primitive European methods are used in wheat cultivation (pl. 6). Land is prepared by plowing with oxen, and seed is sown broadcast and covered with a brush harrow. Grain is cut with the sickle (*hoz*), bundled and tied by hand, and threshed in the *era* (an open arena floored with stone or packed earth) located in the town or in the field. Threshing is accomplished by driving mules or burros over the bundles of wheat, but where sufficient animals are lacking, it is done by flailing. The grain is separated from straw and chaff with the tarákua, or wooden spade. All straw is carefully saved for animal feed. (Engine-powered separators are just beginning to appear in the area.)

One of the most interesting aspects of wheat
252 culture among the Tarascans is the varieties of
262 food prepared from both metate-ground and milled flour. Those made from grain wet-ground on the metate include *tortillas de trigo*, a common food in La Cañada, but eaten on fiesta days (e. g. Corpus) in the Sierra towns.[89] In Charapan the tortillas are thin, round cakes often 1 to 1½ feet in diameter, which are cooked on the comal. Thicker tortillas, or *gordas*, are similarly made, but browned on the coals.[90] For the Corpus fiestas *gordas* (pirčis) ¾ to 1 inch thick and shaped like

[87] For example, most temporal wheat in the Lake region is harvested in early April, while in the Sierra ripening is retarded until May. In Cumachenin, the highest pueblo in the Sierra, harvest occurs in the first weeks of June.

[88] The *tripales*, or wheatfields, are watered three times annually, at the end of January, first of March, and at the end of March. Pan irrigation technique is used.

[89] In the Lake towns of Ihuatzio and Janitzio metate-ground wheat dough is mixed with nixtamal (maize dough) to make a tortilla called ítakata.

[90] Beals (1946, p. 32) mentions that in Cherán *gordas de trigo* are fried in deep pork fat. This procedure was not encountered in other Tarascan towns.

262 raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans
[439] were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in
252 the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is
[609] taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such
262 as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

244 **Specialized truck gardening.**—This is a more recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans.
312 They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratarákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden
[406] spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratarákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 25), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratarákua* is used also at Tarejero, in the basin of Zacapu.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 47-b]

244 addition to the gardens of Lake Pátzcuaro,
312 commercial truck farming is also carried on in La Cañada and in Atapan, but on a smaller scale. There, fields are irrigated by diverting water from streams, a technique probably learned from Europeans.[103]

244 The native chile, *jitomate* (tom-kuaraki), *tomate*, and green beans (*ejotes*) and the Old World onion, garlic, cabbage, and lettuce are the principal products of the commercial gardens. Chile is the most significant of these, in terms of both acreage and market value. The fruit of this plant, a vitamin-rich gastrin, has always been important in the aboriginal diet. Two species of *Capsicum* are cultivated: *C. annuum*, the common herbaceous annual, and *C. fructescens*, the perennial shrub (*chile de árbol*). The latter is cultivated mainly in the house gardens. Both species re-
244 quire a long growing season and abundant water;
438 consequently chile cultivation is absent from the Sierra, but is found in the surrounding well-watered areas. Chile, therefore, has ever been a
[439] trade article between the Sierra and its borderlands.[104] Tarascan Puácuaro, Uricho, Arúcutin, and mestizo Tócuaro and Erongarícuaro are the main chile producers of the Lake. Most of the La Cañada pueblos raise some chile for export into the Sierra, but Etúcuaro, outside the valley, is the largest producer of that general district. All these areas raise *chile verde*, rather than the *chile seco* of the *tierra caliente* and Lake Cuitzeo district.[105] In both the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada areas chile and tomatoes are first planted in the *almáciga*, or hotbed, in December.[106] Replanting in the gardens is done in March, and the vegetables are harvested from June through September.

STOCK RAISING AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

231 Modern Tarascans raise most of the European animal domesticates. Most households own a team of oxen for plowing and one or two burros for hauling wood and carrying produce to market.

[text continues top of p. 49a-Ancl 457]

[103] In several formerly Tarascan towns in the northern plateau area vegetables are cultivated on a commercial scale. The truck farming around Zirícuaro, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, was significant during the latter part of the 18th century. Tarascan horticulturists of this pueblo carried vegetable produce as far as the Tolucs market (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 265).

[104] The Tarascan name for Chilchota is *tirápu*, which means green chile. The Sierra people have always thought of La Cañada as a producer of chile, as well as other vegetables and fruits.

[105] The chief varieties of *C. annuum* in the Lake district are *hambrillo* (*verde*), *amarillo*, and *relleno* (*bell chile*). *Chile seco* from the *tierra caliente* reaches the Sierra through the markets at Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes.

[106] The *almáciga* is likely a European introduction, although it was pre-Columbian in the *chinampa* district in the Valley of Mexico.

[P. 48]

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FIGURE 4.—The t'apiratirakua irrigation device. The pole to which the wooden spoon is attached is approximately 12 feet long.

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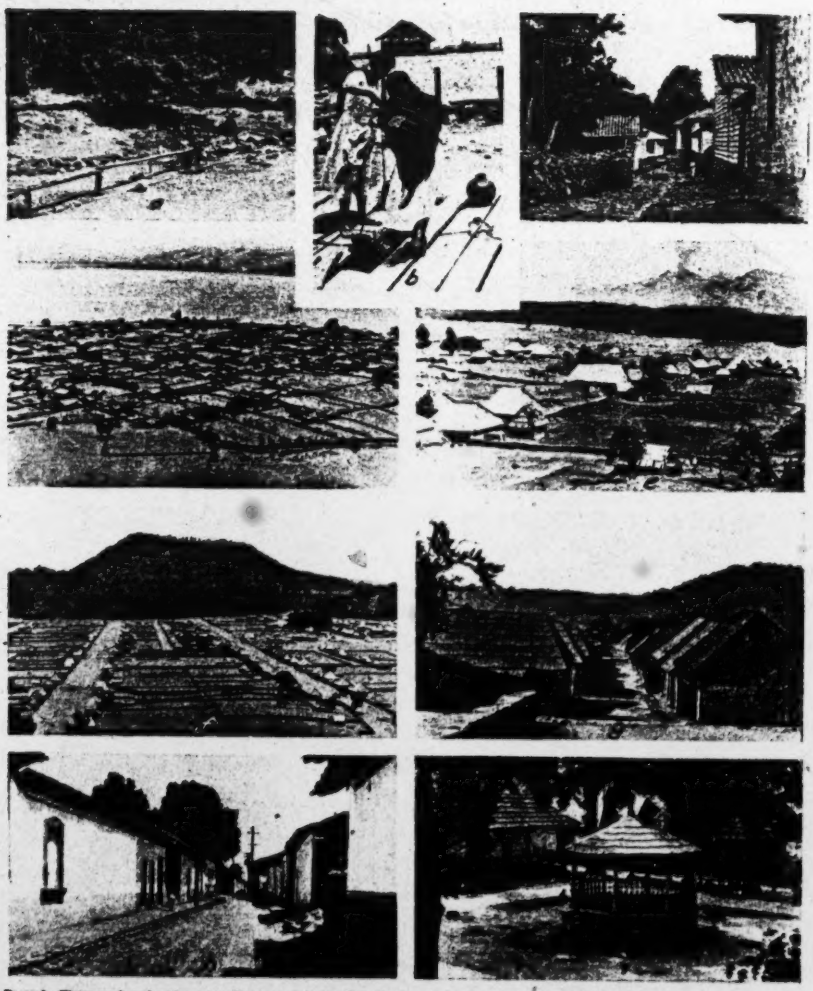

PLATE 2.—Water supply and settlement. *a*, Wooden aqueduct at Pátzcuaro, which brings water from the head spring (center) to the outskirts of town. *b*, Hoisting water from one of the public wells in Cherapan. *c*, Street in Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d*, Panorama of San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro, showing compact assemblage of adobe structures. *e*, Partial view of Zirón near Puréchiti Volcano (background), showing grid street pattern, scattered dwellings, and large lots. *f*, Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo), founded in 1904 to house refugees from destroyed San Juan Parangaricutiro. Nearly all trees were transported from old San Juan and remembered on the new site. *g*, Street scene, Cherapan (Sierra). *h*, Street scene, Tiríndaro, Escapa Beach. *i*, Plaza at Cherapan.

[End-plate 2]

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PLATE 7.—Irrigation and domestic animals. a, Large plowed circles, San Felipe. Note animal pen adjoining field. b, Small patch of cabbage in house lot, San Felipe. c, Vines of chayote in circles, Tanscuitio, La Cebada. d, Irrigated vegetable plots along west shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, near Ajuscatio. e, Ditch wall and poles (tlapalcalcuaro) used to lift water from ditch to irrigate fields. Near Uriahe. f, Sheep grazing in harvested maize field, near Tanaco. g, Herding sheep near summit of Cerro de Patamban. The flock is from the ranches of Uringuitiro. h, Bee hives in house lot, Arapo.

[End-plate 7]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead
823 of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most signifi-
[539] cant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to fur-
nish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in
[361] Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with
584 a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La
[178] Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of
49 three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the
[539] main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Urua-
000 pan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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The Town's 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
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The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had
[i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 passed and she had not gone to the fountain and filled her empty
●312 jug with water. She fell to her knees and directed her gaze at the rose-rimmed cloud hiding Father Sun. Tearfully, she prayed that the god would enable her to discover water nearby, so as not to incur the anger of her parents.

Her supplication was humble and sincere, because Tzintzin was a good girl. While she remained on her knees, a small beautifully colored bird arose from the center of a cluster of flowers. At that instant the last rays of Father Sun broke through the cloud and revealed drops of water which shone like diamonds falling from the feathers of the rising bird. This was the sign Tzintzin sought.

She parted the flowers and gazed into the pure, clear depths of a beautiful and hitherto unknown spring. Filling her jar, she returned home. Her parents were greatly surprised to see her return so quickly [she actually was late but the narrator said "so quickly" to emphasize the nearness of the new spring] and they supposed that Quanicoti had aided her with the water jar. However, she explained that she had discovered a new fountain of water near the road where her people traveled for decades.

The news of the fountain spread. The people from neighboring villages came to see the new source of water. Its depth was such that they called it Quiritzícuaro (the great fountain), and it still exists today to the east of the village of Paracho.

Always when the pretty Tzintzin visited this spot to hear Quanicoti's protestations of love, Father Sun smiled approvingly upon them with his brilliant, profound eye.

HUANITA

Historical Comment

173 In "Just as the Birds," the narrator spoke of one group of
174 Tarascans who travelled northward to settle upon the rocky hill
[648] of Zacapu. At some uncertain time in the twelfth century, these Tarascans conquered the people of Naranjo and then moved south-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 3]
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.
Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

313

313 LUMBERING--kinds of timber exploited; gathering of firewood; logging operations (e.g., felling, trimming, hauling); techniques and apparatus used; sawmills and pulp mills; economic importance of lumbering; organization of labor and production; forestry science, practices, and policy; etc. See also:

Forest resources 137
Conservation policies 185
Silviculture 245
Paper manufacture. 289
Woodworking 322
Building supplies industries 339
Industrial structures 348
Fuel 372
Lumbering machinery 402
Tools 412
Moving of heavy weights 483
State and national forests 659

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[p. 15b]

312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. [438] In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. [435] During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a *carga* (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

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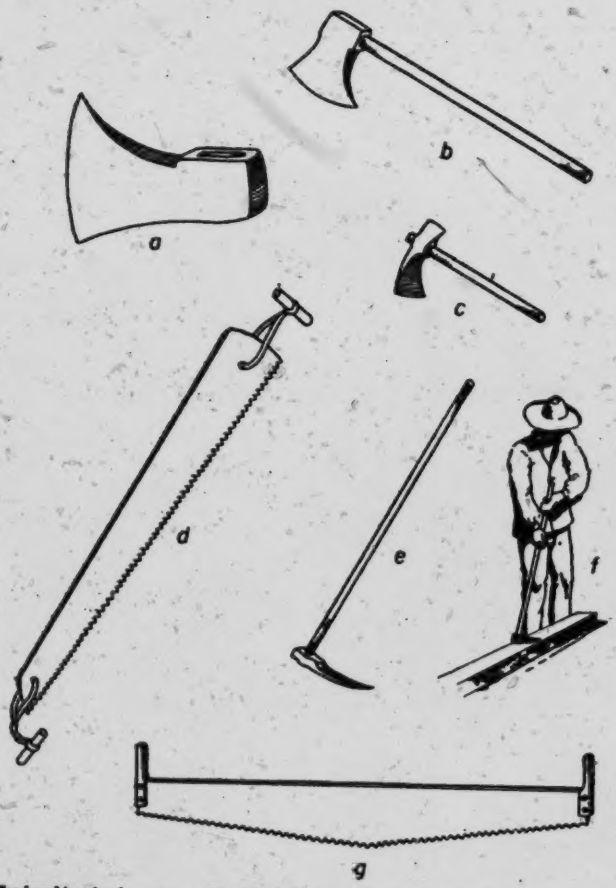

FIGURE 1.—Woodworking implements. *a*, Typical ax head, weighing 6 to 8 pounds. *b*, Same as *a*, with handle; total length about 3½ feet. *c*, Short-handled adz (angáru). *d*, Saw used for cutting planks (k'eréri arákutarakua), about 6 feet long; the lower handle usually is of metal and clamps over the end of the saw, engaging the saw teeth to hold it in place. *e*, Long-handled adz. *f*, Method of using long-handled adz to dress beams or planks. *g*, Logging saw, "sawdiss," used to cut felled timber into desired lengths.

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[p. 179]

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and [824] fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardina"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

---

[438] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Paranguaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a
[435] father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a
[563] day (10 *varas*), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Parícutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

313 about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

An important product of Cherán is shakes, [438] *tejamanil* (tasámani). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, [824] as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (péri) with [401] a wedge, *cuña* (injárukua). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (uánqua). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After [804] drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied into bundles of 400 called an irépita (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the [438] length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.[8]

[8] A cuarta equals ¼ of a vara (the standard measure of length, about 33 inches long).

[text continues on p. 19a]

[p119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
304 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily
438 in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*,
or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes
6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan
towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani
iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are
sold in Zamora and are sometimes called
Zamorana.

313 Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to
6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows:
On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled.
Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split
into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes
in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional,
the finished product is taken to Uruapan or
Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On
this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract
arrangements. The workers leave town on
439 Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping.
Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in
splitting and shaping the ties with the ax.
Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor,
and the men are paid in time to return home
that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold
322 in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small
wooden objects for which Paracho is famous.
A few people in Cherán also make broom
handles.

314 A considerable amount of charcoal is produced on the more distant lands of Cherán.
Several men in town make their living entirely
from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost
exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners
usually spend from Monday until Friday in the
woods, and return home over the week end.
Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers,
the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches
by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has
been true of Cherán in the past, but for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

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[p.63a]

471 556 Ownership of livestock similarly poses questions. The wealthy man who keeps a considerable number of bulls whose main use seems to be to enhance his social prestige by having the bulls selected for riding at a fiesta may also sell them for beef if he needs money for productive enterprises. Sheep are capital in much the same sense that land is capital. A yoke of oxen or a burro may be used to aid production and are also rented. A horse, on the other hand, is close to a "conspicuous expenditure."

471 Probably the minimal capital required in Cherán is for the production of certain services. A water carrier needs only two 25-liter oil cans, a bit of rope, and a piece of wood to make a yoke. A *tabla* maker (one producing heavy [313] hewn planks or beams) needs only an ax and some oak wedges he cuts out himself, and 10 [474] pesos to join the cooperative (formerly he would have needed only enough to pay the tax for use of communal lands). A digging stick and a knife would suffice to gather *raiz de paja*, while herbs need only a bit of cloth to tie them in. At the other extreme are the owners of threshing machines, *nixtamal* mills, or trucks, the latter requiring a cash outlay of between 8 and 10 thousand pesos.

For the farmer, aside from land, very few capital goods are necessary. Ox teams and plows may be rented and paid for out of the crop; even land may be secured on a sharecrop basis. A special *machete* for weeding is, in fact, the only indispensable tool. Such farming, however, will bring a relatively small return, probably little, if any, more than could be earned by a hired laborer.

At the other extreme, a landowner, farming his own land, should own an ox team, yoke, plow, *machete*, burros, and nets for transporting the crop, adequate storage facilities, and sufficient cash to hire labor at crucial periods such as planting and harvesting. A man so situated will reap the best possible return from his labor.

The major investment of a farmer is in land, storage facilities, and livestock. His ox yoke and plow he may make himself, and the few metal tools needed are not costly. In general, the investment in tools and equipment is much less than that required in manufacturing or some service occupations. A sewing machine

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
231 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433 WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

313 *Plank making:*

433 *Tools:*

434 Oak mallet
Oak wedges
Ax
Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)
Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

314 *Charcoal burning:*

433 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day week, no economic data were secured. The little char-
434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

Carpentry:

395 *Tools:*

433 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30
434

Products, labor, value:

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house
[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

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632 district commander to arrest all strangers and
625 send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The represent-
632 ative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

632 The collection of funds for use of the forest
651 lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood
632 for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without secur-
313 ing a permit from the forestry service. (As
[474] indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representante* is rea-
632 sonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him as the leader of a bloody riot.

159 As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

474 An entirely different type of organization the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed [578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still 474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás- 159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically [195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

474 The organization of the cooperative would give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest 313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

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474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed
● 313 that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

Two things were said to be holding up the
474 completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

A number of other organizations of a relig-
575 ious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters
578 are the church societies such as those of the Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

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CHERÁN AQUEDUCTS, BOARD SAWING, SHAKESPLITTING, AND WHEAT WINNOWING.

Upper (left): The Cherán aqueducts, east of town. *Upper (right):* Sawing planks with sawpit. Often, the timber is raised on a pole framework instead of being placed over a pit. *Lower (left):* Splitting off a shake with a rajador. *Lower (right):* Starting to split a shake with a machete struck with a wooden mallet. *Center:* Cherán man winnowing wheat.

[End Plate 3]

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PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

313 All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
656 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
[423] most entirely on public lands considered to belong to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort was open to all residents who had paid a small fee to an administrative committee. The fee was used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently, the Department of Forestry of the Federal Government has restricted exploitation of the forests for any purpose other than the collection of firewood to persons having permits. In Cherán this
[474] apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry has refused to give permits to any other group or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks and beams. Shake making is even more specialized, and men who make shakes may do nothing else except look after whatever farm lands they may own. Only a very poor person would attempt to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
137 tinguished, red (iaɾíni), the heartwood of large trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or wood from young trees. From these woods are made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over 2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or *tablas*.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-handled saw (k'eréri aɾákutarakua). Logs destined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the *sera*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *sera* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

313 by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of
412 poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.[2]

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

Several types of shakes are made. In Anga-
313 huan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches
438 wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (tasámbani sapírati), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (tasámbani iórati), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (tasámani tiápiti), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (irépita).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety
412 of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable
339 earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist
333 climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

[2] A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

312 times many towns supplemented the scanty flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts (čekákua, *canoas*) of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from large springs some distance away. Furthermore, wooden reservoirs caulked with pine pitch were constructed at springs to conserve water during the dry season (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, f. 10v.; Ponce Relación, vol. 2, p. 6). Wooden aqueducts are still employed in many Sierra pueblos to conduct water from springs to the village outskirts (pl. 2).

The progressive exhaustion of springs constitutes one of the most urgent welfare problems in the Sierra today. Scarcity of water in that area, however, is no modern difficulty, for during the 18th century many pueblos were sorely pressed in the dry season (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 212–226). ●[313] The present scarcity has been aggravated by continuous destruction of the forest. Some towns have partially solved the local water problem by digging wells in the adjacent basin flats. Nurío and Urapicho, whose springs have long been dry, obtain water from a common group of wells in a large basin nearby. Located within a basin, Paracho has always obtained water from wells. Moreover, the peculiar geological structure of Charapan's bench site has permitted the development of water-bearing strata beneath the town. These strata are now tapped by private wells dug in the house lots and public wells in various parts of town (pl. 2). Even the water level in wells is continually diminishing. During the dry season water must be carefully rationed to the inhabitants and their livestock. Other pueblos, which are located far from water-bearing strata in the basins and have springs that cease to flow in the dry season, suffer even more. The women of Azajo travel with burros 8 km. to San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro to fill their *cántaros*, and those of Ocumicho walk 3 km. and many from Patamban go 8 km. to the large spring at San José for water. Few towns have received Federal or State aid for the improvement of the local water supply; on their own initiative the people of some pueblos (e. g. San Felipe) have constructed concrete reservoirs to store spring water and have installed pipe to carry water to various points in the village. The majority of the towns, however, lack sufficient resources to improve their plight and continue to suffer through the dry season.

000 **Plans of settlements.**—The planning of pueblos

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55-a] Pátzcuaro Sierra

226 another without permission from the authorities of the latter.

252 **Fish preparation.**—*Pescado blanco, trucha,* and akúmara are usually taken to market fresh, although the latter is sometimes fried on the *comal* before being sold. The tiny k'uerépu and č'arári, however, are invariably sun-dried, the catch being spread on a petate, which is placed near the door of the dwelling where it can be easily watched [439] (pl. 11). Since pre-Conquest days dried č'arári has been one of the main exports of the Tarascan lakes. It was distributed into the *tierra caliente,* the Sierra, and as far east as Toluca.

LUMBERING ACTIVITIES

313 The Tarascans, possibly more than any other aboriginal group of Mexico, have been exploiters of forest products since pre-Columbian times. During the Empire period one of the important officials of the *caltzontzin* at Tzintzuntzan was in charge of "the keepers of the forests," who cut beams and made planks for public, and probably private, use.[126] Not only were large beams and logs used in the construction of temples, but also in the building of forts against Aztec raids. During the colonial period the pine forests on the northern flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán were heavily exploited by Tarascan woodmen for beams, planks, and shakes for the Guanajauto and Zacatecas mining districts.[127]

Much of the timber resource of northern Michoacán was depleted by the end of the 18th century. Relatively untouched by colonial exploitation, the pine and fir forests of the Sierra de los Tarascos, although constantly diminishing, have remained the principal source of timber for the indigenous population. There are few contemporary Sierra Tarascan men who cannot handle an ax or lumber saw. When the maize fields do not demand their attention, the family head and his sons are usually in the forest cutting timber or gathering resin. The Sierra Indian is consequently both a farmer and a lumberjack. Some are professional woodsmen, who live in the village but seldom engage in agriculture. Little lumber-

[126] Relacion de Michoacán, p. 17: "... *diputado sobre los que guardaban los montes que tenían cargo de cortar vigas y hacer tablas y otra madera de los montes ...*"

[127] This exploitation began immediately after the Guanajuato mines were opened ca. 1554, and extended into the post-colonial period. After the exhaustion of the local wood supply, Zacatecas began to draw on the northern Michoacán lumber reserves during the first part of the 17th century (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 1, p. 215).

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [657] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber cooperatives [474] have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house [439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Woodcutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[128] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[128] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and *rancho*, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 56a] Sierra

314 picked up by trucks from turpentine distilleries in Uruapan and Morelia. Charcoal is a minor commercial forest product made by Tarascans living near mestizo towns. The latter comprise [312] the principal markets for charcoal, which has never entered Tarascan culture.[120] Other minor forest products consist of *ocote* splinters, used for primitive interior illumination;[120] softwoods 313 (madroño, jaboncillo, aile, etc.) for lathe work; pine and fir for cabinet work; etc.

Within the last 50 years the commercial sawmill has penetrated into the Sierra. Lumber companies purchase cutting rights of standing timber from the pueblos and set up a steam- or (when near a power line) electric-powered saw in the midst of the forest.[121] When the suitable timber has been depleted (under Federal inspection), the mill closes down, and the remnant of the forest reverts to the pueblo. Although most [464] companies bring in mestizo labor, many Tarascans from villages nearby obtain seasonal work in the sawmills, thereby supplementing their usually low income. Because of their ephemeral character, the number of mills in the area varies. In 1940 there were five mills in the Sierra proper; in 1946 the number had decreased to three.

During the last 100 years cutting has exceeded natural timber growth in the Sierra. Clearing of new plowland to sustain increased population and commercial lumbering have been the major factors of forest depletion. Moreover, disease has recently destroyed acres of pine in the vicinity of Tarecuato, and volcanic ash has laid waste the forest within a 3-mile radius of Parícutin. Lumbering even by the Tarascan woodsmen is often wasteful. Large trees are sometimes cut and left unattended for years until rot renders the wood useless.[122] Improper tapping for resin and testing for shakes often kill many trees. The sawmills, operating on a much larger scale than the native lumbermen, are even more destructive, and in former years they depleted large sections of Sierra forest. Approximately 50 years ago the timberland in the eastern part of the Sierra east

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[120] The main charcoal-producing towns in the area are San Lorenzo (Uruapan market), Opopeo and Cuanajo (Pátzcuaro market).

[120] The *rancheros* around Pamatácuaro gather much ocote, which the women market in the large mestizo towns bordering the Sierra.

[121] In 1944 the pueblo of San Felipe sold its forest to an Uruapan company for two million pesos. The proceeds were deposited in an Uruapan bank, where they remain communal property.

[122] Such wasteful exploitation was much in evidence in the forest lands of Pamatácuaro on the southern slope of Cerro de Patamban.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56-b]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

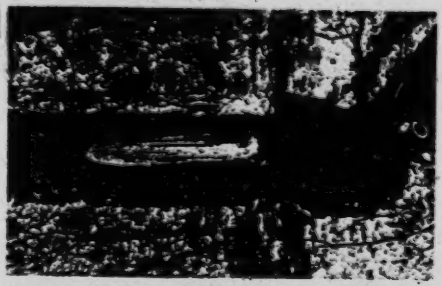
Among most people lacking modern transporta-
438 tion facilities and mass production techniques,
472 cottage industries, often termed "native crafts,"
are characteristic of the local economy. Owing
463 to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population[133] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agave fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 Like so many of his material culture elements,
463 the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[133] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 3.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

[314]

[133]



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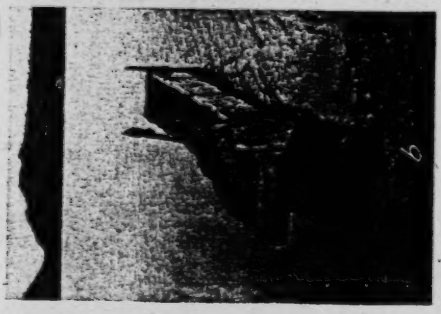

[227]

[313]

PLATE 8.—Pebbles and Boats [illegible]. a, Children sun drying on La Pesanda Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. b, The small Janitzio Island, Lake Michoacán. Note pebbles attached to row of poles in foreground. c, Typical pebble-covered beach, Lake Michoacán. d, The only vessel launched on the lake. e, The small dugout canoe or gill net drying (Janitzio). f, Boats pulled in out of water on the beach, southern shore of Lake de Pátzcuaro, near Tzintzuntzan. g, Dugout canoe near Capacuaro. h, Cut-over land between Morelia and Tacámbaro, now in maize field and pasture.

[End-plate 8]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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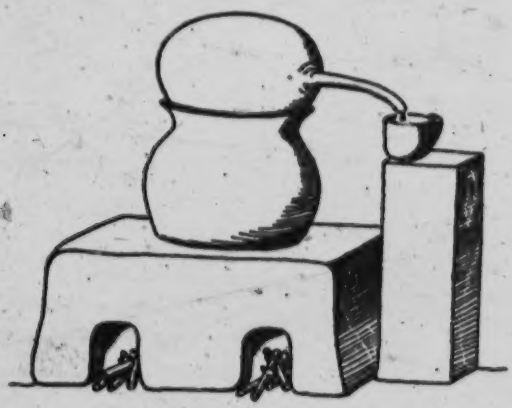
323



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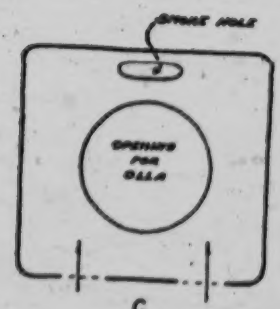

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FIGURE 2.—Turpentine still. a, Perspective view. b, Cross-sectional view from side. c, Schematic view of fireplace from above.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
304 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily
438 in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*,
or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes
6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan
towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani
iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are
sold in Zamora and are sometimes called
Zamorana.

313 Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to
6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows:
On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled.
Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split
into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes
in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional,
the finished product is taken to Uruapan or
Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On
this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract
arrangements. The workers leave town on
439 Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping.
Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in
splitting and shaping the ties with the ax.
Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor,
and the men are paid in time to return home
that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold
322 in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small
wooden objects for which Paracho is famous.
A few people in Cherán also make broom
handles.

314 A considerable amount of charcoal is produced on the more distant lands of Cherán.
Several men in town make their living entirely
from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost
exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners
usually spend from Monday until Friday in the
woods, and return home over the week end.
Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers,
the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches
by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine
production is an important industry. This has
been true of Cherán in the past, but, for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

314 negligible. Turpentine is produced at any season of the year. The first cut in trees is made about 20 or 25 cm. (8 or 10 in.) from the ground, with a small ax called gúrbia. The initial cut is one-half cm. vertically and 10 cm. horizontally. At the base of the cut a small copper or pottery cup is fastened. The initial cut is lengthened upward each year until, after about 10 years, the cut is 1.50 to 1.70 m. in height. A cut is then started on the opposite side of the tree. Formerly it was the practice to leave the cup for collecting the resin at the bottom of the cut. This wasted considerable resin, and now the cup is raised as the height of the cut is increased. In order to lead the resin into the cup, a small sheet of metal is driven into the tree just above the cup. The cup is emptied every 3 days and the cut cleaned or enlarged.

The collected resin or *brea* is cooked in special stills. An *olla* of resin is placed above a fire-
[323] box (fig. 2). The cover and "coil" are made of pottery (in the village of Patamban), and the turpentine is caught in another vessel. Before the decline in turpentine prices caused by World War II, a kilo of resin sold at 8 centavos in the woods and a 5-gallon tin of turpentine
[435] sold at 18 pesos. In 1941, prices were 4 or 5 centavos for a kilo of resin with a corresponding drop in turpentine prices.

HUNTING

Probably no one in Cherán derives any con-
224 siderable part of his livelihood from hunting. Some men hunt casually because their farms or lumbering activities take them where game is more plentiful. Others hunt a good deal because they enjoy it. Finally, sometimes people hunt because they are poor and thus can augment their food supply or income.

The most commonly hunted animals are deer, peccary (guákin), squirrels (both ordinary, kuínike, and flying squirrels), rabbits, quail, pigeons, and less commonly, armadillos. Other local wild animals are not eaten. Heavy rifles
[411] are used for large animals, usually .30 or .32 caliber, and .22 caliber rifles for squirrels.

Deer are sometimes trapped in pits in the mountains. Squirrels are caught in snares. Horsehair threads are used to make snares to
223 catch quail and pigeons. Quail snares are hung

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

313 *Plank making:*

Tools:

433 Oak mallet

434 Oak wedges

Ax

Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)

Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

314 *Charcoal burning:*

433 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day week, no economic data were secured. The little char-

434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

Carpentry:

395 *Tools:*

433 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30

434 *Products, labor, value:*

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house

[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
796 tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55b] Sierra

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[129] The main charcoal-producing towns in the area are San Lorenzo (Uruapan market), Opopeo and Cuanajo (Pátzcuaro market).

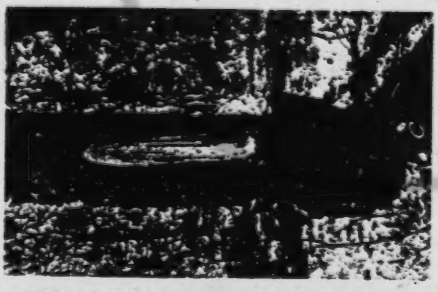
[130] The *rancheros* around Pamatácuaro gather much ocote, which the women market in the large mestizo towns bordering the Sierra.

[131] In 1944 the pueblo of San Felipe sold its forest to an Uruapan company for two million pesos. The proceeds were deposited in an Uruapan bank, where they remain communal property.

[132] [illegible]h wasteful exploitation was much in evidence in the forest lands of Pa[illegible]uaro on the southern slope of Cerro de Patamban.

[314]

[133]



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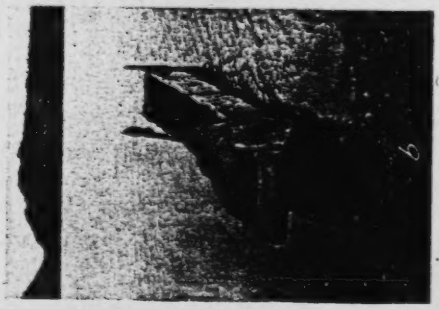

[227]

[313]

PLATE 5.—Pottery and house substitutes. 1, Obsidian site drying on Los Pescados Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. 2, The small Sacata dugout, Lake Chapala. Note paddle attached to rear of canoe. 3, Tarasco pottery of Lake Pátzcuaro: (a) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Cuanalo); (b) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ihuatzio); (c) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Tzintzuntzan); (d) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Tzintzuntzan). 4, Tarasco pottery of Lake Chapala: (a) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán); (b) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán); (c) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán); (d) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán). 5, Tarasco pottery of Lake Pátzcuaro: (a) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Tzintzuntzan); (b) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Tzintzuntzan); (c) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Tzintzuntzan); (d) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Tzintzuntzan). 6, Tarasco pottery of Lake Chapala: (a) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán); (b) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán); (c) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán); (d) Tarasco ceremonial jar (Ocotlán). 7, Burning mineral near Cuyacuaro. 8, Cuiseve and Sahuaro fences and Tepehuan, Sere in main Sahuaro and pattern.

[End-plate 8]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain
no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the
larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is
to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt.
The latter method is said to be especially tasty,
but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of
these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and
eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the
native bee but is a little larger and makes its
nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.)
or more. No other animal food is collected and
the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied
with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three
mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs
and lavas are employed for house building,
foundations, and fences. The materials occur
either in the town itself or in barrancas within
a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic
cinders are also quarried out of the sides of
barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails,
streets, and yards. The supply of materials
far exceeds demand, and the public domain
affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from
a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa
Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within
the village. Most of the rock is prised out of
the upper face of the quarry in large pieces,
which usually are broken up in the fall to the
foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then
placed in piles, which later comers will not
molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abun-
dant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on
burros with ropes, while small pieces may be
placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used
only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient sup-
ply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[144] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, isuárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought
333 from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[497] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of

[Continued on p. 10 b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ɨarímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*"[3] (pɨ́ɨekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*

[Continued bottom page 10 b]

[3] Also "*parines*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*ɨaxin*).

342 masonry is used to complete a wall; in others,
333 the upper part of the wall is completed in adobe brick. In the latter case, the stonework wall is carried up at least half a meter (20 in.) above ground level.

Masonry is always extended about 50 cm. (20 in.) below the ground surface, whether used only as a foundation or for the complete wall. The
[316] stone used is the volcanic tufa brought from a nearby cinder cone The walls are usually about 50 cm. (20 in.) in thickness. Larger stones are set with relatively flat faces outward. The flat faces will be dressed if this is imperative but no other shaping is done. To fill in irregular spaces in the wall face, stones of proper shape with one flat face are sought in the pile of materials. Small stone spalls are also employed abundantly to fill in any spaces between rocks. The mortar is of adobe mud mixed with animal dung, and the central part of the wall is filled in with irregular rocks and considerable quantities of mortar.

If the upper part of the wall is to be of adobe

bricks, these also are laid in adobe mortar (fig. 13). Two sizes of brick are employed; the larger size results in a somewhat thicker wall. The mortar is the same as that employed for masonry. In the Sierra and on those islands in Lake Pátzcuaro where adobes are not made, the stone base is usually higher than elsewhere.

In construction, a professional mason is employed. He erects a frame to which strings are attached to keep the wall straight. He also uses a plumb line to keep the wall vertical. A trowel

[p. 17.6]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 69-b]

282 in the Tarascan area.[183] By the latter part of the
438 19th century leathercrafts began to decline, and today within the Tarascan area only Nahuatzen (largely mestizo) continues to tan hides and make saddles and other riding equipment.[184] Some Tarascan towns now boast of one or two *zapateros* who make huaraches of imported leather for local consumption. The principal huarache-making centers are now the surrounding mestizo towns: Coeneo, Zacapu, Tinguindín, Los Reyes, Uruapan, Ario de Rosales.

METALCRAFT

325 **Copper work.**—The Tarascans were probably the foremost metallurgists in pre-Columbian Mexico. They worked gold, silver, and copper. The precious metals were formed into ornaments and disks, which the *caltzontzin* stored on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro; useful objects, such as axes, *coas*, and spearheads, were made of copper (Relación de Michoacán, pp. 104–109, 122–123). Although definite archeological evi-
325 dence is not yet at hand, it is probable that the
172 Tarascans purified native copper and extracted metal from simple oxide ores by smelting (Hendrichs, 1940, p. 327).[185] From cursory inspection of copper artifacts extant in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia, it appears that Tarascans cast copper objects (axheads) in stone molds. After casting, the axes seem to have been further shaped and possibly hardened by hammering.[186] Accidental, rather than deliberate, alloying with tin and zinc probably occurred.

325 The Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins contained
316 the ancient copper mines and metallurgical sites.
172 Hendrichs (1940, 1945–46) has described several probable ancient copper mines sites in both the

[183] AGN Tierras, vol. 82, exped. 12; Zavala and Castillo, 1939–42, vol. 7, pp. 361–362; AGN Historia, vol. 72, ff. 178–179. The present northern Tarascan towns of Zipiajo, Asajo, Companjo, Tatejero, Tirindaro, Naranja, and Taramendo were all producers of shoes and saddles in the latter part of the 18th and in the 19th century.

[184] Beals (1945, p. 44) states that in 1940 one person from Aranza was tanning hides in Cherán. The old men of Ocumicho remember the manufacture of the black "*zapatos de raquetar*" in their town during the last century. These were sold throughout the Sierra as well as in surrounding mestizo towns.

[185] The Lienzo de Jucutacato, a 16th-century representation of the migration of a people from the Gulf of Mexico into the Tarascan country (where they learned metallurgy) clearly depicts smelting of ore or metal (probably copper) apparently with the aid of charcoal and forced air draft (blowpipes) at the ancient copper center of Jiculán (Jiculán Vieja), 20 km. south of Uruapan.

[186] Microanalysis of Tarascan copperware has not yet been undertaken. Until the results of such analyses are known, it is impossible to make definite statements as to ancient metallurgical methods. Interestingly, the flange shape of the modern Tarascan steel axhead is identical with that of the copper axes found in archeological sites in the Balsas Basin.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 70-a]

325 southern and northern drainages of the lower
Balsas (Guerrero). However, the mines of
172 Inguarán in the northern drainage of the lower
316 Balsas in Michoacán were the main source of the
metal. Smaller deposits, such as those of Sinagua,
were gophered over a wide area. The villages
[438] of La Huacana, Jicalán, Sinagua, and possibly
Tzatzio appear to have been the chief pre-Columbian copper refining centers.[157]

325 Needing copper for the manufacture of brass
cannon, the Spaniards quickly levied tribute in
438 copper bars on various pueblos in the Balsas and
Tepalcatepec Basins. Later, adventurers (in the
name of the Crown) took over the native mines
[177] at Inguarán, probably introducing European
smelting techniques. The main 16th-century Spanish smelting and refining center was Tzatzio, 10 miles each of Ario. This center was located within pine and oak forests, which afforded raw materials for charcoal, and was near the chief highway from Pátzcuaro to the *tierra caliente*. Copper ore and probably native copper was carried by Indians to Tzatzio from the Inguarán mines, which lay 15 miles to the south (AGN General de Parte, vol. 5, ff. 311–313, 1601). Tzatzio was probably an ancient copper center, and the experienced Tarascan metallurgists were retained by the Spaniards to continue with European methods. Before the end of the 16th century the Spanish Crown had established an *asiento* in the Michoacán copper industry, in order to insure a steady supply of metal for the foundaries in Mexico City.[158] Between 1607 and 1614

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[157] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540, state that the Spaniards exacted tribute of copper bars from La Huacana and Jicalán (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 123, 204). Moreover, every 20 days 20 Indians of Coyuca carried copper bars to Mexico (ibid., p. 80). Coyuca, located near the confluence of the Balsas and Cutzamala Rivers, may have been a collecting point for small lots of copper refined in various pueblos of the middle Balsas drainage. At the end of the 16th century copper was still being mined, refined, and made into tools at Sinagua (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo). Tzatzio was one of the first Spanish copper smelting centers in the area, and was probably an old Tarascan center as well (AGI And. de México, leg. 256). In passing, it should be noted that the old La Huacana was located near the Inguarán mines. In 1759 the town was destroyed by the eruption of Jorullo, and a new settlement, the La Huacana seen on modern maps, was established near Tamacuare 15 miles west of the old site (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 302–304)

[158] Under the *asiento*, or contract, system, control of various industries was farmed out to private individuals. In the case of the copper industry of Michoacán, administrative control was purchased from the Crown for 6-year periods. The administrator was obliged to furnish the Government a stipulated amount of copper annually at a fixed price. In 1590 an official survey was made of the copper industry in Michoacán. The surveyor recommended that owing to forest depletion around Tzatzio and the consequent difficulty in charcoal supply, refining operations should be moved to Ario, near abundant pine forests (AGI And. de Mexico, leg. 256). It is doubtful that this move was made, since in 1607 copper was still being refined at Tzatzio (Zavala and Castillo, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 165).

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237 through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.15a]

317 either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and [492] taken into town on muleback.

Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made 333 from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles ("*huinomo*")* or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

312 Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Paricutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

[104] * Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

353 Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly fin-
439 ished on the inside and, less frequently, on the
[338] outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la tarima*" (uanájɨ́ukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

I: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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313

PLATE 1.—Woodworking implements. *a*, Typical ax head, weighing 6 to 8 pounds. *b*, Same as *a*, with handle; total length about 5½ feet. *c*, Short-handled adz (angáru). *d*, Saw used for cutting planks (k'ordri ershtarakua), about 6 feet long; the lower handle usually is of metal and clamps over the end of the saw, engaging the saw teeth to hold it in place. *e*, Long-handled adz. *f*, Method of using long-handled adz to dress beams or planks. *g*, Logging saw, "sawhorse," used to cut felled timber into desired lengths.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p119e]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
304 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily
438 in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*,
or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes
6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan
towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani
iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are
sold in Zamora and are sometimes called
Zamorana.

Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to
313 6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows:
On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled.
Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional, the finished product is taken to Uruapan or Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract
arrangements. The workers leave town on
439 Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping.
Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in splitting and shaping the ties with the ax. Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor, and the men are paid in time to return home that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold
322 in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small
wooden objects for which Paracho is famous.
A few people in Cherán also make broom handles.

A considerable amount of charcoal is pro-
314 duced on the more distant lands of Cherán.
Several men in town make their living entirely from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners usually spend from Monday until Friday in the woods, and return home over the week end. Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers, the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has been true of Cherán in the past, but for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

301 Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs [435] about $35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

335 Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán 322 except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

The differences in the economic well-being of 511 towns situated only a few miles apart are 465 sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive $1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually 335 consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

[text continues on p. 436]

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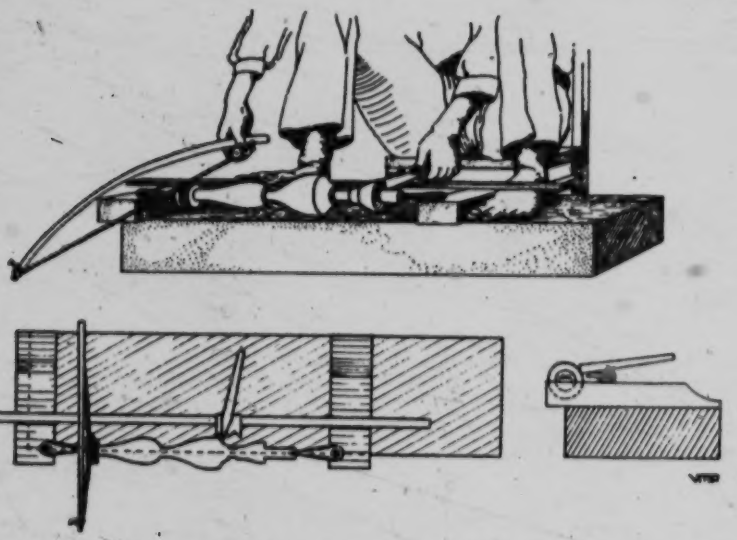

FIGURE 9.—Lathe driven by a bow. A candlestick, about 12 inches long, is in process of manufacture. The two bottom views show the position of the cutting tool.

[p. 43a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 43b]

335 carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

322 402 [824] As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type. They are made of madroño wood and are turned on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

322 438 Broom handles are made by one family, as already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra [461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work [462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p,70b]

322 *Wood turning:*

433 *Equipment:*
434 Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:
Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:
No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:
[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen ..... $1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

339 *Brickmaking and tilemaking:*

433 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):
434

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):
Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:
[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

Masonry:

333 *Equipment:*
433 Trowel ("*cuchara*")
434 Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

● 322 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

256 433 434 *Bakers (commercial):*

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
●322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
[534] chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[439] greatly increased in importance. The town
[323] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

178 The declining crafts are among those
463 producing basic necessities, while the growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

423 No matter how important handicrafts
578 may be for the economy of a given village, land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of
423 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mexican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 679]

294 palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are [439] marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an [177] introduced trait.

412 **Broommaking.**—This is another minor industry now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. [171] The result is a common broom found in all parts of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

322 According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the [177] natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[190a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[190a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1888, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in Garcia Library, Univ. of Texas).

322 industry more than 150 years old; in only five of the present towns do more than 25 percent of the working population engage in woodwork.

Adz work.—This is the simplest of the wood techniques now practiced by Tarascans (and by other Indian groups, as well as by mestizos in many parts of Mexico). Before the Conquest the Indians shaped boats from a single log and carved delicate figures on throwing sticks and tom-toms, possibly using obsidian and copper cutting tools. With the introduction of the [177] European steel adz and gouge early in the 16th century, native wood carving was greatly facilitated. One of the earliest European objects which the Tarascans carved with the adz was the saddle frame (*fuste*), an industry which disappeared 100 years ago. Today wooden spoons 322 and bowls (*bateas*) of softwoods are the principal 438 adz and gouge products, Pamatácuaro and its offspring settlements Sirío and San Benito being the chief producers.[161] These objects are also made in the Tarascan villages of Turícuaro, Cumachuén, Pichátaro, Zirosto (formerly important) and Sevina (where the industry was introduced a few years ago), and in the mestizo towns of Pátzcuaro, Tócuaro, Zirahuén, Uruapan, Quiroga. Spoons and bowls are made from softwoods: *jaboncillo* (šápu), *palo blano* (urápit-úku), and *aile* (pámu). Occasionally *bateas* are made of pine. Tools include the common adz and vari- [412] ously shaped gouges, which are driven with a wooden mallet (pl. 13). The products of Pamatácuaro and surrounding settlements are marketed in all parts of Michoacán and sometimes are taken as far as Guadalajara and Mexico City.

Lathe work.—This represents one of the most characteristic forms of modern Tarascan woodcraft, Paracho being the center of the *torneros*. Formerly the simple bow lathe was employed to make bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters (*molinillos*), chessmen, toys (tops, yoyos), darning eggs, etc. (See Beals, 1946, p. 43, for illustration of bow lathe.) Since 1942, however, when a power line was constructed near the town, most of the bows have been replaced by electrically powered lathes. About six *torneros* in Paracho and five in neighboring Ahuíran still use the bow. Formerly turned objects, chiefly rosaries, choco-

[161] It is doubtful that wooden bateas were carved before the Spanish Conquest. Gourds of *Crescentia alata* probably functioned for the modern bateas. The "bateas" employed in early Spanish gold pinning in the Sierra Madre were likely fashioned from *Crescentia* gourds.

322 late beaters, and *malacates*, were made in Charapan
[438] and Cocucho, but this activity has now disappeared. Most of the turned objects are shaped from madroño wood (panáŋksa). Carving is done by pressing variously shaped steel chisels and gouges against the whirling block of wood.
[531] In Paracho, designs are painted and burned into objects, and the surface lacquered or varnished.
[177] The wheel lathe, an early Spanish introduction, is used by most cabinetmakers in the area for turning wood.

Cabinet work.—As mentioned earlier, cabinet work was rapidly adopted by Tarascan craftsmen in the early colonial period. In the 17th and 18th centuries inventories of miners' and merchants' household goods in west-central and northern Mexico rarely fail to mention chairs, tables, boxes "de Mechoacán." The majority of present Tarascan towns has at least one cabinetmaker who partially satisfies local demand for furniture. In
[438] Paracho, Corupo, and Cuanajo—the Tarascan furniture centers—carpenters make chairs, tables, bed frames. Cuanajo is famed for its wooden chests, which are marketed in all parts of Michoacán. Most furniture is made from pine wood with simple tools (saw, mallet, plane, chisel, gouge). As mentioned above, chair and table legs are turned on the wheel lathe (fig. 6). The more common jointing techniques used include mor-

322 ticing and tenoning, housing, and dovetailing. Some pieces are joined with wooden pegs; metallic nails and screws are never employed.

322 534 [438] **Musical instruments.**—The most sophisticated of Tarascan woodwork is the manufacture of stringed instruments in Paracho. This pueblo has been the guitar town of Mexico since colonial times. In 1940 Paracho claimed 49 guitar makers and three individuals who made violins (including base viols). The art has spread to neighboring Ahuíran, where three men made violins in 1946. Local woods—*tirímu*, *aile*, and *palo blanco*—are used for the top and base of the guitars; for sides and handles and inlaid designs walnut and cedar are imported from Mexico. Some *guitarreros* utilize local pine and fir for the tops of violins and base viols. The wood is cut with a small saw and planed to desired thinness. The top and base are cut from a pattern; the side bands are soaked and bent into place, being glued to the top and bottom pieces and held in place with braces. Strings and metal parts are assembled, and the instrument is varnished and waxed, ready for the ultimate consumer. Most *guitarreros* work on a [439] contract basis for Mexico City or Guadalajara buyers, and many Tarascans have moved their trade to the larger towns, mainly Mexico City, where their products bring higher prices.

The age of the Paracho guitar work is not known.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69a--ANALYST]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 68 c]

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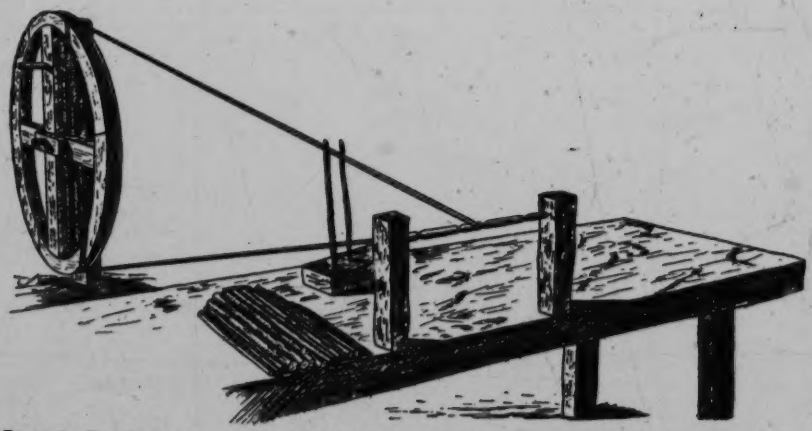

FIGURE 6.—The wheel lathe, used by most Tarascan cabinetmakers for turning wood. The wheel ranges from 2½ to 4 feet in diameter and is usually turned by a small boy.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 69-a]

322 It is first mentioned as an established industry in the report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344), indicating that it had been introduced for some time.

LACQUER WORK

386 Modern lacquerwork in Michoacán is closely
322 associated with wood carved with the adz and lathe. Before the Spanish Conquest various gourds (*Lagenaria*, *Cucurbita*, and *Crescentia*) were lacquered with a varnish made from the insect *azin* (*Coccus azin*) and *chía* (*Salvia* sp.) This industry probably centered in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins (Brand, 1944, p. 60) and was extended into the towns near the southern edge of the Sierra, e. g., Peribán and Uruapan. After the introduction of Spanish adz work during the colonial period, lacquer was applied to wooden *bateas* in Peribán, Zirosto, Zacán, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. *Bateas* were painted, but not lacquered, in Cucupao (Quiroga) and Santa Fé de la Laguna. Today few Tarascans practice the art, the famous *bateas* of Uruapan being lacquered by mestizos. Some of the turned vases and bowls of Paracho are finished with tung oil and synthetic lacquer purchased in mestizo markets.

LEATHERCRAFT

282 Probably one of the first native Tarascan crafts stimulated and expanded by the early Spaniards was leatherwork. With the introduction of cattle, Tarascan tanners were able to multiply leather production, which formerly had been based on deerskin, to meet the heavy Spanish demand for saddles, halters, shoes (the famous "*zapatos de baqueta de mechoacán*").[152] Tanning was done with local oak bark, as it is today (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13). During the colonial period leather-
282 crafts were centered in the northern Tarascan
438 towns near the pastures and hide supply, and in a few pueblos of the Sierra. The latter included Cherán, Cheranátzicurin, Ocumicho, and Nahuatzen, which was one of the largest tanning centers

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[152] Fray Toribio de Motolinía's statement of 1540 on the Tarascan leather industry is revealing: "*Han deprendido a curir curambres . . . son buenos zapateros, que hacen zapatos y cerrillas* [slippers], *bercequíes* [high shoes], *pantuflos, chapines* [wooden shoes with leather straps] *de mugeres; . . . este oficio comenzó en Michoacán, porque allí se curten los buenos cueros de venados. Hacen todo lo que es menester para una silla ginete bastos y fuste, cercos y sobrecarasas . . .*" (Motolinía, 1903, p. 183). According to the Relación de Michoacán (p. 16) "*cotaros de cuero*," or leather sandals, were made for the caltzontzin in pre-Conquest times.

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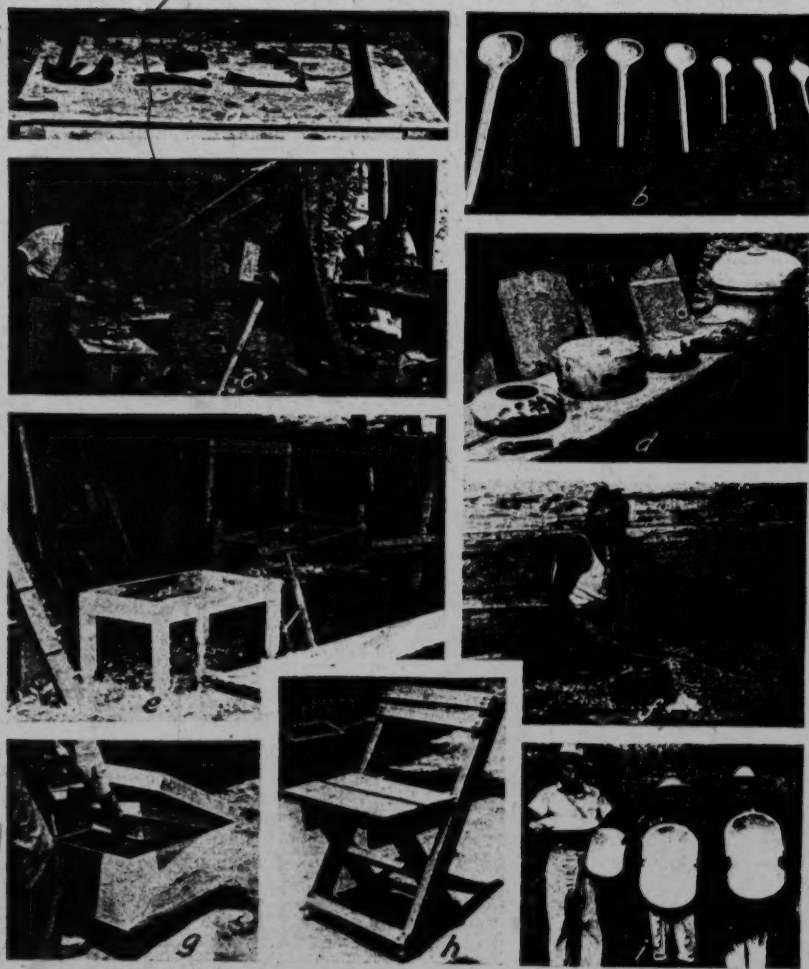

PLATE 13.—Woodwork. a, Gouging tools, Paracutiramiro. b, Wooden spoons and ladles, Paracutiramiro. c, Modern electrically powered lathe shop, Paracho. d, Turned objects made at Paracho. e, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cherán. f, Making sombreros with the bow lathe, Paracho. g, Nest of wooden boxes, Cherán. h, Small (3 feet high) folding chair commonly made in Cherán. i, Saws made at Ihuatzio.

[End-plate 13]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain
no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the
larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is
to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt.
The latter method is said to be especially tasty,
but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of
these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and
eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the
native bee but is a little larger and makes its
nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.)
or more. No other animal food is collected and
the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied
with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three
mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs
and lavas are employed for house building,
foundations, and fences. The materials occur
either in the town itself or in barrancas within
a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic
cinders are also quarried out of the sides of
barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[991] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails,
streets, and yards. The supply of materials
far exceeds demand, and the public domain
affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from
a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa
Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within
the village. Most of the rock is prised out of
the upper face of the quarry in large pieces,
which usually are broken up in the fall to the
foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then
placed in piles, which later comers will not
molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abun-
-dant and anyone may help himself to these.
[992] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on
burros with ropes, while small pieces may be
placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used
only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient sup-
ply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[144] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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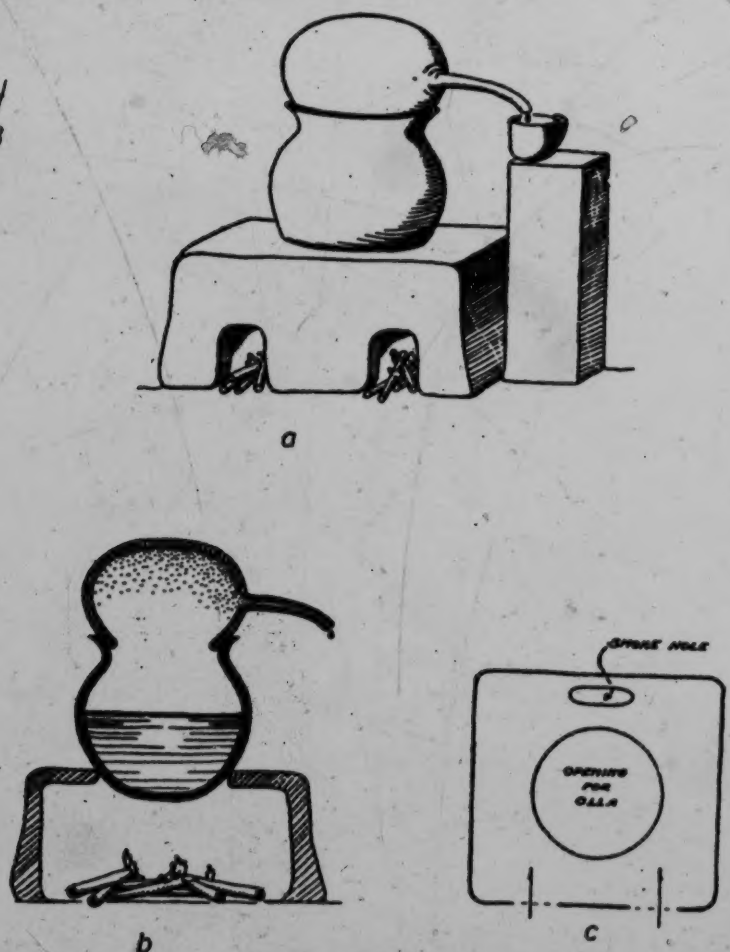

FIGURE 2.—Turpentine still. a, Perspective view. b, Cross-sectional view from side. c, Schematic view of fireplace from above.

[p. 18]

314 negligible. Turpentine is produced at any season of the year. The first cut in trees is made about 20 or 25 cm. (8 or 10 in.) from the ground, with a small ax called gúrbia. The initial cut is one-half cm. vertically and 10 cm. horizontally. At the base of the cut a small copper or pottery cup is fastened. The initial cut is lengthened upward each year until, after about 10 years, the cut is 1.50 to 1.70 m. in height. A cut is then started on the opposite side of the tree. Formerly it was the practice to leave the cup for collecting the resin at the bottom of the cut. This wasted considerable resin, and now the cup is raised as the height of the cut is increased. In order to lead the resin into the cup, a small sheet of metal is driven into the tree just above the cup. The cup is emptied every 3 days and the cut cleaned or enlarged.

The collected resin or *brea* is cooked in special stills. An *olla* of resin is placed above a fire-
[323] box (fig. 2). The cover and "coil" are made of pottery (in the village of Patamban), and the turpentine is caught in another vessel. Before the decline in turpentine prices caused by World War II, a kilo of resin sold at 8 centavos in the woods and a 5-gallon tin of turpentine
[435] sold at 18 pesos. In 1941, prices were 4 or 5 centavos for a kilo of resin with a corresponding drop in turpentine prices.

HUNTING

Probably no one in Cherán derives any con-
224 siderable part of his livelihood from hunting. Some men hunt casually because their farms or lumbering activities take them where game is more plentiful. Others hunt a good deal because they enjoy it. Finally, sometimes people hunt because they are poor and thus can augment their food supply or income.

The most commonly hunted animals are deer, peccary (guákin), squirrels (both ordinary, kuínike, and flying squirrels), rabbits, quail, pigeons, and less commonly, armadillos. Other local wild animals are not eaten. Heavy rifles
[411] are used for large animals, usually .30 or .32 caliber, and .22 caliber rifles for squirrels.

Deer are sometimes trapped in pits in the mountains. Squirrels are caught in snares. Horsehair threads are used to make snares to
223 catch quail and pigeons. Quail snares are hung

128 ties. Neither are descriptions of dress or house use entirely appropriate under the heading of manufacturing processes. Nevertheless, there is a certain cultural or associative logic involved which would be violated by too rigid adherence to the literal meaning of categories.

CERAMICS

339 No native ceramic industry exists in Cherán. Pottery is not made, but in 1940 two men, both [323] non-Tarascans, made roofing tile and brick.

[413]

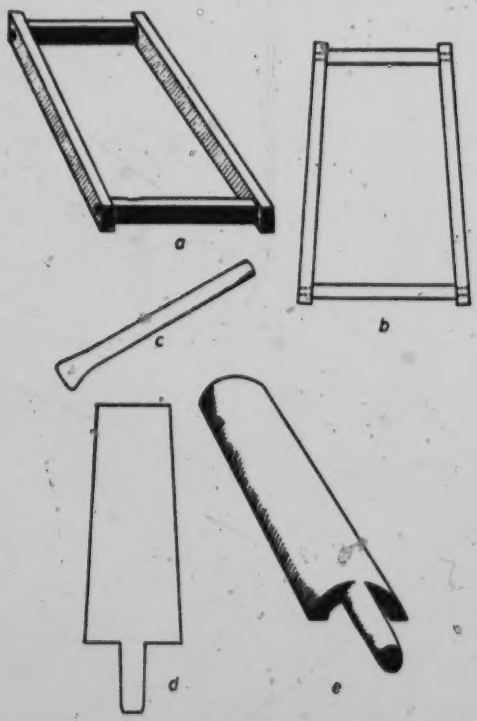

FIGURE 5.—Tilemaker's implements. *a*, Perspective view of the mold. *b*, Direct view of the mold to show proportions and the shape, which is narrower at one end than the other. *c*, Wooden chisel or knife used to loosen clay from mold if necessary (length about 18 inches with other artifacts in proportion). *d*, Outline of the form for tiles. *e*, Perspective view of the form for tiles. The mold is filled with clay and the top smoothed. The mold is then lifted up, leaving the clay on a bench top. The clay is then slid onto the form to receive the curved shape of the tile. After a few minutes drying, the unfired tile is slipped off the form onto the floor to complete the drying process.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p1189]

454 accumulated a substantial contribution without
358 feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

454 This procedure would have amounted to little more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A
[323] regular part of the pottery stocks brought to
[532] Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.[33]

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

793 The priest, of course, is appointed by the Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

[177] [33] The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat nonplussed by the devious, even fantastic, route by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

796 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very [793] drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities [272] of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The 438 principal item in the market is pottery, and it ● 323 is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.131b]

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
7% tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
7% *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

7% Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
7% which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 19a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
[534] chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[439] greatly increased in importance. The town
[323] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of
423 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mexican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 66-71.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 An interesting aspect of cottage industries is
178 their ephemeral character. Owing to movement
[166] of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[124] The pottery industry in Santa Fé
[323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was
[294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan
[282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft
[325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[124] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 62b]

438 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest
463 times, have completely disappeared. The fine
178 Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924, pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground pith of maize stalks, from which various objects (mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then disappeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican kitchens,[133] and tile roofing is used extensively in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.62 c]

323 most parts of the country. As in pre-Conquest days, the manufacture of clayware in Mexico is still a cottage industry in which various towns specialize.

323 438 Including Tzintzuntzan (largely mestizo), there are nine pottery towns in the present Tarascan area: Santa Fé, Comanja, Zipiajo, Huánsito, Santo Tomás, San José, Patamban, and Cocucho. With the exception of Cocucho, all are located in the čaránda, or clay-soils district north of the Sierra, usually near deposits of suitable firing clay (map 20). The Cocucho potters have always hauled clay from the vicinity of Tangancícuaro and San José, for suitable deposits rarely occur in the Sierra. Other pottery towns, now mestizo, are also located in the northern clay area (Tangancícuaro, Capula, Villa Morelos, Penícuaro). Moreover, other Tarascan villages in La Cañada (Sopoco, Ichán, Tacuro, Tanaquillo), in the Zacapu

[20] The common clay kitchen utensils include various types of pots (*ollas*) for boiling; the *comal*, or round, flat piece placed on the hearth for frying, broiling, and toasting; small saucers (*casuelas*) for frying and from which food is sometimes eaten; water jugs (*cántaros*); drinking cups (*vasos*).

323 438 Basin (Tiríndaro), and in the Lake area (San Jerónimo and Erongarícuaro) make pottery on a small scale, mainly for local use.

Modern Tarascans use both the hand and the mold techniques. The latter is usually accompanied by application of lead oxide glaze. The former is still used in only three pueblos—Comanja, Zipiajo, and Cocucho, where it is performed solely by women.[138] In Comanja the lower part of the vessel is shaped from a single daub of clay. A depression is made in the center and the walls are built up with the hands by pressing in small daubs of clay. The outer and inner surfaces are smoothed with a corncob. The result is a well-balanced vessel with walls of even thickness. The vessels are rough-finished, rarely polished, and litharge glaze is never employed. Firing is accomplished by placing pottery on a pile of dried manure. The pots are covered with dried grass (*zacatón*), which, when lighted, ignites the manure. The grass ash is permitted to cover the pots, a hole being left in the center of the pile to permit smoke from the smoldering manure to escape. After 3 hours the pottery is fired to sufficient hardness. The chief ceramic products of Comanja are the large water ollas, called "*comanjas*," which are marketed in the Sierra, the Lake area, and in some of the mestizo towns to the north. Similar ollas are made by an identical process in Zipiajo, but on a smaller scale.

In Cocucho the ceramic process is similar to that of Comanja, except that the base of the vessel is formed on the bottom of a broken olla and part of the wall is built up of rolled pieces of clay (pls. 9 and 10). Firing is also similar, but pine bark and rotten wood, rather than manure, is employed for fuel; this process probably represents the truly aboriginal technique. The Cocucho women make large ollas with thick walls, especially famed as tamale cooking pots throughout the Sierra. This olla, rarely used outside of the Sierra, is called kukúču, from which the village derives its name. The tunúči, a small flat olla used as a *tlascal* (receptacle for tortillas), is also made.

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[138] The native hand technique was practiced in other Tarascan towns during the 18th century. In 1729, according to Matías de Escobar, "*Es cosa que admirar como que las he visto en Tiripitío* [southwest of Morelia] *como labran cuanto* [less] *quieran, sin las ruedas y moldes de los Españoles. Un pequeño cuero y una mala navaja son todos los instrumentos con que obran*" (Escobar, 1924, p. 148). Both the hand and mold methods appear to be native in Mexico, although the latter was known to Europeans. See Foster, 1948, for a discussion of native and introduced elements in the modern mold technique.

923 438 The manufacture of these two Tarascan pots is slowly dying. In 1946 only 10 women were making pottery in Cocucho, whereas in 1841 it was made in practically every household of the village (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

Today by far the greater amount of Tarascan pottery is made with molds by both men and women.[137] None is manufactured with the potter's wheel. All who use molds have taken [177] over the European glaze technique and the firing oven. Tarascan mold-made pottery can be differentiated according to finish. The "Patamban" type, for instance, carries a beautiful green glaze, known and admired over most of western Mexico.[138] Green glaze is also used in Santo Tomás and Santa Fé de la Laguna, having been recently introduced into the latter pueblo. Pottery hand-painted with brilliant floral designs on a background of black glaze is a specialty of Santa Fé de la Laguna. This unusual technique was [177] introduced around 1900, and was readily adopted by the inhabitants, whose former industry was batea painting. As mentioned previously, the inhabitants of Santa Fé de la Laguna began to make pots during the last quarter of the 19th century. Since then their ware has become [439] known throughout Mexico, and some is imported by United States curio shops. In 1936 the technique spread to Tiríndaro, when daughters of a Santa Fé potter married into Tiríndaro families. The most common modern household pottery is the Red ware, either glazed or polished, made in Tzintzuntzan, Huánsito, San José, and Patamban. Before being fired the large pieces, such as ollas and *cántaros*, are usually slipped with a red clay solution and then burnished with iron pyrites. A handsomely polished surface, similar to that of the pre-Conquest wares, results after firing. (Such ware is fired only once.) Smaller pieces are often glazed with litharge. Glazed pieces are fired twice, the litharge being applied after the first firing and the glazed surface appearing after the second. Designs are often painted in white (*tierra blanca*) and black (*tierra* [439] *de hormigón*). Red ware is carried as far as Guadal-

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[137] See Foster (1948) for a detailed description of the mold technique used by the potters of Tzintzuntzan.

[138] To produce the green color, pulverized copper oxide (*cobre quemado*) and yellow flinty quartz (*pedernal*) are added to the lead oxide (litharge) solution, which is applied to the pottery before firing. A black glaze is also made by adding a mineral called *tierra de hormigón* and pedernal to the litharge.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 64-a]

438
323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and
[439] Mexico City.

Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the
[177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous
[177] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

Spinning.—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun
283 raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.)
[386] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

Weaving.—Tarascans weave all agave and
286 cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáıatakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

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415
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PLATE 9.—Cocucho: Pottery making at Cocucho. *a*, Vessel being started from a single dumb of clay. The vessel is worked on top of the mouth of a broken olla. *b*, and *c*, Bottom portion of vessel being shaped. *d*, Piece of clay being rolled out on board. *e* and *f*, Sides of vessel are built up by adding pieces of rolled clay.

[End plate-9]

323
291
415
516

PLATE 10.—Cuanalan: Pottery making at Cuanalan (continued). *g* and *h*, Rolled pieces of clay are worked into sides of vessel. *i*, Sides of vessel are smoothed with sarcoch. *j* and *k*, Lip of vessel being shaped. *l*, The finished ollo. The vessel was made in about 30 minutes.

[End-plate 10]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.44b]

389 elaborate, as they require fuses of various speeds, different colors of fire, and slow-burning types of powder. As handbooks exist for this type of manufacture and supply houses also furnish information to their patrons, it was felt that detailed inquiry into techniques was not worth while. The *cohetero* usually receives a small advance payment—5 to 15 pesos—when he accepts an order. He receives no further payment until the *castillo* is burned. Should [686] there be a failure, not only may the *cohetero* fail to receive his pay, but he may be jailed and fined.

Stonecutting.—Several men do stonecutting 324 on a part-time basis. Doorsills and bases for door posts and pillars are the major products, although some men also make grinding stones for *nixtamal* mills. A fine-grained gray lava from the barranca north of town is the most-used material. Tools include an iron-headed hammer, weighing about 2 pounds, steel chisels, and a pair of calipers. Stones for the *nixtamal* mills are made in pairs and are about a foot in diameter and 6 to 8 inches thick. About 3 days are required to make a pair.

Tanning.—The only full-time tanner of hides 281 in Cherán is a native of Aranza, who moved to Cherán because of the better water supply. He has a house and lot on the east side of town beside the aqueduct. Most of his work is done on hides brought him by shoemakers and *guarache* makers. Such work is charged for on a fee basis.

A man and his uncle also tan hides on a part-time basis. They are primarily farmers and do relatively little of the tanning in Cherán.

Cowhides are tanned with oak bark. The process takes 20 to 30 days, mostly occupied with soaking the hides in the tanning mixture. Sheepskins, used for inner soles of shoes, must be put through a lye bath, scraped, and then soaked with oak bark. A batch of five or six sheepskins requires 2 days' labor and about 8 days' soaking.

The principal equipment consists of a number of large hollow logs for soaking the hides.

Lacquer.—One woman learned lacquer mak- 532 ing in Uruapan. She works fairly steadily, producing a typical Uruapan black-background lacquer with floral designs in four or five colors. She sells all her product in Cherán.

[Text continues on page 46 a]

Production:

333 Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

433 *Price:*

434 From 80 centavos a meter to $1.25; about $1 a meter seemed most common

[435] *Average return:*

From 80 centavos to $1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

324 *Tools:*

433 2-pound iron mallet

434 Chisels

Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair) ... 3 days

Door bases (pair) ..... 1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

[435] *Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) $9

Door bases and sills (each) 10

Comment: The figures suggest a $3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

Tule mats:

285 *Costs:*

433 Tules at Erongaricuaro, per bundle ... $0.25

434 Rent of burro, 3 days 1.00

Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load) 3.50

Labor:	Days
Getting tules	3
Weaving 13 mats	6½
Selling mats	2½–3
Average total time	12

[435]

Sales price at 60 centavos each	$7.80
Gross profit	4.30
Daily profit per worker	.35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iauárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone
333 on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[492] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of
[continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ɨarímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*"[3] (pɨ́ɨekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*
[continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "*parias*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*parió*).

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

353 Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly fin-
439 ished on the inside and, less frequently, on the
[338] outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

FIGURE 3.—Old "troje" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la* [illegible] *a*" (uanajéukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's "*planchas de hierro*" were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

324 Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauári), *manos* (poɹékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andesite (ǵakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 441 The structure of trade among the Tarascans is not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made metates. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly *batea*).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-a]

177 aboriginal and European products and techniques.
463 Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern woodwork the adz and the lathe are probably European [412] and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the [281] tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal. Although the ancient belt loom is used for most [286] cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European tech- [325] niques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 178 An interesting aspect of cottage industries is their ephemeral character. Owing to movement [166] of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[184] The pottery industry in Santa Fé [323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was [294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan [282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft [325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[184] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

282 in the Tarascan area.[143] By the latter part of the
438 19th century leathercrafts began to decline, and today within the Tarascan area only Nahuatzen (largely mestizo) continues to tan hides and make saddles and other riding equipment.[144] Some Tarascan towns now boast of one or two *zapateros* who make huaraches of imported leather for local consumption. The principal huarache-making centers are now the surrounding mestizo towns: Coeneo, Zacapu, Tinguindín, Los Reyes, Uruapan, Ario de Rosales.

METALCRAFT

325 **Copper work.**—The Tarascans were probably the foremost metallurgists in pre-Columbian Mexico. They worked gold, silver, and copper. The precious metals were formed into ornaments and disks, which the *caltzontzin* stored on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro; useful objects, such as axes, *coas*, and spearheads, were made of copper (Relación de Michoacán, pp. 104–109, 122–123). Although definite archeological evi-
325 dence is not yet at hand, it is probable that the
172 Tarascans purified native copper and extracted metal from simple oxide ores by smelting (Hendrichs, 1940, p. 327).[145] From cursory inspection of copper artifacts extant in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia, it appears that Tarascans cast copper objects (axheads) in stone molds. After casting, the axes seem to have been further shaped and possibly hardened by hammering.[146] Accidental, rather than deliberate, alloying with tin and zinc probably occurred.

325 The Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins contained
316 the ancient copper mines and metallurgical sites.
172 Hendrichs (1940, 1945–46) has described several probable ancient copper mines sites in both the

[143] AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13; Zavala and Castello, 1939–48, vol. 7, pp. 361–362; AGN Historia, vol. 72, ff. 178–179. The present northern Tarascan towns of Zipiajo, Azajo, Companja, Tatejero, Tirindaro, Naranja, and Teremendo were all producers of shoes and saddles in the latter part of the 18th and in the 19th century.

[144] Beals (1946, p. 44) states that in 1940 one peraga from Aranza was tanning hides in Cherán. The old man of Ocumicho remember the manufacture of the black "*zapatos de enguetas*" in their town during the last century. These were sold throughout the Sierra as well as in surrounding mestizo towns.

[145] The Lienzo de Jucutacato, a 16th-century representation of the migration of a people from the Gulf of Mexico into the Tarascan country (where they learned metallurgy) clearly depicts smelting of ore or metal (probably copper) apparently with the aid of charcoal and forced air draft (blowpipes) at the ancient copper center of Jicalán (Jicalán Viejo), 20 km. south of Uruapan.

[146] Microanalysis of Tarascan copperware has not yet been undertaken. Until the results of such analyses are known, it is impossible to make definite statements as to ancient metallurgical methods. Interestingly, the flange shape of the modern Tarascan steel axhead is identical with that of the copper axes found in archeological sites in the Balsas Basin.

325 southern and northern drainages of the lower
Balsas (Guerrero). However, the mines of
172 Inguarán in the northern drainage of the lower
316 Balsas in Michoacán were the main source of the metal. Smaller deposits, such as those of Sinagua, were gophered over a wide area. The villages
[438] of La Huacana, Jicalán, Sinagua, and possibly Tzatzio appear to have been the chief pre-Columbian copper refining centers.[137]

325 Needing copper for the manufacture of brass
cannon, the Spaniards quickly levied tribute in
438 copper bars on various pueblos in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins. Later, adventurers (in the name of the Crown) took over the native mines
[177] at Inguarán, probably introducing European smelting techniques. The main 16th-century Spanish smelting and refining center was Tzatzio, 10 miles each of Ario. This center was located within pine and oak forests, which afforded raw materials for charcoal, and was near the chief highway from Pátzcuaro to the *tierra caliente*. Copper ore and probably native copper was carried by Indians to Tzatzio from the Inguarán mines, which lay 15 miles to the south (AGN General de Parte, vol. 5, ff. 311–313, 1601). Tzatzio was probably an ancient copper center, and the experienced Tarascan metallurgists were retained by the Spaniards to continue with European methods. Before the end of the 16th century the Spanish Crown had established an *asiento* in the Michoacán copper industry, in order to insure a steady supply of metal for the foundaries in Mexico City.[138] Between 1607 and 1614

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[137] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540, state that the Spaniards exacted tribute of copper bars from La Huacana and Jicalán (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 123, 294). Moreover, every 20 days 20 Indians of Coyuca carried copper bars to Mexico (ibid., p. 80). Coyuca, located near the confluence of the Balsas and Cutzamala Rivers, may have been a collecting point for small lots of copper refined in various pueblos of the middle Balsas drainage. At the end of the 16th century copper was still being mined, refined, and made into tools at Sinagua (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo). Tzatzio was one of the first Spanish copper smelting centers in the area, and was probably an old Tarascan center as well (AGI Aud. de México, leg. 256). In passing, it should be noted that the old La Huacana was located near the Inguarán mines. In 1759 the town was destroyed by the eruption of Jorullo, and a new settlement, the La Huacana seen on modern maps, was established near Tamacuaro 15 miles west of the old site (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 392–394)

[138] Under the *asiento*, or contract, system, control of various industries was farmed out to private individuals. In the case of the copper industry of Michoacán, administrative control was purchased from the Crown for 6-year periods. The administrator was obliged to furnish the Government a stipulated amount of copper annually at a fixed price. In 1599 an official survey was made of the copper industry in Michoacán. The surveyor recommended that owing to forest depletion around Tzatzio and the consequent difficulty in charcoal supply, refining operations should be moved to Ario, near abundant pine forests (AGI Aud. de Mexico, leg. 256). It is doubtful that this move was made, since in 1607 copper was still being refined at Tzatzio (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 166).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 706]

325
438

official copper refining operations had shifted 20 miles northward to Santa Clara (Villa Escalante), which has remained the copper center of Michoacán to this day (AGN Minería, vol. 22, exped. 3). In addition to copper bars for the royal artillery, the colonial administrators established the manufacture of caldrons and other copper vessels, which they sold to all parts of New Spain (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 389).[159] Colonial copper production, however, was not limited to the royal refineries at Santa Clara, for as late as 1789 braziers were still being made by native coppersmiths at Jicalán (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 366). Moreover, some copperwork was done in Pátzcuaro throughout the colonial period.[160]

Today the sole survivors of the former Tarascan copper industry are some 30 mestizo coppersmiths in Santa Clara, where the renowned *casos* (caldrons), vases, and bowls are still manufactured. Ore or native copper is no longer refined; instead, scrap copper is purchased, melted down, and cast in earthen molds. Sixteenth-century hand bellows are still used to force an air draft; charcoal is employed for fuel. The cast vessel is finished and hardened by alternate annealing and hammering.

Ironworking.—With its concomitant tools (bellows, hammers, anvils, tongs, etc.), ironworking was introduced into Tarascan economy early in
[117] the 16th century. Curiously, one Sierra village, San Felipe de los Herreros, became the foremost ironworking center of Michoacán during the colonial period and the early 19th century. In 1644 bridle bits, spurs, locks and keys were fashioned and marketed in surrounding Spanish and mestizo towns (Basalenque, 1886, vol. 1, p. 467). As late as 1851, 68 families (practically the entire town) were professional smiths, supplying the countryside with plow tips, hoe blades, axheads, woodworking tools, etc. In 1946 three

[159] During the 17th century Tarascans from all parts of Michoacán were forced to work in the Inguarán mines and the *fundiciones* at Santa Clara. Most of the *fundidores* came from the *tierra caliente* and from the *tierra fría* towns of Zirosto and Patzcuaro (Zavala and Castillo, 1936–46, vol. 6, p. 166; vol. 7, p. 240). In 1789 there were 8 copper refineries at Santa Clara, each operated by 30 to 40 men (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 389).

[160] The Relación de Pátzcuaro of 1581 (p. 47) mentions "*herreros y calderos*." Basalenque (1886, vol. 1, p. 451), writing in 1644, states that copper bells were made in Pátzcuaro. As late as 1862 (Romero (1862, p. 7) writes of Pátzcuaro coppersmiths, who were refining ore from Inguarán and Churumuco. Several new copper deposits in Michoacan were exploited during the last quarter of the 18th century, e. g., the mines of Apupato, near the old site of Urecho (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 388) and those of Chirangangueo, near Tuzantla, south of Zitácuaro (AGN Minería, vol. 62, exped. 1; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 92).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 71-a]

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's *"planchas de hierro"* were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

324 Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauári), *manos* (poɹékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andesite (ťakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 441 The structure of trade among the Tarascans is not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made *metates*. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly *bateas*).

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
TARASCO NU34
ZAPOTEC NU44

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico

A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones."

A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca.

A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion.

A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the

A 325 [412 301]

[p.44a]

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather 532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed 326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan* 256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943. 438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán 389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.15a]

317 either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and [492] taken into town on muleback.

Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made 333 from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles ("*huinomo*")[6] or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

312 Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Paricutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

[6] Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

[104]

256 arrangement guarantees an adequate number of customers each day a mill is operating.

The miller must have some mechanical knowl-
256 edge as well as capital and business ability.
902 Most of the mills are driven by an old automobile engine converted to operate on gas produced by a charcoal burner, usually made from an old oil drum. A belt drive transmits power and reduces the speed. Usually the owner (or manager in some cases) supervises the motor and the gas burner and an employee or member of the family feeds the maize into the mill and collects the charge, 1 centavo a kilo. In one case a woman occupied this post, but most of the mill operators are men.

Except for a few very poor families, everyone in Cherán now patronizes the mills. Each mill serves from about 330 to 360 customers a day.

Wheat threshing.—One wood-burning steam-
407 driven threshing machine has operated in Cherán for several years. The machine is stationary (although it could be moved, it is too cumbersome to do so), and the customers bring their wheat to the machine. Two tenders, who feed the wheat into the machine, and a water carrier are required besides the operator. Firewood is purchased. Exclusive of interest on the investment and repairs, the operator nets about 25 pesos a day above operating expenses.

In 1940 a smaller gasoline-driven thresher, which could be moved from house to house, was said to have made considerable inroads on the trade. However, as the bulk of the Cherán wheat is still threshed by hand, there seemed to be ample business for both threshing machines.

Painters and plasterers.—This is a rare occu-
338 pation followed by two or three men on a part-time basis. Only a minority of the houses of adobe or stone are plastered, and few of them are painted. The pay is fairly good, but the best worker probably does not put in more than 90 days' work a year. Brushes and stencils are used in painting.

Masons.—As the house owner normally pro-
333 vides all materials, the mason sells only his services. His equipment is a trowel, hammer, a board frame for holding mud mortar, a shovel for mixing mortar, an ax to cut poles for

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.476]

333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

Barbers.—Most men in Cherán now have
305 their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

Water carriers.—In most households the
312 women bring the water from the fountain or
482 aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders.
462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine), water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

Consideration of food processing in this
128 section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

The storage of food is confined primarily to
251 maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

322 *Wood turning:*

433 *Equipment:*

434 Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen ..... $1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

339 *Brickmaking and tilemaking:*

433 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):

434

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):

Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

333 *Masonry:*

433 *Equipment:*

434 Trowel ("*cuchara*")
Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

Production:

333 Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

433 *Price:*

434 From 80 centavos a meter to $1.25; about $1 a meter seemed most common

[435] *Average return:*

From 80 centavos to $1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

324 *Tools:*

433 2-pound iron mallet

434 Chisels

Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair) ....3 days

Door bases (pair) .....1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

[435] *Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) $9

Door bases and sills (each) 10

Comment: The figures suggest a $3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

285 *Tule mats:*

433 *Costs:*

434

Tules at Erongaricuaro, per bundle	$0.25
Rent of burro, 3 days	1.00
Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load)	3.50

Labor:

	Days
Getting tules	3
Weaving 13 mats	6½
Selling mats	2½–3
Average total time	12

[435]

Sales price at 60 centavos each	$7.80
Gross profit	4.30
Daily profit per worker	.35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

313 by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of
412 poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.[2]

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

Several types of shakes are made. In Anga-
313 huan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches
438 wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (tasámbani sapírati), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (tasámbani iórati), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (tasámani tiápiti), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (irépita).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety
412 of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable
339 earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist
333 climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

[2] A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iauárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone
333 on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[492] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of

[continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ¢arímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*"[3] (pí¢ekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*

[continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "*yeiras*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*iaxu*).

342 they are called round houses (k'utá uiípiti). The
335 latter term is known but not used in other towns.

In Capacuaro occur storehouses, called "*huacal*" (uakáli), made of four walls of interlocked logs or planks with a simple roof of two sheds (pl. 6, lower, right). In some other towns, the same type is made in the fields. The structures are used to store wheat before thrashing or to store straw for animals.

Occasionally, houses built on the edge of the street have the street wall of stone or stone and adobe, while the remaining walls are of wood.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada towns, a few old "*trojes*" are found. They resemble those of the Sierra but, except for two cases in Janicho, the roof is different. At either short end a triangular structure of adobe, "*capisayo*," is erected on the wooden walls and sustains a ridge pole. Rafters run from the ridge pole to the "*planchas*," or plates, in front and back. Stringers attached to the rafters support a roof of either shakes or tile (pl. 6, middle, left).

ADOBE-AND-MASONRY HOUSES

342 In its simplest form, the house with walls of
● 333 stone (ɛ́anɛ́ákata), "*casa de pared*," or stone and adobe, has one rectangular room with the door on one of the long sides. Occasionally, houses of more than one room are encountered or even of two stories. The latter seem very recent and commonly belong to Mestizos.

Masonry is always used as the foundation, "*rehenchido*," of an adobe wall. In some cases,

[p. 17a]

342 masonry is used to complete a wall; in others,
333 the upper part of the wall is completed in adobe brick. In the latter case, the stonework wall is carried up at least half a meter (20 in.) above ground level.

Masonry is always extended about 50 cm. (20 in.) below the ground surface, whether used only as a foundation or for the complete wall. The [316] stone used is the volcanic tufa brought from a nearby cinder cone The walls are usually about 50 cm. (20 in.) in thickness. Larger stones are set with relatively flat faces outward. The flat faces will be dressed if this is imperative but no other shaping is done. To fill in irregular spaces in the wall face, stones of proper shape with one flat face are sought in the pile of materials. Small stone spalls are also employed abundantly to fill in any spaces between rocks. The mortar is of adobe mud mixed with animal dung, and the central part of the wall is filled in with irregular rocks and considerable quantities of mortar.

If the upper part of the wall is to be of adobe bricks, these also are laid in adobe mortar (fig. 13). Two sizes of brick are employed; the larger size results in a somewhat thicker wall. The mortar is the same as that employed for masonry. In the Sierra and on those islands in Lake Pátzcuaro where adobes are not made, the stone base is usually higher than elsewhere.

In construction, a professional mason is employed. He erects a frame to which strings are attached to keep the wall straight. He also uses a plumb line to keep the wall vertical. A trowel

[p. 176]

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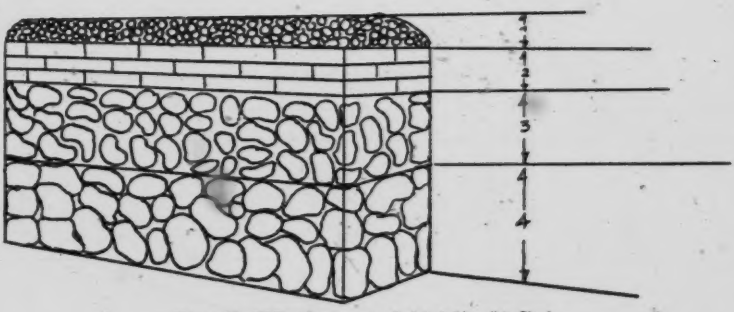

FIGURE 13.—Well-made masonry and adobe-brick wall in Cherán.

[p. 17c]

342 and a hammer are the other needed tools. As the
wall increases in height, a crude scaffolding is
333 erected, usually on each side of the wall, and the
mortar is placed on a small portable platform of
planks (pl. 7, upper, left [5]).

Adobe-brick walls are frequently finished with
[338] a coating of adobe plaster, plentifully mixed with
animal dung if the wall is to be used for a house.
Somewhat less frequently, a lime-plaster coating
is used to cover the wall.

In Cherán, usually only front and side walls of
342 houses are made of brick or masonry. The back
335 wall, and sometimes one side wall, will be of
upright planks fitting into grooves in horizontal
beams at top and bottom. Doors have door-
jambs of stone and the doorposts rest on a stone
base with a mortice to receive a tenon on the lower
part of the post. A lintel at the top is morticed

to the doorposts and extends beyond them on either side, being surrounded by masonry or bricks and supporting the wall if it continues above the door. Windows are made in the same way, but no stone is used.

Upon the leveled tops of the wall are laid wooden plates, or "*planchas*" (in this case also called "*plantillas*"). Across these are square joists, extending 2 or 3 feet beyond the walls. The ends are ornamentally carved. Across the ends of the joists, a second plate is sometimes laid and fastened to the joists with wooden pins, which sometimes pass through the joists and extend below them. The rafters are set into sockets

[5] The making of adobes and tiles will be described in another paper.

342 occasionally are of brick or cement but ordinarily are of wooden planks. There is also usually a kitchen of wood in addition to the masonry-adobe structure. The latter is more difficult to maintain in order and there is a reluctance to smoke up the interior.

Certain customs connected with the erection
423 of masonry-adobe walls should be mentioned.
333 Often a division wall is erected between the forward part of two lots which may later be used as a house wall by either or both lot owners. If the cost of such a wall is shared, half the wall rests on the land of each owner. As frequently happens, however, one householder pays all the cost. In this case, the entire width of the wall is on the land of the person not contributing money. The latter, however, may use the wall as part of a house wall at any later time.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions,
342 house walls are almost always of adobe on a low
333 stone-masonry foundation. Usually the houses
335 have a veranda or corridor. The walls are erected as described. Five heavy planks then serve as plates, "*planchas*," one on top of each wall and one supported by pillars at the outside of the veranda. Sometimes there are capitals, *zapatas*, between the pillars and the plate. The plates at the two sides extend from the wall to the pillars, or the side walls are extended to the edge of the corridor. In this case, no corner pillars are needed (pl. 7, lower, right).

Upon the plates on the two shortest walls is erected a triangular adobe structure, "*capisayo*" (kenzéjtakua). Across the other plates are laid joists, in the more elaborate structures extending well beyond the rear wall and edge of the corridor, and carved at the ends. If the joists do not extend beyond the wall and corridor, the plates on the short sides may go only from the outer edge of the corridor to a point part way to the opposite side of the house. In this case, the "*capisayo*" may be partially an upward extension of the house wall.

If the loft space is not used, shakes may be
342 laid on the joists to form a ceiling; often this is
335 done only over the veranda. Alternatively, a plank floor may be laid.

Should the house lack eaves, two heavy planks, "*pisos*," are placed on the ends of the joists. Upon these rest the rafters. If the eaves pro-

342 ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, sup-
335 ported by the adobes of the "*capisayo*," and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*piso*," the upper by a ridge pole (pirí*j*ákua in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito*," or "*zoquete*," forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-
[171] and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

351 Supplementary structures consist of fences,
333 gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called sérka. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (ua*j*ótakua)
351 are employed to divide lots, or especially in the
335 outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called *j*irindikua.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

[p. 196]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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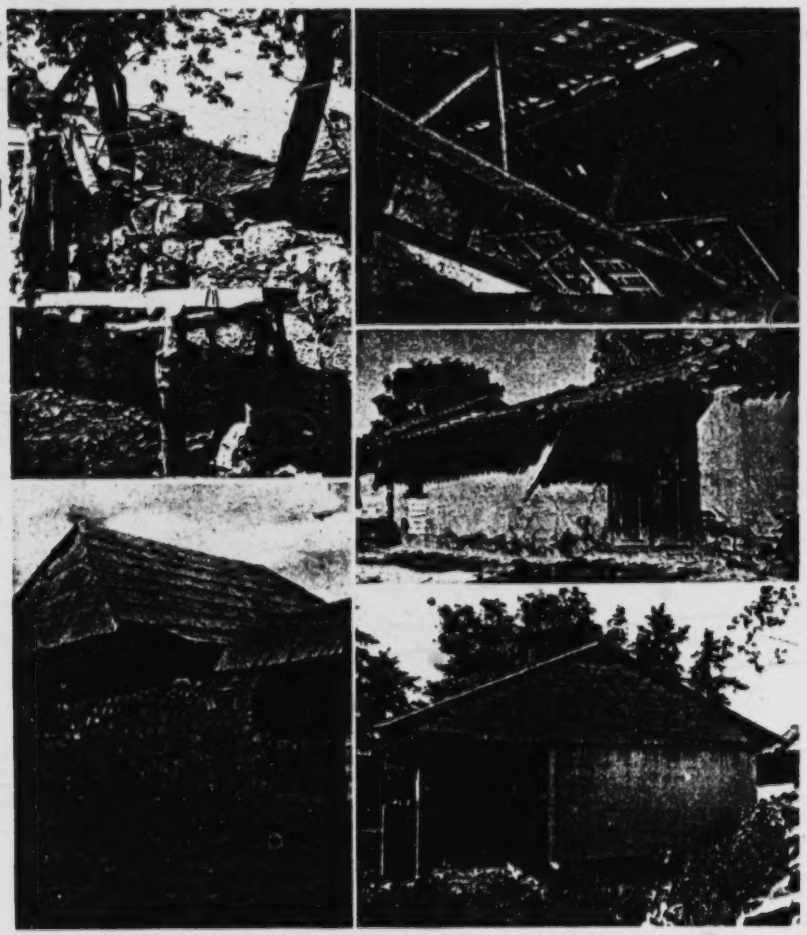

Upper (left): Mason at work in Cherán. *Upper (right)*: Fairly elaborate roof construction at Ihuatzio typical of adobe structures. *Middle (right)*: Gate roofed with tile, Ihuatzio. *Lower (left)*: Stone house at Paracho with shake roof of "*troje*" style. *Lower (right)*: Ihuatzio house with veranda, seen from one end. The "*plancha*," or plate, is carried clear across the house in this case and doubled at the ends. The wooden support, or "*barrita*," for the ridge pole is clearly seen.

[End plate 7]

301 Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs [435] about $35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

335 Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán 322 except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

The differences in the economic well-being of 511 towns situated only a few miles apart are 465 sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive $1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually 335 consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

[text continues on p. 436]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 43b]

335 carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

322 402 [824] As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type. They are made of madroño wood and are turned on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

322 438 Broom handles are made by one family, as already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

313 *Plank making:*

433 *Tools:*

434 Oak mallet
Oak wedges
Ax
Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)
Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

314 *Charcoal burning:*

433 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day week, no economic data were secured. The little char-

434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

335 *Carpentry:*

433 *Tools:*

434 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30

Products, labor, value:

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house

[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.129b]

342 always assisted by various relatives, who also
574 put pressure on him to hold the event. For the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband
[602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes
[335] are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the
[602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of čurípo, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob-
[533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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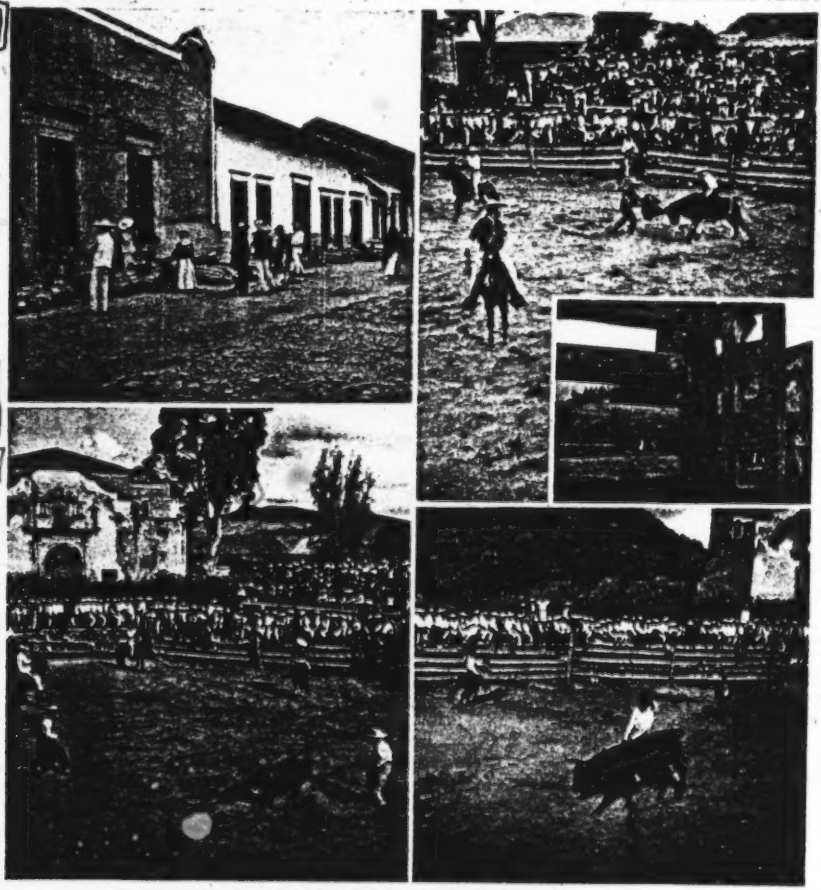

MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

Upper (left): Pottery before being unpacked for the market. *Upper (right):* Riding a bucking bull, the man with cape diverting it from the horses. *Lower (left):* Cowboys (*vaqueros*) throw the bull in the bull ring, then tie a rope around its forequarters. *Lower (right):* Bull riding. *Inset:* Construction of bull ring fence; post on right has holes cut with ax to receive the logs forming the gate.

[End Plate 5]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
313 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
656 most entirely on public lands considered to belong
[423] to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort was open to all residents who had paid a small fee to an administrative committee. The fee was used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently, the Department of Forestry of the Federal Government has restricted exploitation of the forests for any purpose other than the collection of firewood to persons having permits. In Cherán this apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut
[474] lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry has refused to give permits to any other group or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks and beams. Shake making is even more specialized, and men who make shakes may do nothing else except look after whatever farm lands they may own. Only a very poor person would attempt to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
137 tinguished, red (iaṛíni), the heartwood of large trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or wood from young trees. From these woods are made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over 2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or *tablas*.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-handled saw (k'eréri aṛákutarakua). Logs destined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the *vara*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *vara* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iauárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought
333 from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[497] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of
[continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ɨarímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*"[3] (pɨ́ɨekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*
[continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "*pulinas*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*lalta*).

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

353 Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly fin-
439 ished on the inside and, less frequently, on the
[338] outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la tarima*" (uanájɨukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

343 crosspiece, "*atravesaño de la tarima*," are placed
335 first, then the two remaining foundation beams. The lower beams are notched at each intersection to half their thickness on the upper side; the upper beams are similarly notched on the lower side. Very frequently the front and back beams are notched to receive the ends of the floor planks (fig. 4; pl. 4, upper, left).

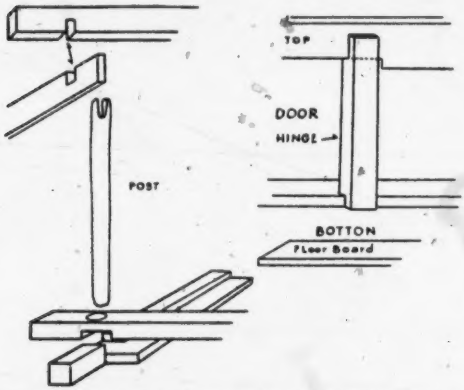

FIGURE 4.—Details of construction of the "*troje*" shown on figure 3.

Upon the foundation beams are placed the floor planks, "*tarima*" (ta'újpani) (pl. 4, lower, right). Upon the floor planks are laid one or two more beams, "*planchitas*." One marks the line of the front wall with the door. If there is a wooden floor to the veranda, a second, somewhat heavier beam is laid at the outer edge (pl. 4, upper, right). These beams are morticed to received tenons on the lower ends of the pillars of the veranda and the side frames of the door.

The walls are of logs or, more commonly, of heavy planks set on edge. Both logs and planks are notched to interlock at the corners in the manner of the log cabin of North America and Europe. Assembling planks or logs in this fashion is spoken of as "to chain," "*encadenar*." Two methods of notching planks are used (fig. 5). The number of planks varies somewhat according to the total size of the house. The door is 9 *cuartas* (72 in.) in height, and the front wall up to this point is made of short planks. When four or five planks are in place, giving the required height for the door, the side frames of the door

[p. 11a]

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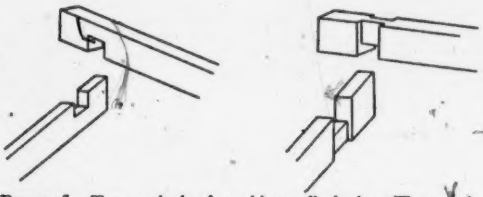

FIGURE 5.—Two methods of notching wall planks. That on the right is more recent and is a tighter fit.

(aŋamárakua) are put in place (pl. 4, lower, left). Each frame has a tenon at the bottom, fitting into a mortice in the "*planchita*," and a groove at the side to receive the wall planks.

Various methods of completing the doorframe are used. The simplest way is to notch the top of the doorframes to receive a long plank extending across the front of the house. Sometimes this plank is ornamented with carving; in this case it may be cut so the lower part is red heartwood, the upper part white sapwood. More often, the doorframe is finished with one or even two special pieces, "*arco de la puerta*" (uúímukua). These pieces are grooved to receive the upper wall planks (fig. 6).

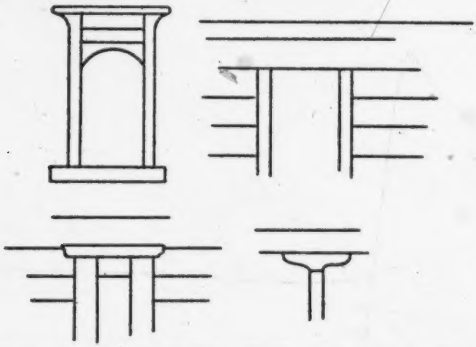

FIGURE 6.—Methods of finishing doorframes, windows, and pillars.

If the veranda is floored, usually four pillars rest on the forward "*planchita*." The pillars are made of heartwood and are usually round but occasionally spindle shaped. Each end has a tenon, the bottom tenon fitting into the "*planchita*" (pl. 4, upper, right), the upper into a capital, *zapata* (fig. 6), or directly into a roof beam, "*arco del portal*" (uanárukua). If no capital is used, the roof beam is often carved into an arch between

[p. 11b]

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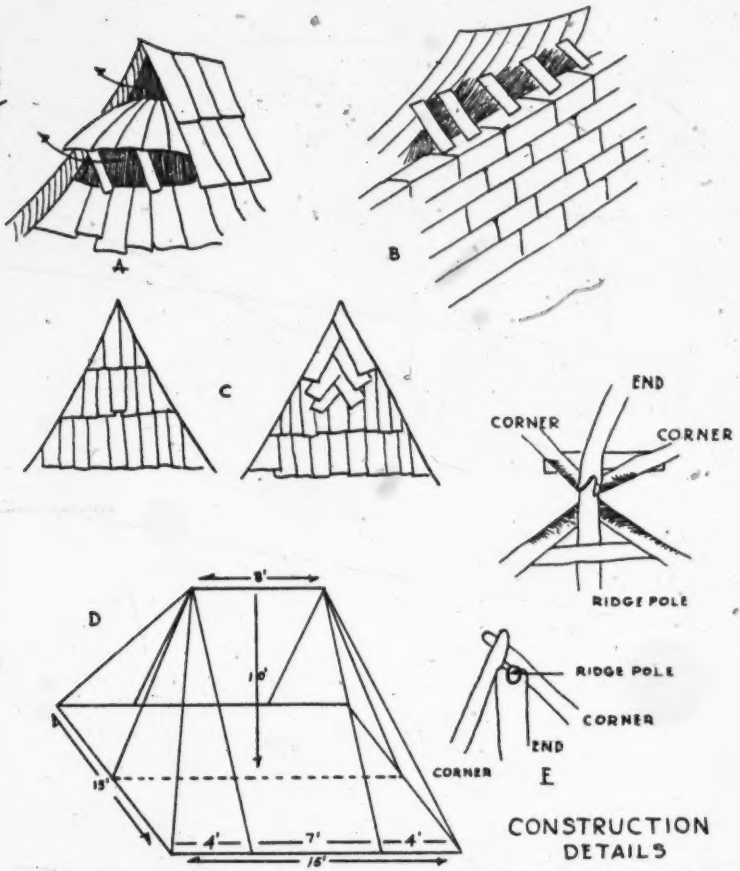

FIGURE 7.—Details of roof construction. *a*, Vent in roof of kitchen; *b*, lean-to kitchen built against an adobe wall with ventilation arrangement; *c*, two ways of finishing shakes at apex of an end roof section; *d*, arrangement of rafters in a small Cherán house; *e*, joining of rafters and ridge pole viewed from outside roof frame; and (above) same seen from inside roof frame.

[p. 12]

343 each pillar. In any case, carved ornamentation is
335 common, often covering roof beam, capital, and even the upper part of the pillars (pl. 5, lower, right). The pillars at each end of the veranda usually have a groove to receive the ends of the side-wall beams.

The topmost two wall planks and the beam above the pillars are usually one *vara* longer than the others, and the ends are cut into a curve and often carved. In addition, a special carved piece of red heartwood called a "*cornisa*" may surmount the usual wall.

The top of the wall and the beam supported by the pillars in front of the veranda must now be carefully leveled again. A morticed cross beam, "*atravesaño del tapanco*" (uanáɔekua), is generally placed in the middle of the room at the top of the walls. The ceiling is laid directly over the tops of the walls, and wooden pins attach the two outer planks to the walls. As the ceiling serves as the floor of the attic, the planks are usually of the same thickness as the lower floor. In one corner, almost always over the veranda, but occasionally inside the room, an opening is left to provide access to the loft or attic.

Upon the "*planchas*" is erected the frame of the roof. First are placed the "*tijeras*" (jauárakua) consisting of pairs of fir poles about 1½ *varas* apart. Half of the upper end of each pole is cut away, and the two are nailed together or, more commonly in Cherán, they are fastened with a wooden pin. The lower ends rest in sockets cut in the "*planchas*." Two pairs of rafters are now leaned toward each other and fastened together. Usually, three groups of rafters of four each are used. At each end of the house another rafter is now placed with a deep notch in the upper end. Within this notch is fitted a ridge pole (fig. 7, *d*, *e*). For further strength, pairs of rafters may be braced by crosspieces nailed to them below the apex of the roof.

In other towns the ridge pole is not used (pl. 5, lower, left). Additional smaller rafters may also be added after the main framework is erected, but in Cherán the house normally has 14 rafters of equal size, 3 groups of 4 and 1 at each end supporting a ridge pole.

Stringers, "*fajillas*" or "*costillas*" (látasa), are fastened horizontally to the rafters. The distance apart depends upon the length of shakes used. Nails are ordinarily employed now to fasten the

343 stringers, but wooden pegs (tarúju) of pine heart-
wood or wild crabapple, or string of maguey or
335 bark fibers, may be used. The method of attach-
[824] ment is such that each shed of the roof is a separate unit and, by removing the wooden pins, may be lifted off intact in case it is desired to move the house to another location (pl. 5, upper, right). The stringers are crudely made with ax or saw. They are not measured, but after fastening, any surplus length is cut off.

The shakes are laid in two layers with the thick sides facing in opposite directions (fig. 8). They

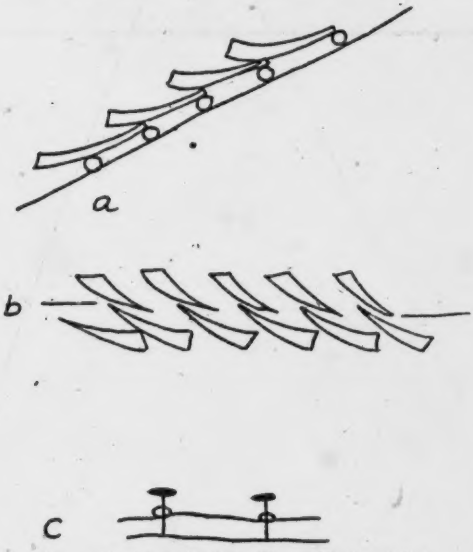

FIGURE 8.—Methods of attaching and laying shakes.

are fastened down now usually with 2- or 3-inch nails. However, they may also be fastened with
[824] small pins (piréńʌ) of red-pine wood, or, preferably, of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. If pins are employed, a hole is made with an awl. The shakes must be put on while green; otherwise splitting is excessive. If it is necessary to use old shakes, they are first soaked in water.

In addition to the above methods, shakes may be held in place by long thin strips of wood placed on top of the shakes. Stones are placed on the wooden strips at intervals. This method is rarely used now on houses, where the steep pitch of the roofs makes it rather insecure, but it is common on the roofs of sheds and stables and is not infre-

[p. 13 b]

343 quent on the roofs of kitchens. If the much
335 inferior pine shake is used, the nails usually are not driven all the way in and a length of wire is run from one nail to another, a turn being given about each nail (fig. 8, *c*). This may be done with fir shakes also, in which case the nails are driven all the way in after wiring.

The door is usually carefully made and is bought from a master carpenter. The hinges and latch are usually of metal, although the hardware may be crude. If a well-made door cannot be afforded, however, the door may consist merely of loose upright planks fitting in grooves at top and bottom.

A hinged trapdoor is placed in the opening to the loft. This is usually a well-built door bought from a carpenter and fastened by a stout padlock. A ladder gives access to the door. Sometimes the ladder is a notched log (kékua).

Thirty days is considered the minimum construction time for a house.

343 Some further general comments on houses, or
531 "*trojes*," may be made. Houses with carved ornament are called "*trojes labradas*." The parts
335 decorated may include the beam over the front pillars, the piece over the door, capitals, the upper part of the pillars, and "cornices," or special pieces along the upper walls. A "*troje labrada*" usually is carefully made throughout. Undecorated houses, "*trojes lisas*," may be made crudely with only ax and adze as tools. Small "*trojes lisas*" are virtually the only ones to lack a veranda. Occasionally, heavy planks are not used for the ceiling. Instead, light boards are laid over several cross beams, which also support the "*planchas*," or frames, holding the roof.

343 The size of the "*troje*" is taken from the length
335 of the rear wall. Other dimensions vary according to table 1. Lengths in the table are in *varas*.

TABLE 1.—*Proportions of the houses, or "trojes"*

Length of long side	Length of short side	Height of wall	Rafters	Length of rafters	Shakes
Varas	*Varas*	*Varas*	*Number*	*Varas*	*Number*
5	4½	2½	14	3	400
6	5½	2¾	14	4½	500
7	6½	3	14	5	1,000
8	7½	3	18	6	1,100
9	8	3½	18	6	1,500

[p. 14a]

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

483 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
[602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years
343 or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The
342 simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína
335 tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (aɣájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

[p. 14 b]

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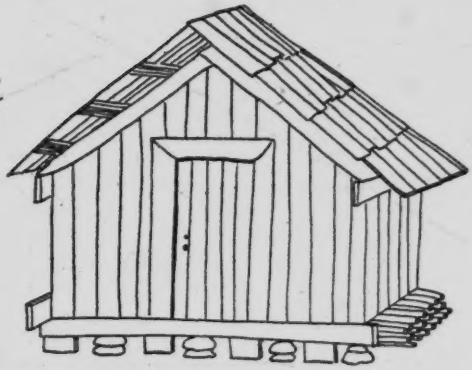

A KITCHEN

FIGURE 9.—Kitchen of simpler style (kosína tórueri).

wall planks or boards. The side-wall planks run horizontally, while those at the two ends are vertical, resting in grooves cut in the foundation beams or made by strips of wood nailed to the beams. The door is in one end (center of a short dimension of the structure) and is framed in the same manner as is the house door.

The tops of the corner posts are notched to receive two "*remates*," planks longer than the planks of the side wall and forming the top of the side walls. The vertical planks forming the front and back walls fit into grooves cut in rectangular rafters supported by the corner posts.

If the roof has no ridge pole, the frame is formed by pairs of rafters resting on the top planks of the side wall and joined together at the top. To the rafters are fastened stringers to which the shakes are nailed. In case a ridge pole (uanájpikua) is used, it rests in notches cut in triangular pieces cal d "*burro*" or "*zoquete*" which are placed above the door and the center planks of the rear wall. The rafters then rest on the ridge pole and the top planks of the side wall. Such a kitchen takes about 15 days' labor to build.

In "*cocinas de horcon*," four square posts (aššáma) are set in the ground. Construction of the walls then proceeds in the fashion described above. This type of kitchen always has a ridge pole which is supported by two additional posts, one at each end. The door necessarily is at one side, not in the center as is usual in the "*cocina*

[p. 15a]

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de pie derecho." Both types have an earthen floor.

The above types are by far the most common and constitute the actual dwellings of the great majority of the Tarascans. Many variations from the described types occur due to differences in the skill of the builders and the economic resources of the owners. Dimensions vary according to table 2.

TABLE 2.—*Relative dimensions of kitchens in varas*

Short side	Long side	Height of wall	Length of rafters	Number of shakes [1]
4	4½	1½	3	600
5	6	1¾	3½	1,000

[1] This figure applies if a double layer of shakes is used; often only one layer is used, in which case the number of shakes is halved.

The more elaborate of the two types with its foundation beams, morticed corner posts, and roof without ridge pole, is said to be relatively modern. Formerly, no foundation beams were used; the corner posts were set in the ground, and a ridge pole was always present. The stringers were fastened to the rafters with wooden pins, while the shakes were fastened with wooden nails. Another way of fastening the shakes was to let the stringers project. Another stringer was then laid on the top of the shakes and the two tied together at the ends. Alternatively, the upper stringer might be held down with rocks.

Another and better type of kitchen is known as trója kosína or kosína uirípiti (round kitchen),[4] and more closely resembles the house, or "*troje.*" The ground plan is square. The construction differs from the "*troje*" in only a few details. There is no loft and no veranda (pl. 6, upper, right). Two horizontal planks are morticed into the rear of the side walls and extend across the back of the kitchen to form two shelves. These shelves often occur in simpler kitchens, too.

The absence of the loft floor requires some change in the roof frame. Resting upon the uppermost planks of the wall are several cross beams. The simplest way is to place three beams running from front to back, one in the center and

[4] The term round is also applied to a type of square house (see p. 17). After much questioning, Carrasco was told the term round is used because the structures are square rather than rectangular. This sounds like a rationalization. Round houses probably occurred anciently, although apparently they were not common (see p. 33).

[p. 15 b]

342 one over each side wall. Upon these are placed
335 the "*planchas*," and construction of the roof proceeds as in the "*troje*." In other cases, four squared beams are used. Two run from front to back, while two shorter beams run from the middle of each side wall to the nearest long beam (fig. 10). The "*planchas*" again rest on these. As in the "*troje*," the roofs have four sheds. A ventilator may be built in one shed (fig. 7, *a*, *b*).

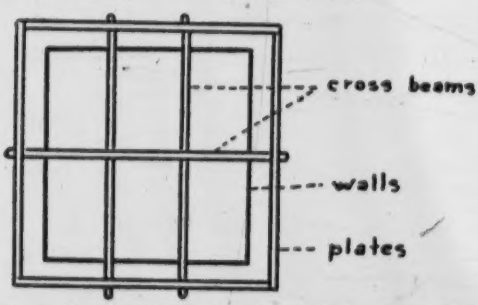

FIGURE 10.—Plan of ceiling in an elaborate kitchen (trója kosína).

The floor of these "round" kitchens is usually of earth owing to the character of the fireplace. In Paracho, however, a raised fireplace, called a "*chimenea*" (fig. 12), permits a wooden floor. Two additional foundation beams are placed as in figure 11. A wooden floor is then laid, leaving a space one meter square open for construction of the fireplace.

This type of kitchen varies from 4 to 7 *varas* in its longest dimension. As in the house, the topmost wall planks and the "*planchas*" are a *vara* longer than the other wall planks.

Although the kitchens, particularly the simpler type, are relatively inexpensive, they still may cost more than a man may be able to pay. In this case, he may construct one without the services of a carpenter. As a result, one sees all sorts of approximations of the types described. Perhaps most common is a structure in which the roof is supported by four posts set in the ground and the walls filled in with any convenient material—planks, lumber fragments, old shakes, and so on. A lean-to against a wall may also be used (fig. 7, *b*).

In Angahuan, and to a lesser extent in Paricutin and San Juan Parangaricutiro, storehouses (called úmutakata in Angahuan) are built on four posts some two meters (6 ft.) in height. Often these

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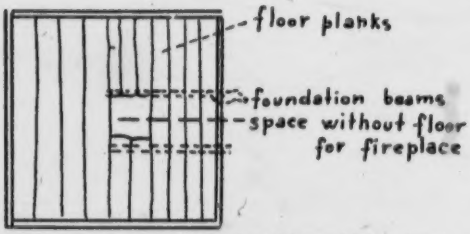

FIGURE 11.—Plan of floor of an elaborate kitchen (seen only in Paracho).

structures are at the entrance to the lot, but may also be inside (pl. 6, middle (right) and lower (left)). Two beams connect pairs of posts and a floor of planks is laid across these. Upon the planks rest four "*planchas*," supporting a roof similar to that of the "*troje*." The entrance is either through the floor or one of the gable ends. The floor plan is always rectangular.

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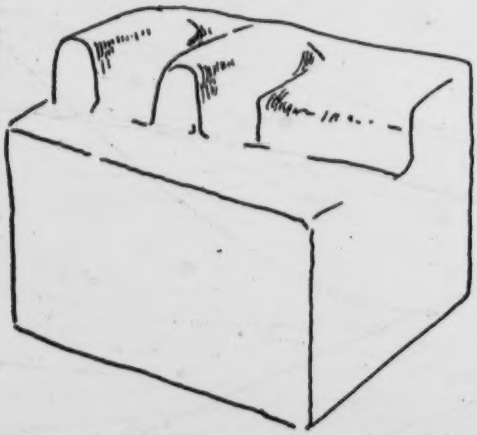

FIGURE 12.—A "*chimenea*," or raised fireplace (seen only in Paracho).

In Angahuan, the lower part of these structures is often walled and the structure then serves the function of a "*troje*." Often the walls are made simply of shakes or old boards, but sometimes the posts rest on foundation beams and the wall planks are well fitted (pl. 6, lower, center). In this case, the floor plan is square and, except for this, the structure is a "*troje*." Such square structures have a wide distribution and are called "*trojes*" in some towns, such as Paracho, but in Parícutin

[p. 16 b]

342 they are called round houses (k'utá uirípiti). The
335 latter term is known but not used in other towns.

In Capacuaro occur storehouses, called "*huacal*" (uakáli), made of four walls of interlocked logs or planks with a simple roof of two sheds (pl. 6, lower, right). In some other towns, the same type is made in the fields. The structures are used to store wheat before thrashing or to store straw for animals.

Occasionally, houses built on the edge of the street have the street wall of stone or stone and adobe, while the remaining walls are of wood.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada towns, a few old "*trojes*" are found. They resemble those of the Sierra but, except for two cases in Janicho, the roof is different. At either short end a triangular structure of adobe, "*capisayo,*" is erected on the wooden walls and sustains a ridge pole. Rafters run from the ridge pole to the "*planchas,*" or plates, in front and back. Stringers attached to the rafters support a roof of either shakes or tile (pl. 6, middle, left).

ADOBE-AND-MASONRY HOUSES

342 In its simplest form, the house with walls of
333 stone (ɛ́anɛ́ákata), "*casa de pared,*" or stone and adobe, has one rectangular room with the door on one of the long sides. Occasionally, houses of more than one room are encountered or even of two stories. The latter seem very recent and commonly belong to Mestizos.

Masonry is always used as the foundation, "*rellenchido,*" of an adobe wall. In some cases,

[p. 17a]

342 and a hammer are the other needed tools. As the
333 wall increases in height, a crude scaffolding is erected, usually on each side of the wall, and the mortar is placed on a small portable platform of planks (pl. 7, upper, left [5]).

[338] Adobe-brick walls are frequently finished with a coating of adobe plaster, plentifully mixed with animal dung if the wall is to be used for a house. Somewhat less frequently, a lime-plaster coating is used to cover the wall.

342 In Cherán, usually only front and side walls of
335 houses are made of brick or masonry. The back wall, and sometimes one side wall, will be of upright planks fitting into grooves in horizontal beams at top and bottom. Doors have door-jambs of stone and the doorposts rest on a stone base with a mortice to receive a tenon on the lower part of the post. A lintel at the top is morticed to the doorposts and extends beyond them on either side, being surrounded by masonry or bricks and supporting the wall if it continues above the door. Windows are made in the same way, but no stone is used.

Upon the leveled tops of the wall are laid wooden plates, or "*planchas*" (in this case also called "*plantillas*"). Across these are square joists, extending 2 or 3 feet beyond the walls. The ends are ornamentally carved. Across the ends of the joists, a second plate is sometimes laid and fastened to the joists with wooden pins, which sometimes pass through the joists and extend below them. The rafters are set into sockets

[5] The making of adobes and tiles will be described in another paper.

342 in this plate, or may be pinned directly into
335 sockets in the joists. The frame consists of a ridge pole supported by pillars from the walls and joists. The rafters are in pairs resting on the ridge pole. In large structures with tile roofs, additional pillars or braces may support the rafters (pl. 7, upper, right). The ends of the gable roof thus formed are usually closed with shakes. Sometimes a floor is laid over the joists to form a loft. Yet another common variant is a shake roof with four sheds similar to the roof of the "*troje*" (pl. 7, lower, left).

The wide eaves of this type of house usually extend to the edge of the sidewalk, a very convenient arrangement in a rainy country, although the purpose probably is to keep moisture away from the walls. No other feature so strikingly sets off the architecture of central Michoacán from that of the remainder of Mexico than do these wide eaves (pl. 8, left). Structures fronting on the plaza often have a corridor with supporting pillars.

342 Many structures of masonry and adobe brick
[177] are approximating Mexican architecture in their ground plans, particularly if they are of any size. Usually two or more large rooms front on the street. A large entry way with double front doors, wide and high enough to permit the passage of animals, usually will be between two of the rooms. On the side facing the inner yard, there is a wide earth or brick-floored veranda (fig. 14). Doors and windows may open on both the street and the yard. Floors of such structures

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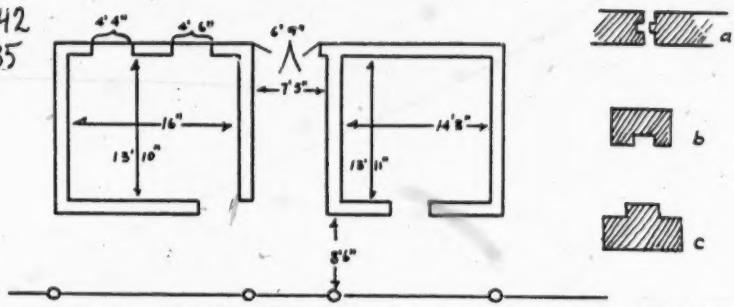


FIGURE 14.—Plan of house of Pedro Chávez, Cherán. Combination masonry and wooden walls. *a* shows tongue-and-grooving of vertical plank walls. *b* and *c* show notching of beams at top and bottom to receive wall planks, and (*c*) floor planks.

[p. 18c]

342 occasionally are of brick or cement but ordinarily are of wooden planks. There is also usually a kitchen of wood in addition to the masonry-adobe structure. The latter is more difficult to maintain in order and there is a reluctance to smoke up the interior.

Certain customs connected with the erection
423 of masonry-adobe walls should be mentioned.
333 Often a division wall is erected between the forward part of two lots which may later be used as a house wall by either or both lot owners. If the cost of such a wall is shared, half the wall rests on the land of each owner. As frequently happens, however, one householder pays all the cost. In this case, the entire width of the wall is on the land of the person not contributing money. The latter, however, may use the wall as part of a house wall at any later time.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions,
342 house walls are almost always of adobe on a low
333 stone-masonry foundation. Usually the houses
335 have a veranda or corridor. The walls are erected as described. Five heavy planks then serve as plates, "*planchas*," one on top of each wall and one supported by pillars at the outside of the veranda. Sometimes there are capitals, *zapatas*, between the pillars and the plate. The plates at the two sides extend from the wall to the pillars, or the side walls are extended to the edge of the corridor. In this case, no corner pillars are needed (pl. 7, lower, right).

Upon the plates on the two shortest walls is erected a triangular adobe structure, "*capisayo*" (kenzéjtakua). Across the other plates are laid joists, in the more elaborate structures extending well beyond the rear wall and edge of the corridor, and carved at the ends. If the joists do not extend beyond the wall and corridor, the plates on the short sides may go only from the outer edge of the corridor to a point part way to the opposite side of the house. In this case, the "*capisayo*" may be partially an upward extension of the house wall.

If the loft space is not used, shakes may be
342 laid on the joists to form a ceiling; often this is
335 done only over the veranda. Alternatively, a plank floor may be laid.

Should the house lack eaves, two heavy planks, "*pisos*," are placed on the ends of the joists. Upon these rest the rafters. If the eaves pro-

342 ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, sup-
335 ported by the adobes of the "*capisayo,*" and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*piso,*" the upper by a ridge pole (pirijɛ́akua in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito,*" or "*zoquete,*" forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-
[171] and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

351 Supplementary structures consist of fences,
333 gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called sérka. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (uaɛ́ótakua)
351 are employed to divide lots, or especially in the
335 outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called ɛirindikua.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

351/ 335 are connected by a piece of wood at top and bottom. Almost invariably they have a small gable roof (úmutakata in Angahuan, the name of the storehouses on posts already described). Two pieces are supported by the gate posts at right angles to the gate. The ends of these are connected with two pieces which support rafters. Construction is like that of a gabled house roof in miniature. Sometimes a light floor is laid, and the space is used to store maize husks for tamales or some similar, not very valuable, material. The gate roofs keep the gate from rotting or warping from rain. They are an inevitable part of the Tarascan landscape and may be seen sometimes in open fields over the entrance to the field even though there be no gate (pls. 3, right; 7, lower, left). In the Lake region, they are roofed with tile, a practice sometimes seen elsewhere (pl. 7, middle, right).

In some cases, however, simpler constructions are used. The gate may simply be upright planks resting in a groove at the bottom and held by cord loops at the top. In the fields, gates are often made by planting two posts with holes chopped in each to receive bars. Such gates are sometimes seen in town also. They are called "*agújas*" in Cherán, but in Parícutin they are called jarášurita.

[continued on p. 20b]

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 While a high degree of specialization is characteristic of the Tarascans in comparison with most primitive people, such a term is always relative. Actually almost any man in Cherán is first of all a farmer; only landless men, which means also poor men, are not farmers. Probably most Cherán men are fairly skilled with an ax, sufficiently so to do a reasonably competent job felling a tree, trimming poles, cutting fence posts or ties, and hewing out rough timbers. On the other hand, to make a living at woodworking occupations requires more skill and speed than would be possessed by many men. In the same way, any man might do a fair job of building a dry-stone field wall, but he would not be as fast as a specialist, nor could he put up a masonry wall or lay adobe bricks in a fashion that would meet Cherán standards of fitness. Nevertheless, these facts make an absolutely correct assessment of the

[p. 20a] [Continued bottom of page 20b]

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

354 In some house yards there are large domed
[427] ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND
DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

335 465 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually employed on a contract basis. Often the carpenter employs a helper. In addition to their pay, the carpenter and helper are given their food. Adobe or stone structures are also built under contract, but in this case the workmen are not fed.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

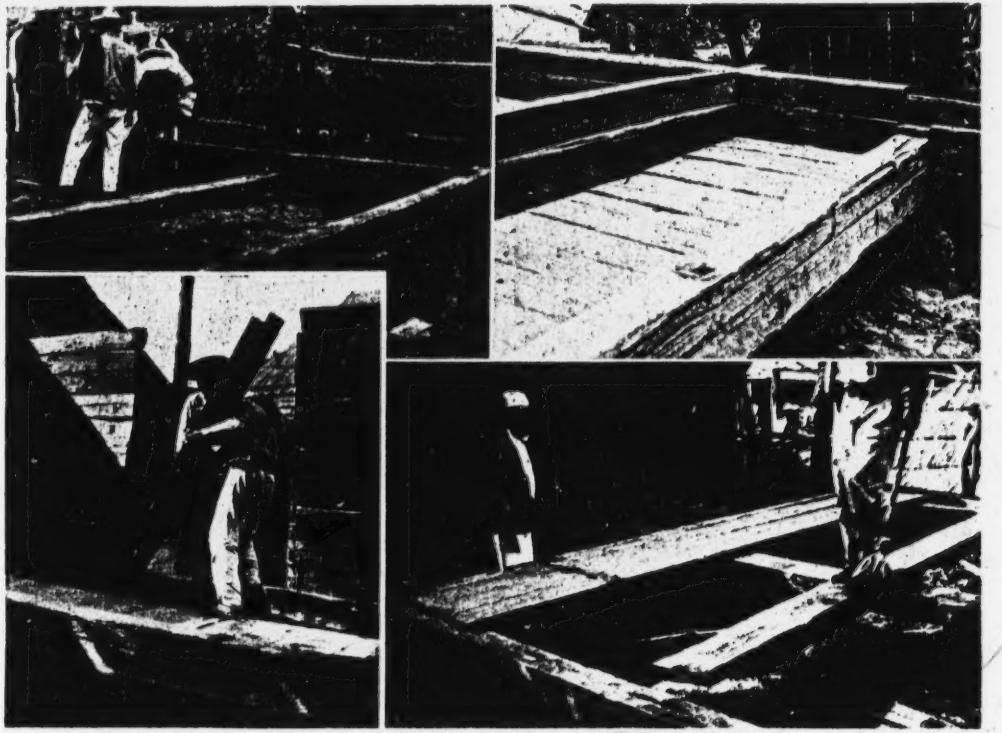
341 184 known distribution of types within Tarascan boundaries:

Mostly wood	*Mostly masonry-adobe*	*All masonry-adobe*
Ahuiran	Cuanajo	Cucuchucho
Angahuan	La Cañada (all towns)	Huecorio
Arantepakua	Puacuaro [2]	Ihuatzio
Aranza	Tarecuato	Janicho
Capacuaro	Uruapan [1] [2]	Jarácuaro [2]
Charapan	Zacápu [1]	Naranja
Cherán	Zamora [1]	Pareo
Cocucho		Pátzcuaro [1]
Corupo		Quiroga
Nahuatzen		Santa Fé
Nurió		Tarejero
Parácho		Tecuena
Parangaricutiro		Tirindaro
Paricutin		Tzentzénhuaro
Patamban		Tzurumútaro
Pomacuarán		Yunuán
Quinseo		
San Felipe		
San Lorenzo		
Sevina		
Tucutacato		
Tingüindin		
Urapicho		
Zirosto		

[1] Indicates Mestizo town showing influence of styles.
[2] Indicates shake roofs common.

[p.21b]

●335



Upper (left): Leveling the foundation beams for a house. *Upper (right):* The "*planchas*" in position. Two side wall planks and one front wall plank in place. Notice the mortice for a pillar in the front "*plancha.*" *Lower (left):* Placing one of the doorframes. *Lower (right):* Laying the floor boards of a house.

[End plate 4]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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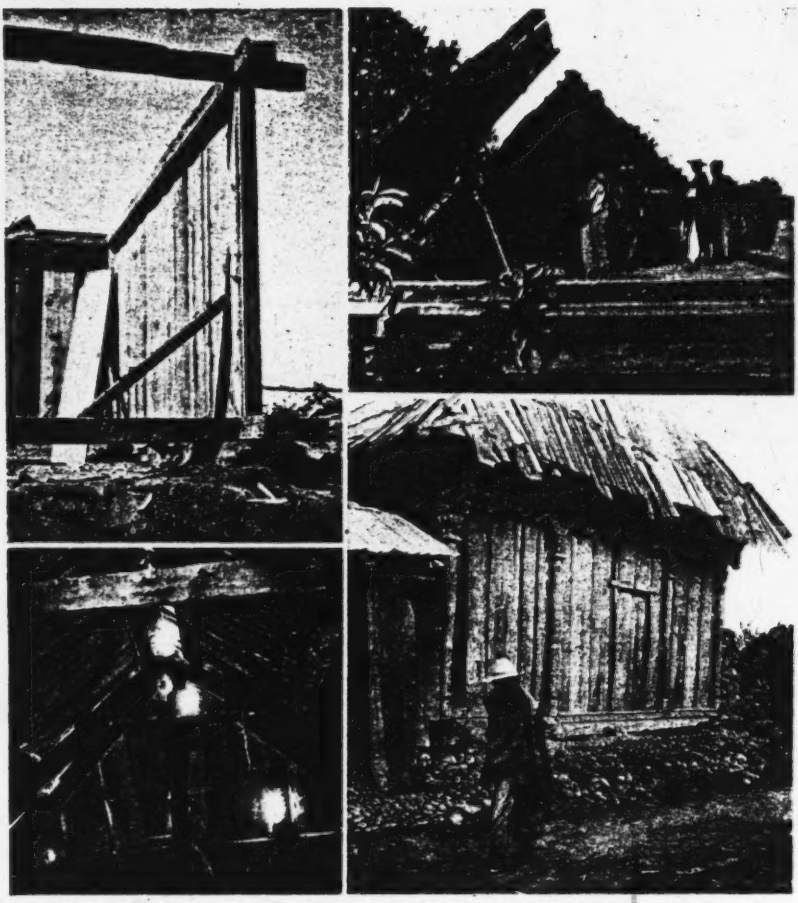
[483]



Upper (left): Simple kitchen under construction in Cherán, "*sin derecho*" type. *Upper (right):* Two roof sections in place in process of moving a Cherán house. *Lower (left):* Arrangement of rafters in Paracho house without ridge pole. *Lower (right):* Old house in Paracho of unusual style. The elaborate carving and absence of capitals of the pillars should be noticed. The walls are of vertical planks rather than the normal horizontal construction.

[End plate 5]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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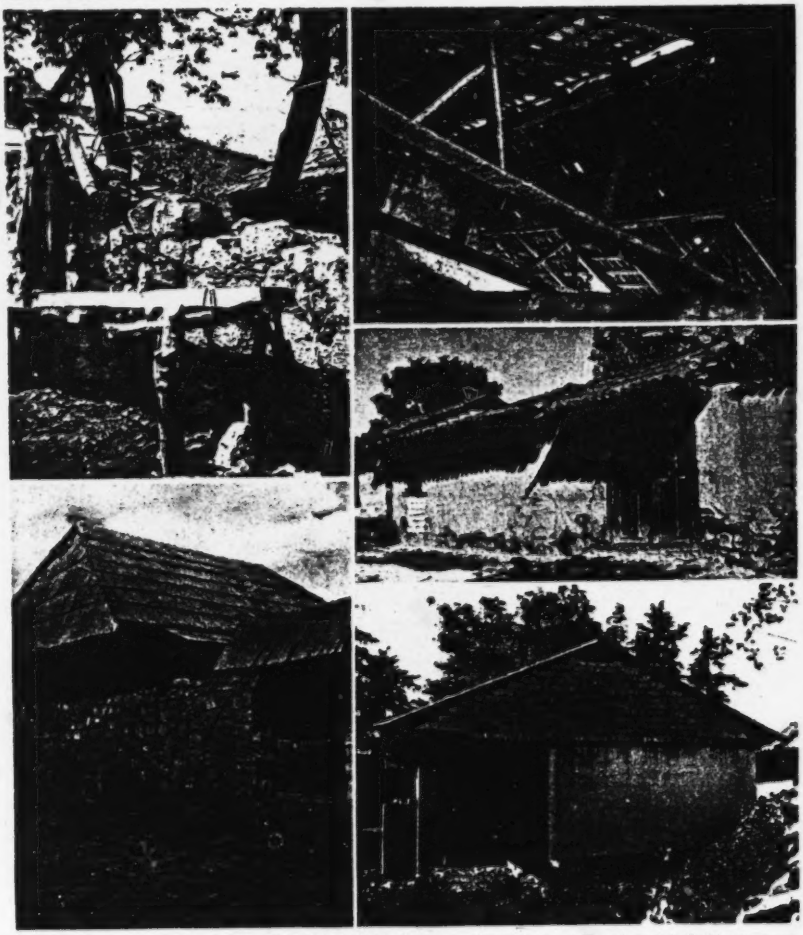
335
[333]



Upper (left): Mason at work in Cherán. *Upper (right)*: Fairly elaborate roof construction at Ihuatzio typical of adobe structures. *Middle (right)*: Gate roofed with tile, Ihuatzio. *Lower (left)*: Stone house at Paracho with shake roof of "*troje*" style. *Lower (right)*: Ihuatzio house with veranda, seen from one end. The "*plancha*," or plate, is carried clear across the house in this case and doubled at the ends. The wooden support, or "*barrita*," for the ridge pole is clearly seen.

[End plate 7]

256 arrangement guarantees an adequate number of customers each day a mill is operating.

The miller must have some mechanical knowl-
256 edge as well as capital and business ability.
402 Most of the mills are driven by an old automobile engine converted to operate on gas produced by a charcoal burner, usually made from an old oil drum. A belt drive transmits power and reduces the speed. Usually the owner (or manager in some cases) supervises the motor and the gas burner and an employee or member of the family feeds the maize into the mill and collects the charge, 1 centavo a kilo. In one case a woman occupied this post, but most of the mill operators are men.

Except for a few very poor families, everyone in Cherán now patronizes the mills. Each mill serves from about 330 to 360 customers a day.

Wheat threshing.—One wood-burning steam-
407 driven threshing machine has operated in Cherán for several years. The machine is stationary (although it could be moved, it is too cumbersome to do so), and the customers bring their wheat to the machine. Two tenders, who feed the wheat into the machine, and a water carrier are required besides the operator. Firewood is purchased. Exclusive of interest on the investment and repairs, the operator nets about 25 pesos a day above operating expenses.

In 1940 a smaller gasoline-driven thresher, which could be moved from house to house, was said to have made considerable inroads on the trade. However, as the bulk of the Cherán wheat is still threshed by hand, there seemed to be ample business for both threshing machines.

Painters and plasterers.—This is a rare occu-
338 pation followed by two or three men on a part-time basis. Only a minority of the houses of adobe or stone are plastered, and few of them are painted. The pay is fairly good, but the best worker probably does not put in more than 90 days' work a year. Brushes and stencils are used in painting.

Masons.—As the house owner normally pro-
333 vides all materials, the mason sells only his services. His equipment is a trowel, hammer, a board frame for holding mud mortar, a shovel for mixing mortar, an ax to cut poles for

256 402 433 434 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included. Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 434 *Barbers:*

Prices:	
Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 434 *Musicians:*

Wages:	
For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 434 *Painters, plasterers:*

Daily wage	$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 433 434 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 433 434 *Butchers:*

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	$80–$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

353 Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly fin-
439 ished on the inside and, less frequently, on the
[338] outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la tarima*" (uanájɛukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

342 and a hammer are the other needed tools. As the
333 wall increases in height, a crude scaffolding is erected, usually on each side of the wall, and the mortar is placed on a small portable platform of planks (pl. 7, upper, left [5]).

[338] Adobe-brick walls are frequently finished with a coating of adobe plaster, plentifully mixed with animal dung if the wall is to be used for a house. Somewhat less frequently, a lime-plaster coating is used to cover the wall.

342 In Cherán, usually only front and side walls of
335 houses are made of brick or masonry. The back wall, and sometimes one side wall, will be of upright planks fitting into grooves in horizontal beams at top and bottom. Doors have door-jambs of stone and the doorposts rest on a stone base with a mortice to receive a tenon on the lower part of the post. A lintel at the top is morticed to the doorposts and extends beyond them on either side, being surrounded by masonry or bricks and supporting the wall if it continues above the door. Windows are made in the same way, but no stone is used.

Upon the leveled tops of the wall are laid wooden plates, or "*planchas*" (in this case also called "*plantillas*"). Across these are square joists, extending 2 or 3 feet beyond the walls. The ends are ornamentally carved. Across the ends of the joists, a second plate is sometimes laid and fastened to the joists with wooden pins, which sometimes pass through the joists and extend below them. The rafters are set into sockets

[5] The making of adobes and tiles will be described in another paper.

128 ties. Neither are descriptions of dress or house use entirely appropriate under the heading of manufacturing processes. Nevertheless, there is a certain cultural or associative logic involved which would be violated by too rigid adherence to the literal meaning of categories.

CERAMICS

339 [323] No native ceramic industry exists in Cherán. Pottery is not made, but in 1940 two men, both non-Tarascans, made roofing tile and brick.

[413]

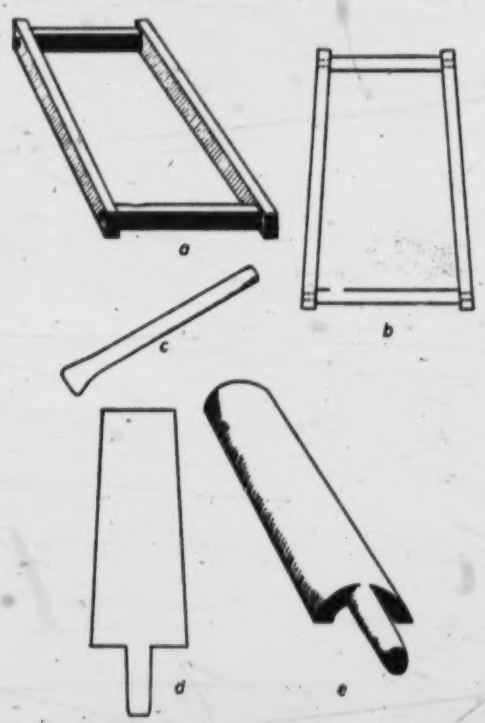


FIGURE 5.—Tilemaker's implements. *a*, Perspective view of the mold. *b*, Direct view of the mold to show proportions and the shape, which is narrower at one end than the other. *c*, Wooden chisel or knife used to loosen clay from mold if necessary (length about 18 inches with other artifacts in proportion). *d*, Outline of the form for tiles. *e*, Perspective view of the form for tiles. The mold is filled with clay and the top smoothed. The mold is then lifted up, leaving the clay on a bench top. The clay is then slid onto the form to receive the curved shape of the tile. After a few minutes drying, the unfired tile is slipped off the form onto the floor to complete the drying process.

939 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [478] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture 439 men's hats of palm straw braid, although production does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

322 *Wood turning:*

433 *Equipment:*

434 Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen.....$1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

339 *Brickmaking and tilemaking:*

433 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):

434

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):

Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

Masonry:

333 *Equipment:*

433 Trowel ("*cuchara*")

434 Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

313 by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of
412 poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.[2]

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

Several types of shakes are made. In Anga-
313 huan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches
438 wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (tasámbani sapírati), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (tasámbani iórati), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (tasámani tiápiti), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (irépita).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety
412 of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable
339 earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist
333 climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

[2] A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iauárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought
333 from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[492] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of

[Continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ɣarímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*"[3] (pɨɣekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*

[Continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "parian," because they are usually made of heartwood (latin).

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la tarima*" (uanájɨukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

341

341 ARCHITECTURE--styles of domestic and nondomestic buildings; architectural theory and principles; practice of architecture (e.g., solicitation of business, planning, draftsmanship, supervision of construction, fees); specialization (e.g., architects, draftsmen); etc. See also:

Construction	33	Interior decoration	353
Landscape architecture	351	Decorative art	531

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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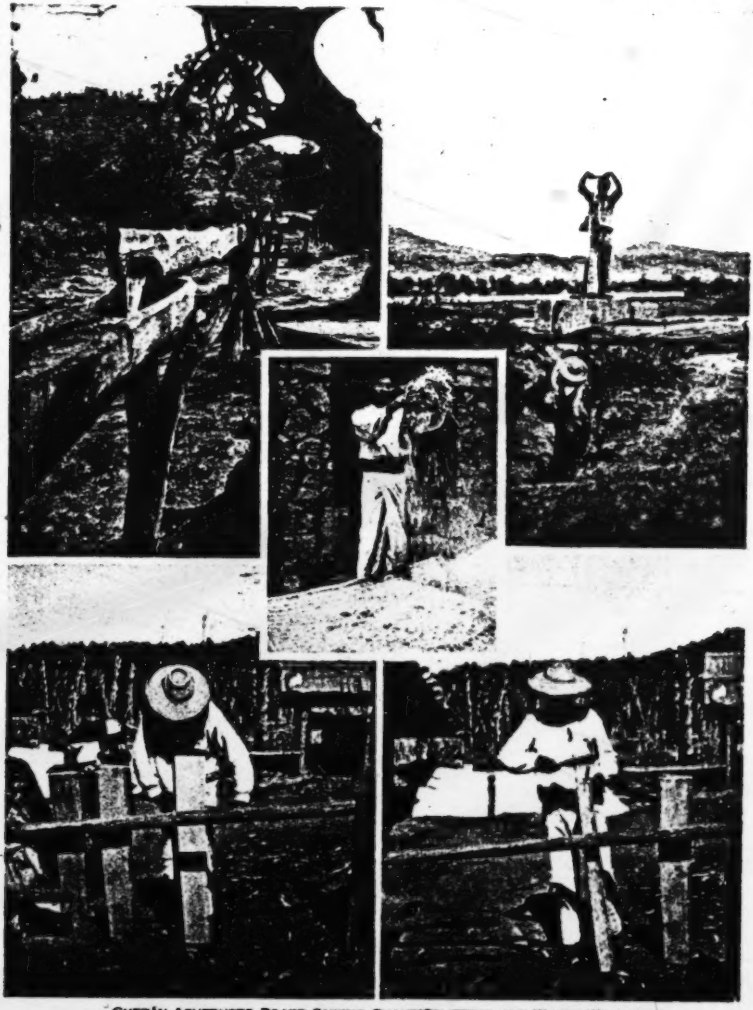


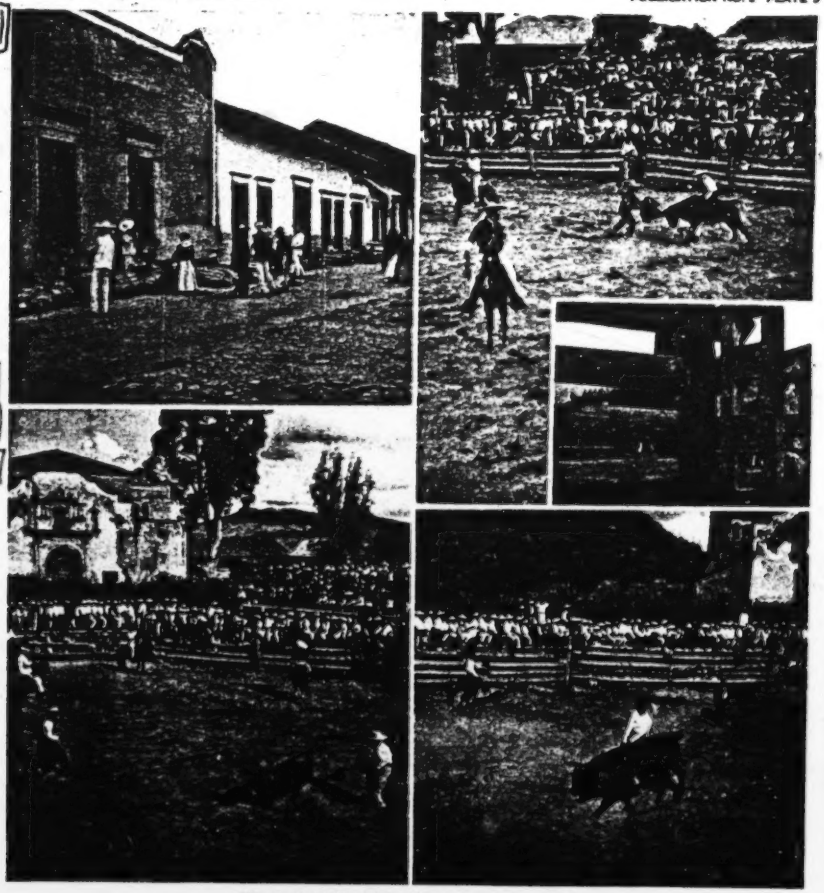
CHERÁN AQUEDUCTS, BOARD SAWING, SHAKE-SPLITTING, AND WHEAT WINNOWING.

Upper (left): The Cherán aqueducts, east of town. *Upper (right):* Sawing planks with sawpit. Often, the timber is raised on a pole framework instead of being placed over a pit. *Lower (left):* Splitting off a shake with a rajador. *Lower (right):* Starting to split a shake with a machete struck with a wooden mallet. *Center:* Cherán man winnowing wheat.

[End Plate 3]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[351] [417] [335]



MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

Upper (left): Pottery before being unpacked for the market. *Upper (right):* Riding a bucking bull, the man with cape diverting it from the horses. *Lower (left):* Cowboys (*vaqueros*) throw the bull in the bull ring, then tie a rope around its forequarters. *Lower (right):* Bull riding. *Inset:* Construction of bull ring fence; post on right has holes cut with ax to receive the logs forming the gate.

[End Plate 5]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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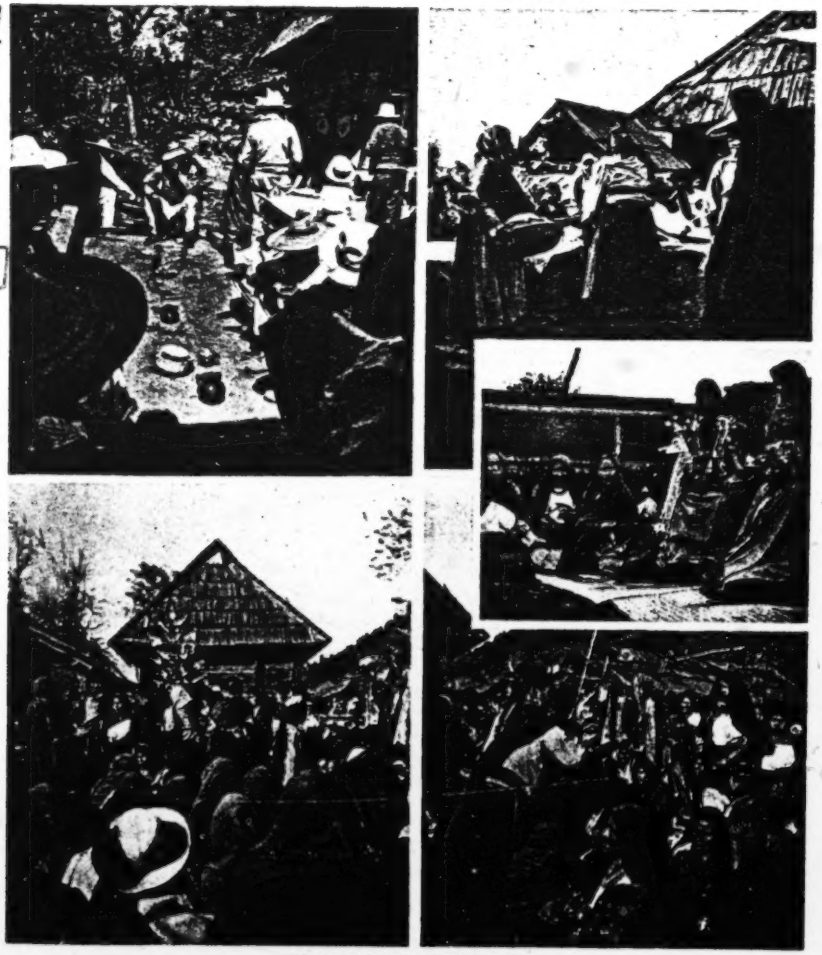

ROOFING FIESTA AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Men eating at a house-roofing fiesta; baskets of tortillas, jars of water, and dishes of salt lie on the ground. Remaining photographs, a Cherán wedding. *Upper (right)*: Preparing to distribute bread, while one of the godmothers oversees the work. *Lower (left)*: Bringing in paper ornaments for distribution. *Right (middle)*: The godmothers and close relatives of the groom. *Lower (right)*: Tying a ribbon in a godmother's hair.

[End Plate 7]

463 specialists. The situation in other Sierra towns is similar. In the Lake region as well, nearly every one can make adobes and erect a house of sorts, but good work requires a specialist.

000 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually em-

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 No complete survey of construction types has yet been made but some general data are available.
184 It is clear that many fundamental features of the architecture extend through not only large areas of the Tarascan country but also into adjoining regions settled by Mestizos. The type of masonry construction with tile or shake roofs and wide overhanging eaves extends far beyond the limits of Tarascan settlement, and the wide eaves are characteristic of even such a town as Morelia, the State capitol. In general, the higher, more heavily forested areas from at least as far west as Tingüindin to near Morelia show a predominance of wooden construction, usually with shake roofs. The lower and, in some instances, drier regions show a predominance of masonry-adobe structures with tile roofs and wide eaves. In some cases, shakes replace tile as roofing material. Distribution of the wide-eaved masonry-adobe style extends beyond the present Tarascan boundaries. It ends sharply west of Zamora, and it disappears east of Morelia.

The following tabulation shows the present

335 465 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually employed on a contract basis. Often the carpenter employs a helper. In addition to their pay, the carpenter and helper are given their food. Adobe or stone structures are also built under contract, but in this case the workmen are not fed.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 184 known distribution of types within Tarascan boundaries:

Mostly wood	*Mostly masonry-adobe*	*All masonry-adobe*
Ahuiran	Cuanajo	Cucuchucho
Angahuan	La Cañada (all towns)	Huecorio
Arantepakua	Puacuaro [2]	Ihuatzio
Aranza	Tarecuato	Janicho
Capacuaro	Uruapan [1 2]	Jarácuaro [2]
Charapan	Zacápu [1]	Naranja
Cherán	Zamora [1]	Pareo
Cocucho		Pátzcuaro [1]
Corupo		Quiroga
Nahuatzen		Santa Fé
Nurió		Tarejero
Paracho		Tecuena
Parangaricutiro		Tiríndaro
Parícutin		Tzentzénhuaro
Patamban		Tzurumútaro
Pomacuarán		Yunuán
Quinseo		
San Felipe		
San Lorenzo		
Sevina		
Tucutacato		
Tingüindin		
Urapicho		
Zirosto		

[1] Indicates Mestizo town showing influence of styles.
[2] Indicates shake roofs common.

[p. 21b]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[96] *Upper,* Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower,* Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 3] NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.
Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

[p.129a]

A special food for Easter week is
796 tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
[262] boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *cohetes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

342 Although most private fiestas are described
574 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

342 always assisted by various relatives, who also
574 put pressure on him to hold the event. For the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband
[602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes
[335] are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the
[602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of čurípo, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob-
[533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.130a]

342 and are served. While all this is going on, a few women start dancing.
574 Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuelgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuelgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuelgas*. Single *cuelgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

The host, on the occasion observed, drank [273] very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

796 A few data collected on fiestas from other towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colchas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in
342 the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important.
556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as
531 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least
556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as
554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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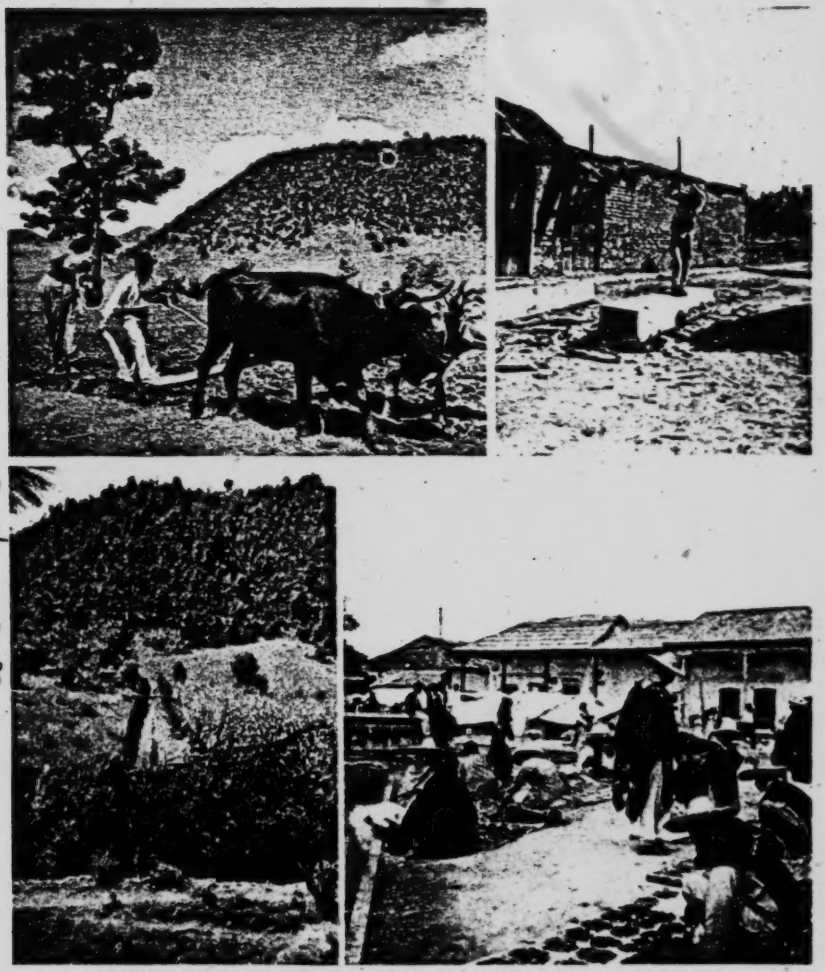

PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

Tarascan words are written in the alphabet
104 approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most
[764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

Two clearly defined types of construction exist
342 in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

342 where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

[continued on p. 7b]

The Town of Cherán

THE TOWN

361 The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley
133 floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine
[312] afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring 9¼ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center.
[135] At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

363 Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north-south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

[p. 7a] [Continued bottom of page 7-b]

342 tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo [177] influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

OF CHERÁN The Town of Cherán

361 The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza 363 is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

361 The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. 351 The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

The lots are all owned individually. They may 351 be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in 423 various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

[p. 76]

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

483 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
[602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

343 A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

342 Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína
335 tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (aŋájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

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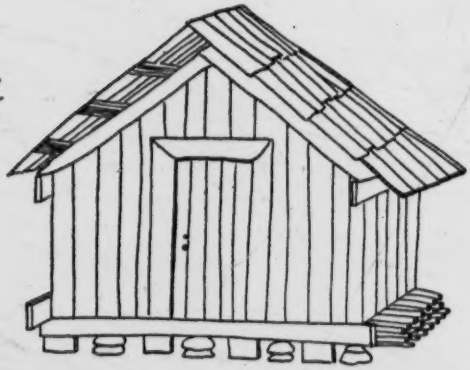

A KITCHEN

FIGURE 9.—Kitchen of simpler style (kosína tórueri).

wall planks or boards. The side-wall planks run horizontally, while those at the two ends are vertical, resting in grooves cut in the foundation beams or made by strips of wood nailed to the beams. The door is in one end (center of a short dimension of the structure) and is framed in the same manner as is the house door.

The tops of the corner posts are notched to receive two "*remates*," planks longer than the planks of the side wall and forming the top of the side walls. The vertical planks forming the front and back walls fit into grooves cut in rectangular rafters supported by the corner posts.

If the roof has no ridge pole, the frame is formed by pairs of rafters resting on the top planks of the side wall and joined together at the top. To the rafters are fastened stringers to which the shakes are nailed. In case a ridge pole (uanájɨikua) is used, it rests in notches cut in triangular pieces cal d "*burro*" or "*zoquete*" which are placed above the door and the center planks of the rear wall. The rafters then rest on the ridge pole and the top planks of the side wall. Such a kitchen takes about 15 days' labor to build.

In "*cocinas de horcon*," four square posts (ašáma) are set in the ground. Construction of the walls then proceeds in the fashion described above. This type of kitchen always has a ridge pole which is supported by two additional posts, one at each end. The door necessarily is at one side, not in the center as is usual in the "*cocina*

[p. 15a]

342 335 *de pie derecho.*" Both types have an earthen floor.

The above types are by far the most common and constitute the actual dwellings of the great majority of the Tarascans. Many variations from the described types occur due to differences in the skill of the builders and the economic resources of the owners. Dimensions vary according to table 2.

TABLE 2.—*Relative dimensions of kitchens in varas*

Short side	Long side	Height of wall	Length of rafters	Number of shakes [1]
4	4½	1½	3	600
5	6	1¾	3½	1,000

[1] This figure applies if a double layer of shakes is used; often only one layer is used, in which case the number of shakes is halved.

The more elaborate of the two types with its foundation beams, morticed corner posts, and roof without ridge pole, is said to be relatively modern. Formerly, no foundation beams were used; the corner posts were set in the ground, and a ridge pole was always present. The stringers were fastened to the rafters with wooden pins, while the shakes were fastened with wooden nails. Another way of fastening the shakes was to let the stringers project. Another stringer was then laid on the top of the shakes and the two tied together at the ends. Alternatively, the upper stringer might be held down with rocks.

Another and better type of kitchen is known as trója kosína or kosína uirípiti (round kitchen),[4] and more closely resembles the house, or "*troje.*" The ground plan is square. The construction differs from the "*troje*" in only a few details. There is no loft and no veranda (pl. 6, upper, right). Two horizontal planks are morticed into the rear of the side walls and extend across the back of the kitchen to form two shelves. These shelves often occur in simpler kitchens, too.

The absence of the loft floor requires some change in the roof frame. Resting upon the uppermost planks of the wall are several cross beams. The simplest way is to place three beams running from front to back, one in the center and

[4] The term round is also applied to a type of square house (see p. 17). After much questioning, Carrasco was told the term round is used because the structures are square rather than rectangular. This sounds like a rationalization. Round houses probably occurred anciently, although apparently they were not common (see p. 22).

342 one over each side wall. Upon these are placed
335 the "*planchas*," and construction of the roof proceeds as in the "*troje*." In other cases, four squared beams are used. Two run from front to back, while two shorter beams run from the middle of each side wall to the nearest long beam (fig. 10). The "*planchas*" again rest on these. As in the "*troje*," the roofs have four sheds. A ventilator may be built in one shed (fig. 7, *a*, *b*).

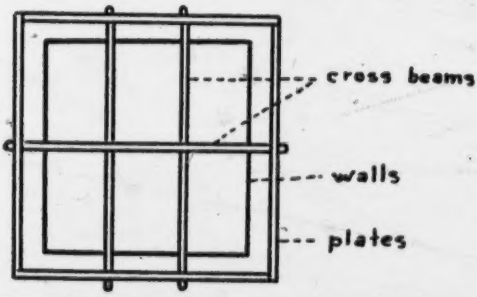

FIGURE 10.—Plan of ceiling in an elaborate kitchen (trója kosína).

The floor of these "round" kitchens is usually of earth owing to the character of the fireplace. In Paracho, however, a raised fireplace, called a "*chimenea*" (fig. 12), permits a wooden floor. Two additional foundation beams are placed as in figure 11. A wooden floor is then laid, leaving a space one meter square open for construction of the fireplace.

This type of kitchen varies from 4 to 7 *varas* in its longest dimension. As in the house, the topmost wall planks and the "*planchas*" are a *vara* longer than the other wall planks.

Although the kitchens, particularly the simpler type, are relatively inexpensive, they still may cost more than a man may be able to pay. In this case, he may construct one without the services of a carpenter. As a result, one sees all sorts of approximations of the types described. Perhaps most common is a structure in which the roof is supported by four posts set in the ground and the walls filled in with any convenient material—planks, lumber fragments, old shakes, and so on. A lean-to against a wall may also be used (fig. 7, *b*).

In Angahuan, and to a lesser extent in Parícutin and San Juan Parangaricutiro, storehouses (called úmutakata in Angahuan) are built on four posts some two meters (6 ft.) in height. Often these

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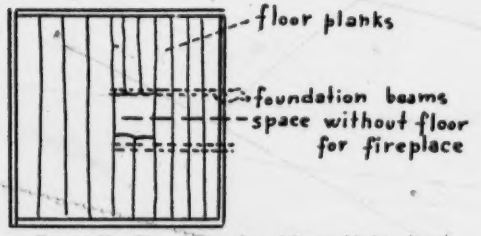

FIGURE 11.—Plan of floor of an elaborate kitchen (seen only in Paracho).

structures are at the entrance to the lot, but may also be inside (pl. 6, middle (right) and lower (left)). Two beams connect pairs of posts and a floor of planks is laid across these. Upon the planks rest four "*planchas*," supporting a roof similar to that of the "*troje*." The entrance is either through the floor or one of the gable ends. The floor plan is always rectangular.

[354]

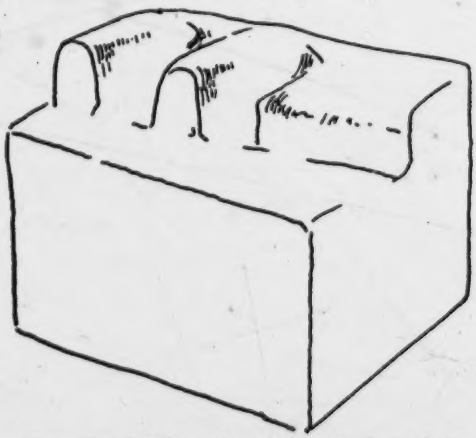

FIGURE 12.—A "*chimenea*," or raised fireplace (seen only in Paracho).

In Angahuan, the lower part of these structures is often walled and the structure then serves the function of a "*troje*." Often the walls are made simply of shakes or old boards, but sometimes the posts rest on foundation beams and the wall planks are well fitted (pl. 6, lower, center). In this case, the floor plan is square and, except for this, the structure is a "*troje*." Such square structures have a wide distribution and are called "*trojes*" in some towns, such as Paracho, but in Parícutin

[p. 16 b]

342 they are called round houses (k'utá uiípiti). The
335 latter term is known but not used in other towns.

In Capacuaro occur storehouses, called "*huacal*" (uakáli), made of four walls of interlocked logs or planks with a simple roof of two sheds (pl. 6, lower, right). In some other towns, the same type is made in the fields. The structures are used to store wheat before thrashing or to store straw for animals.

Occasionally, houses built on the edge of the street have the street wall of stone or stone and adobe, while the remaining walls are of wood.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada towns, a few old "*trojes*" are found. They resemble those of the Sierra but, except for two cases in Janicho, the roof is different. At either short end a triangular structure of adobe, "*capisayo*," is erected on the wooden walls and sustains a ridge pole. Rafters run from the ridge pole to the "*planchas*," or plates, in front and back. Stringers attached to the rafters support a roof of either shakes or tile (pl. 6, middle, left).

ADOBE-AND-MASONRY HOUSES

342 In its simplest form, the house with walls of
333 stone (ɨanɨákata), "*casa de pared*," or stone and adobe, has one rectangular room with the door on one of the long sides. Occasionally, houses of more than one room are encountered or even of two stories. The latter seem very recent and commonly belong to Mestizos.

Masonry is always used as the foundation, "*relleenchido*," of an adobe wall. In some cases,

[p. 17a]

342 masonry is used to complete a wall; in others,
333 the upper part of the wall is completed in adobe brick. In the latter case, the stonework wall is carried up at least half a meter (20 in.) above ground level.

Masonry is always extended about 50 cm. (20 in.) below the ground surface, whether used only as a foundation or for the complete wall. The
[316] stone used is the volcanic tufa brought from a nearby cinder cone The walls are usually about 50 cm. (20 in.) in thickness. Larger stones are set with relatively flat faces outward. The flat faces will be dressed if this is imperative but no other shaping is done. To fill in irregular spaces in the wall face, stones of proper shape with one flat face are sought in the pile of materials. Small stone spalls are also employed abundantly to fill in any spaces between rocks. The mortar is of adobe mud mixed with animal dung, and the central part of the wall is filled in with irregular rocks and considerable quantities of mortar.

If the upper part of the wall is to be of adobe bricks, these also are laid in adobe mortar (fig. 13). Two sizes of brick are employed; the larger size results in a somewhat thicker wall. The mortar is the same as that employed for masonry. In the Sierra and on those islands in Lake Pátzcuaro where adobes are not made, the stone base is usually higher than elsewhere.

In construction, a professional mason is employed. He erects a frame to which strings are attached to keep the wall straight. He also uses a plumb line to keep the wall vertical. A trowel

[p. 17 b]

342 and a hammer are the other needed tools. As the
333 wall increases in height, a crude scaffolding is erected, usually on each side of the wall, and the mortar is placed on a small portable platform of planks (pl. 7, upper, left [5]).

[338] Adobe-brick walls are frequently finished with a coating of adobe plaster, plentifully mixed with animal dung if the wall is to be used for a house. Somewhat less frequently, a lime-plaster coating is used to cover the wall.

342 In Cherán, usually only front and side walls of
335 houses are made of brick or masonry. The back wall, and sometimes one side wall, will be of upright planks fitting into grooves in horizontal beams at top and bottom. Doors have door-jambs of stone and the doorposts rest on a stone base with a mortice to receive a tenon on the lower part of the post. A lintel at the top is morticed to the doorposts and extends beyond them on either side, being surrounded by masonry or bricks and supporting the wall if it continues above the door. Windows are made in the same way, but no stone is used.

Upon the leveled tops of the wall are laid wooden plates, or "*planchas*" (in this case also called "*plantillas*"). Across these are square joists, extending 2 or 3 feet beyond the walls. The ends are ornamentally carved. Across the ends of the joists, a second plate is sometimes laid and fastened to the joists with wooden pins, which sometimes pass through the joists and extend below them. The rafters are set into sockets

[5] The making of adobes and tiles will be described in another paper.

342 in this plate, or may be pinned directly into
335 sockets in the joists. The frame consists of a ridge pole supported by pillars from the walls and joists. The rafters are in pairs resting on the ridge pole. In large structures with tile roofs, additional pillars or braces may support the rafters (pl. 7, upper, right). The ends of the gable roof thus formed are usually closed with shakes. Sometimes a floor is laid over the joists to form a loft. Yet another common variant is a shake roof with four sheds similar to the roof of the "*troje*" (pl. 7, lower, left).

The wide eaves of this type of house usually extend to the edge of the sidewalk, a very convenient arrangement in a rainy country, although the purpose probably is to keep moisture away from the walls. No other feature so strikingly sets off the architecture of central Michoacán from that of the remainder of Mexico than do these wide eaves (pl. 8, left). Structures fronting on the plaza often have a corridor with supporting pillars.

342 Many structures of masonry and adobe brick
[177] are approximating Mexican architecture in their ground plans, particularly if they are of any size. Usually two or more large rooms front on the street. A large entry way with double front doors, wide and high enough to permit the passage of animals, usually will be between two of the rooms. On the side facing the inner yard, there is a wide earth or brick-floored veranda (fig. 14). Doors and windows may open on both the street and the yard. Floors of such structures

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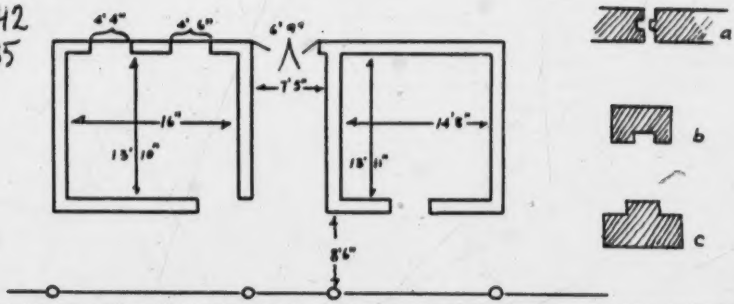

FIGURE 14.—Plan of house of Pedro Chávez, Cherán. Combination masonry and wooden walls. *a* shows tongue-and-grooving of vertical plank walls. *b* and *c* show notching of beams at top and bottom to receive wall planks, and (*c*) floor planks.

[p. 18c]

342 occasionally are of brick or cement but ordinarily are of wooden planks. There is also usually a kitchen of wood in addition to the masonry-adobe structure. The latter is more difficult to maintain in order and there is a reluctance to smoke up the interior.

Certain customs connected with the erection
423 of masonry-adobe walls should be mentioned.
333 Often a division wall is erected between the forward part of two lots which may later be used as a house wall by either or both lot owners. If the cost of such a wall is shared, half the wall rests on the land of each owner. As frequently happens, however, one householder pays all the cost. In this case, the entire width of the wall is on the land of the person not contributing money. The latter, however, may use the wall as part of a house wall at any later time.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions,
342 house walls are almost always of adobe on a low
333 stone-masonry foundation. Usually the houses
335 have a veranda or corridor. The walls are erected as described. Five heavy planks then serve as plates, "*planchas*," one on top of each wall and one supported by pillars at the outside of the veranda. Sometimes there are capitals, *zapatas*, between the pillars and the plate. The plates at the two sides extend from the wall to the pillars, or the side walls are extended to the edge of the corridor. In this case, no corner pillars are needed (pl. 7, lower, right).

Upon the plates on the two shortest walls is erected a triangular adobe structure, "*capisayo*" (kenzéjtakua). Across the other plates are laid joists, in the more elaborate structures extending well beyond the rear wall and edge of the corridor, and carved at the ends. If the joists do not extend beyond the wall and corridor, the plates on the short sides may go only from the outer edge of the corridor to a point part way to the opposite side of the house. In this case, the "*capisayo*" may be partially an upward extension of the house wall.

If the loft space is not used, shakes may be
342 laid on the joists to form a ceiling; often this is
335 done only over the veranda. Alternatively, a plank floor may be laid.

Should the house lack eaves, two heavy planks, "*pisos*," are placed on the ends of the joists. Upon these rest the rafters. If the eaves pro-

342 ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, sup-
335 ported by the adobes of the "*capisayo,*" and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*piso,*" the upper by a ridge pole (pirijɛ́akua in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito,*" or "*zoquete,*" forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-
[171] and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

351 Supplementary structures consist of fences,
333 gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called sérka. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (uaɛ́ótakua)
351 are employed to divide lots, or especially in the
335 outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called ɛirindikua.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

HOUSE

FURNISHINGS

342 The terms "house," or "*troje*," and "*cocina*" as
343 employed in the Sierra refer to the construction
196 of the house rather than to its use. Normally, each family has a house and a kitchen. In the kitchen, the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The house serves as a storage place for all types of property. In it also is kept the image of the family saint. Sometimes in place of a "*troje*," a "*cocina de torito*" is floored and used for storage. Despite this shift in use, the structure is still called a "*cocina*," or kitchen.

343 The "*troje*" contains a minimum of furnishings.
353 The loft is used purely for crop storage and usually
778 has no furnishings whatever. The lower floor

[p. 21c]

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánɛ́akua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tirípatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.²) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.:[1]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-*vara* (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[1] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 2-inch planks, which are adzed.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro

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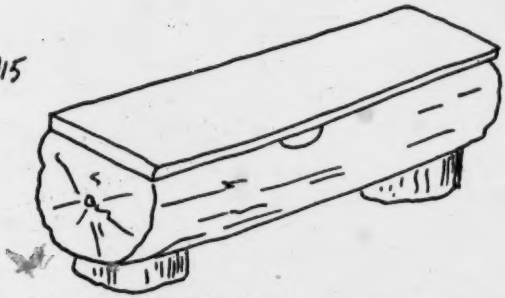

FIGURE 18.—Hollowed log with wooden cover used for storage of water outdoors.

354 "*chimenea*," is more common, and there often is also a special fireplace for the comal, a circular ridge of clay with an opening on one side to feed the fire similar to that shown for Cherán in figure 16.

ECONOMICS OF THE

TARASCAN HOUSE

	Price in pesos
435 Heavy square beams, each, f. o. b.	1. 50–2. 50
Delivery charge, each	1. 50
342 Veranda pillars, each, f. o. b.	1. 25–2. 00
Delivery charge, each	1. 25–1. 50
Shakes, bundle of 400	5. 00
Rafter poles, dozen	4. 00
Roof stringers, dozen	2. 50
Trap door	1. 50–3. 00
Door	2. 00–8. 00
Foundation stones, delivered average (2. 50 each)	9. 00–22. 50
Nails, per kilo	1. 00

Planks at Paracho were more costly in January 1942. Boards, six *varas* long, cost 0.75 to 1.25 pesos each, depending on width. Heavy planks cost according to length:

Length in *varas*:	Price in pesos
5	1. 50
6	1. 75
7	2. 00
8	2. 50
9	3. 00

Shakes, 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length; cost, 6 pesos per bundle of 400 (irépeta).

COST OF CONSTRUCTION

Table 3 represents the most accurate account secured of the materials, labor, and costs of a wooden house, or "*troje*." This house was built in July 1940 at Morelos 31. Its outside dimensions were 16' by 14 feet (6 by 5.2 *varas*), and it was raised off the ground about 18 inches (46 cm.)

[p. 24 b]

435 342 on nine large stones of hard gray rock brought from the barranca north of town. The porch was not floored. Other materials used were pine beams and planks, fir shingles, and nails. Doors were purchased ready-made.

TABLE 3.—*Materials, labor, and cost of constructing a wooden house, or "troje," at Morelos 31 in June 1940*

House parts	Materials used	Labor		Cost in pesos	
		In days	Description	Labor	Materials
Foundation	9 big stones [1]	½	Ox team and driver to haul.	[2] (2.50)	2.50
Foundation frame.	5 beams, 10×10 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.25×4.9m.).				2.50
Roof base	4 beams, 8×8 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.20×5.5 m.).				2.00
Floor	20 planks, 8×3 in.×16 ft. (0.20×0.067×4.9m.).	15	Straightening planks.	[3] 22.50	10.00
Walls	44 planks, 10×3 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.067×4.9m.).				20.00
Ceiling	24 planks, 8×3 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.067×5.5m.).				12.00
Door	1 wooden				8.00
Trap door	1 wooden				3.00
Porch-roof supports.	4 pillars, 9×9 in.×8 ft. (0.226×0.226×2.45m.).				8.00
Roof	15 poles				1.50
	18 stringers, 4–16 ft. long				3.50
	2,400 shakes, (6 trépitas)				30.00
Labor					
Carpenters		35	Contract	50.00	
Total		50½		72.50	103.00
Grand total		50½		175.50	

[1] Presumably quarried by builder.
[2] Included under cost of materials. *See* rocks for foundation.
[3] At rate of 3 pesos per dozen.

As in all other cases, informants did not include the cost of nails for fastening the roof shakes, the only place nails are employed. In this case, the builder made some of the planks, charging the value of his product into the estimates above. However, no costs were included for haulage, except possibly in the case of the pillars. If this was the case, the pillars were secured rather cheaply. We may, therefore, add the following items omitted in the above statement:

Additional costs:	*Price in pesos*
Nails, 3 kilos (probably a little generous)	3.00
Hauling beams and planks	60.00
Fiesta for roof raising	25.00
	88.00
Builder's estimate	175.50
Probable total if all labor paid for	263.50

In this case, probably the haulage was all done

[p. 25a]

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by the builder, and there may have been no fiesta for the roof completion. The builder sold the structure for 200 pesos and estimated he had made a profit of 25 pesos, plus payment for his work as a plank maker.

To gain a clearer idea of the cost of a house, a summary of all detailed estimates is given below. Unfortunately, these may cover different-sized structures, but they are said to be for average-sized buildings. Items the owner may have provided are indicated, in which case in some estimates the low entry might be considered zero; however, as we are anxious to get an average cost, this point is omitted for the present.

TABLE 4.—*Summary of detailed estimates of cost (in pesos) of a house, Morelos 31, June 1940*

Item	Estimates	
	Lowest	Highest
Foundation stones	[1] 9.00	22.50
7 dozen planks	42.00	63.00
9–10 beams	4.50	15.00
1 door	2.00	5.00
1 trapdoor	1.50	3.00
4 pillars	4.00	6.00
12–15 poles (rafters)	[1] 1.50	4.00
18–42 roof stringers	[1] 3.50	15.00
5 to 6 trépitas (bundles) of shakes, best-quality fir	25.00	30.00
2–3 kilos of nails	2.00	3.00
Haulage of planks	[1] 49.00	49.00
Haulage of beams	[1] 15.00	15.00
Haulage of pillars	[1] 4.00	6.00
Straightening planks	21.00	30.00
Carpenter's fee	50.00	50.00
Roof raising fiesta	[2] 20.00	[3] 50.00
Total	254.00	369.50

[1] Items owner might provide himself.
[2] Without music.
[3] If relatives do not help.

The lowest figure given here may be further reduced, as suggested, by the owner doing part of the work. If we reduce the lowest figure by deducting all the items which the normal Cherán man might do himself (if he owns oxen to do the haulage or may borrow them from friends or relatives) and eliminate the fiesta, we get the figure of 152 pesos. This is the least for which it would appear a Cherán resident may secure an averaged-size wooden house, or "*troje*," approximately 14 by 16 feet (4.27 by 4.88 meters).

This estimate of 152 pesos may be compared with gross estimates secured by McCorkle and Beals. These ranged from 180 to 300 pesos. Carrasco secured estimates of from 250 to 300 pesos. However, in every case where a gross

[p.25b]

435 estimate was obtained and then an itemized
342 statement secured from the same informant, the total of the itemized statement ran well below the original gross figure given. A careful check of material costs indicates that the lower estimates probably are more nearly correct.

Detailed estimates on kitchens were not secured. A home-made affair could probably be made by any man by the purchase of two bundles (irépitas) of shakes for about 11 pesos (shakes 10 pesos, nails 1 peso).

One of several approaches used in getting costs was to secure estimates on a given section of wall for different types of construction. These estimates indicated that a 16½- by 16½- foot (5- by 5-m.) house, exclusive of roof, would cost 138 pesos; and a well-built kitchen the same size, 75 pesos, exclusive of the roof.

Carrasco secured estimates of 20 to 25 pesos for a poorly-made kitchen of the "*torito*" type in Cherán. The materials probably were second-hand. Even without any delivery charges, new materials would cost over 20 pesos, exclusive of labor. However, a "*torito*" could be built by most men without hiring a carpenter. A well-built "round house" kitchen, Carrasco was told, would cost about 100 pesos. This seems reasonable in terms of material and labor costs.

Carrasco secured comparative prices for Paracho which, considering the slightly higher cost of materials, probably are above the prices in Cherán. The figures also were obtained from a master carpenter, who obviously would have an interest in establishing higher prices.

Size of "*troje*" in *varas:*	*Labor cost*	*Total cost in pesos*
5	$60.00	250.00
6	90.00	300.00
7	110.00	400.00
8	130.00	500.00
9	150.00	600.00
Size of trója kosína in *varas:*		
4	30.00	60.00
5	45.00	85.00
6	70.00	125.00
7	100.00	182.00
Size of "*torito*" in *varas:*		
4	25.00	50.00
5	30.00	72.00

[p. 26 a]

3;Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

MASONRY-ADOBE STRUCTURES

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The costs of materials and labor in building masonry-adobe structures are as follows:

	Total cost in pesos
Adobes:	
Small size (2½ spans long) per 100 [1]	2.50
Large size (3 spans long) per 100	3.00
Laying adobes, average cost, small size, per 100:	
According to one informant	2.00
According to another informant:	
To shoulder height	1.00
Shoulder height to 9.8 ft. (3 m.)	1.50
Above 9.8 ft. (3 m.)	2.00
Manure for mortar (2 sacks per 100 adobes) per large sack (this may be furnished by the mason)	0.25
Stones:	
Quarrying, per 100 [2]	2.00
Transporting, per 100	2.00
Mason's charges per sq. m. (householder to furnish water and materials)	1.00
Roofing tiles, per 1,000	25.00 to 30.00
Bricks (mostly used for flooring or corners and doors in masonry structures) per 1,000	32.00

[1] 100 adobes will make 43 sq. ft. (4 sq. m.) of wall; large-size adobes make a somewhat thicker wall.

[2] "100 stones" really means 50 burro loads and will make 43 to 53 sq. ft. (4 to 5 sq. m.) of wall.

Masonry appears to be somewhat more expensive than adobe construction. A wall 8 feet (2.46 m.) high, 16.5 feet (5 m.) long, and of normal construction with 1½ feet (½ m.) of masonry buried, would cost as follows:

	Price in pesos
Masonry-adobe (2 estimates)	19.65 to 21.00
With large adobes	23.00
All masonry (1 estimate)	27.00
The same extent of wall in the usual wooden house construction	23.00

The best indication of costs of masonry-adobe houses is supplied by a study of the house of Pedro Chávez, school teacher of Cherán, under construction during 1940–41. The costs were checked in every possible way, in terms of materials and labor and also in units. It probably represents as accurate an estimate of costs as can be secured.

The house itself presents certain peculiarities. The front and side walls are of adobe brick on the usual masonry foundation. The ground plan consists of two rooms with an entryway, or

[p. 266]

342 435 *zaguán*, between them. The walls facing the *zaguán* and the patio are of wood. A foundation of morticed beams resting on stones supports a wooden floor and walls. These beams are grooved as shown in figure 14. Wall boards are tongue-and-grooved, a type of construction used in Uruapan but new to Cherán. The wall boards are vertical and fit in a channel in the ceiling beams. One room has two windows opening on the street (fig. 14). The roof is of shakes. Chávez actually paid for only half of one side wall and nothing for the other (which rests entirely on his land), as his neighbor paid all the cost. In formulating the cost estimate, however, the wall was carefully measured, the number of adobes counted, and the cost of all masonry-and-adobe work was included in the total. All the woodwork was done on a [675] definite contract which included wood materials, so it is unnecessary to itemize this.

	Costs in pesos
Masonry, 32 m. (106 ft.):	
Stone	24.00
Mason's charges	32.00
Adobe [1]	70.00
Four stone bases for veranda pillars	10.00
Zaguán door (not included in carpenter's contract)	25.00
Carpenter's contract	275.00
Shakes, best grade, 8 bundles	40.00
12 kilos of nails	6.00
Total	482.00
Roofing fiesta (not including contributions of relatives)	30.00
Total costs	512.00

[1] 1,433 adobes were used; door and window openings make a lineal estimate impractical. This figure takes into account different mason's charges at different heights.

Two "*trojes*," or houses, of approximately the same size would cost between 500 and 600 pesos, but the above-described structure has much more loft storage space through utilization of the area over the entryway and veranda. The cost probably would be less if the interior walls were made of masonry and adobe. A tile roof would have cost between 100 and 120 pesos, adding 54 to 74 pesos to the cost. Its longer life would make it cheaper in the long run, however. The owner probably will lay a tile roof when the shake roof needs replacing. It should be remembered also that a kitchen will be employed apart from this structure.

[p. 27a]

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

435 The main supplementary structures to be con-
351 sidered are fences, gates, and sheds. The only fences involving expenditure are those of masonry-adobe. Costs are the same per meter as for a house wall.

The gate will vary in cost. Often it may consist of only a few planks, which may be second-hand material secured without cost, or even merely a pole or two laid horizontally across the opening. A well-made *zagudn* gate bought from a carpenter will cost about 17 pesos and up, depending on size. The balance of the gate, including the roof over it, will usually be constructed by the house owner. Ordinarily, the few shakes needed will be left over from house building or may be secured for a few cents.

435 Sheds are usually built by the householder. A
343 sizable shed roof might require a bundle of shakes costing 5 pesos. No nails would be used, the shakes being held down by rough-hewn strips of pine and stones.

COMPARISON OF COSTS

435 It is clear from the foregoing data that a ma-
342 sonry-adobe structure is as cheap or slightly cheaper than a wooden house, or "*troje*." It also has more storage space. On the other hand, it requires somewhat more care in upkeep and also more expense to make it look "right" to the Tarascan. The interior, for example, should have a coat of plaster of either adobe or lime and sand. Preferably, so should the exterior. Both should also be whitewashed or kalsomined. None of these costs are included in the estimates.

435 An interesting comparison is made in table 5
342 of the costs of the following four categories of Tarascan houses:

511 (a) What the Tarascan would conceive to be the minimal shelter, which would be far below the Tarascan standard of decency.

(b) Housing considered a poor standard but not impossible.

(c) A respectable standard for a small family.

(d) A high standard for a small family.

Only people of some wealth normally use masonry-adobe structures; consequently, only in this category have I shown costs for this type of housing, without including any "frills" for decoration or finishing.

[p. 276]

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TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "*tarlle*" kitchen	25-50
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosina, or one "*tarlle*" kitchen and one small "*troje.*"	175-200
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosina or "*tarlle*" kitchen and one medium "*troje.*"	375-400
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosina and two good "*trojes.*"	550-600
	One trója kosina and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on p. 28b]

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 556 Only in a general way is there correlation between house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28b]

435 a relative or friend to permit him to use a bit of
342 land—as many do—the cost of minimal shelter
511 could be as low as $11. By begging scraps, even this figure could be reduced. Such a housing situation would, however, be regarded as "frightful" by all Tarascans.

At the other end of the scale, there are numerous Cherán residents who have much more costly establishments than those represented under *d*. Relatively few are in the condition of *b;* the great majority of Cherán residents would fall in category *c* and a fair proportion in category *d*. The discussion of house use will illustrate this point.

RELATION OF HOUSES TO
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 2. A special occupation, such as storekeeping, may be
556 followed.

3. There may be definite social pretensions. Of these three causes, the last seems least operative. Wealth is a necessary prerequisite to anything more elaborate than class *d* housing but wealth is often concealed. Numerous families in class *d* are far from wealthy by Cherán standards.

These judgments are somewhat subjective, but case material could be cited to support them.

[p. 28b]

362 could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

362 184 Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

[continued on p. 30b]

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

CEREMONIES

342 Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "*combate*," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

342 431 476 On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing.

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

362 184 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL

FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 431 476 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When they arrive, they give the householder or his wife a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife. [576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 264 476 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguardiente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is completed, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking [262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. [531] A cross with an arch over it, decorated with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Parícutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

342 owner, the master builder, and his helpers, and the nearer relatives of the house owner are now decorated with festoons of pieces of bread, some in the shape of animals, toasted wheat tortillas, and flowers. These are brought in a procession from the house of a relative. Women carry baskets on their heads and dance in the streets. The musicians accompany the party. The various articles are tied to the women's belts and then are hung about the necks of the men. These strings are called "*cuelgas*" (pl. 8, right). As a special guest, Beals was decorated with the others, and care was taken to explain to him that it was customary to return the belts. The master builder and, particularly, the house owner received several festoons of this kind.

Following this ceremony there was dancing, which lasted until late at night. In the particular [273] ceremony described, the householder drank very little. The next day several of the relatives returned with liquor and insisted that he get drunk with them as he had not drunk the day before.

The other major occasion on which ceremonies 483 occur in connection with houses is when a house is 342 moved from one location to another. A man wishing to move a house to a new location hires a 476 master builder to supervise the work. He also invites all his relatives, who are obligated to come. The women aid in preparing food, while the men take apart the house, carry it to the new location, and erect it again. The house owner takes no part in this work; in fact, he is apt to become drunk and be something of a nuisance. The relatives are fed at midday and again in the evening, but they do not ordinarily drink much until evening. Even then most of them are apt to go home before eating or immediately after eating. Ordinarily, a house will be moved completely in 1 day; sometimes, however, part of the roof will be unfinished, in which case a few men will return the next day to complete the work.

A special feature observed at a house moving, but nowhere else, was the serving of tobacco from the lowlands and corn husks for rolling cigarettes. At all other ceremonies the host frequently passed around cirgarettes, but they were of the usual commercial type.

342 The house is the center of numerous other festivities and ceremonials, but they do not pertain to the house directly. The major occasions are

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it Another special
342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth
585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a
[608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses.
591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com-
651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re-
364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

362 mitted by contact and particularly respiratory
164 and pulmonary infections. Although data are lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is suspected. There seems little to choose between various house types for health.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance,
184 seem to have similar conditions. Local varia-
362 tions, of course, occur as the result of differences in rainfall and temperature (functions of location and altitude) and the number of animals kept (causing variations in the number of flies).

[Continued on p. 33b]

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 In this section we try to determine the antiquity
173 of modern house types. We do not include all the data found in early sources referring to pre-Spanish houses and house uses, but base our study of the history of the Tarascan house on modern tradition and especially on the writings of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply useful data concerning the last century or so. The houses of stone and adobe are usually considered to be relatively recent introductions in the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake area.[8] This view is supported by the relatively greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake region, it is remembered that wooden structures once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred to the older custom of building houses in the center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types discussed, kitchens of poles and "*trojes*" and the trója kosína of logs are regarded as the oldest types. Tools, until recently were limited to the ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of a few generations ago are merged into "*los antepasados*" and, unless an historically known event is referred to, it is difficult to know to what period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

[7] This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

[8] In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish word adobe, while in the Lake area a native word (isuirukata) is known.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro
Cañada

362 184 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada, where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

HISTORY OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE[7]

342 [173] houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would be untrustworthy.

342 127 Some of the data available from the 16th century refer to a wider area than that covered by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"[9] of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.[10] The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.[11]

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."[12]

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (iauárukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*" (today k'uta', in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza*, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxcata."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j*, *k*; *m* is described in the text as a provisional

[9] Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

[10] F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

[11] Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobernación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

[12] Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 133. Mexico, 1938.

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127

FIGURE 19.—Representations of houses in the plates of the "Relación de Michoacán."

shelter). The roofs appear to be of straw or palm, in some cases with a very large comb or crest undoubtedly resulting from the manner of interweaving the palm at the ridge of the roof. In other cases, the roof is pyramidal or conical and is surmounted by something which may be an inverted pottery vessel. This is what may be referred to by Gilberti: "hucahtsiqua, *un remate que se pone encima de la casa,*" and "*chapitel de casa pajiza,* hucahtsiqua."[13] Verandas are depicted in the plates and references to them are made in the text.

342 It is evident that modern houses do not cor-
177 respond to those of the 16th century. Adobe walls may be pre-Hispanic, but the present methods of construction reveal Spanish influence.

[13] Hucahtsiqua (in the alphabet of the "Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas" jukáj̃ákua) can be analyzed as "a thing placed on a summit."

[4.34a]

342 Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and
177 the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

342 Wooden houses are not mentioned in the "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the
127 *cabeceras* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identificable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the úmutakata, for in Gilberti occurs "tairimba *troje asentado en cuarto palos.*" The houses of canes and poles (tairindacata of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

342 The principal historical problem is to determine whether the shake roof and the log wall
177 with interlocking corners is of European or pre-Hispanic American origin. Both elements are
171 well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil*, tasámani) are both derived from the Nautl tlaxamanilli, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,[14] and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.[15] A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

[14] In shepherds' huts of the Basque country. Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español, vol. 1, p. 91, pl. 7. 1935.
[15] Papeles de Nueva España, vol 6, p. 281. Madrid, 1905.

[p.346]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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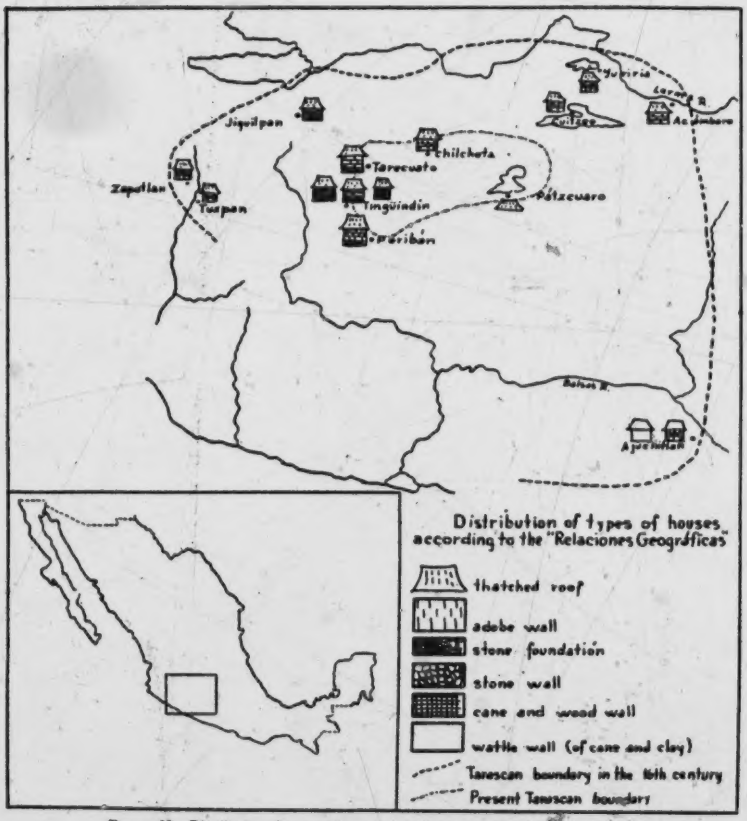

FIGURE 20.—Distribution of types of houses according to the "Relaciones geográficas."

[p.35

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
177 It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes
[171] were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

342 The history of shakes and of interlocked log
171 structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

343 The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
127 the Tarascan *tarimba* (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

343 de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing
127 food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

342 To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe,
174 with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards
177 introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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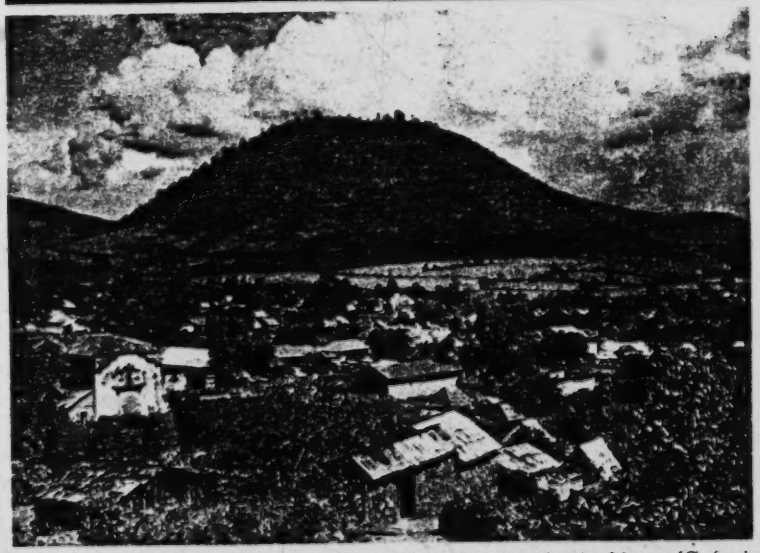

Upper: Angahuan, showing the rectangular arrangement of streets and the large lots. *Lower:* A portion of the town of Cherán, viewed from the hill in the northwest section, which furnishes most of the stone used in building.

[End plate 1]

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Right: Street near the plaza in Cherán. A stone-and-adobe whitewashed structure is visible near the church. The center shows a well-built stone-and-adobe fence capped with straw and shakes, while the houses are of wood. A typical roofed gate is visible left of center. *Left:* Two types of pole fence in Capacuaro. In Cherán such fences are usually found only between lots.

[End plate 3]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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Upper (left): Kitchen of simple type with corner posts (Angahuan). *Upper (right)*: Kitchen of elaborate type (Angahuan). The gate or half door is rare in Cherán. *Middle (left)*: Wooden "*troje*" at Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro, with tile roof and adobe support for the ridge pole. *Middle (right)*: Storehouse of style found mainly in Angahuan (ámutakata). *Lower (left)*: Large storehouse (ámutakata) over gate. *Lower (center)*: Storehouse (ámutakata) with lower part made into a room. *Lower (right)*: Storehouse (uahéli) in Capacuaro.

[End plate 6]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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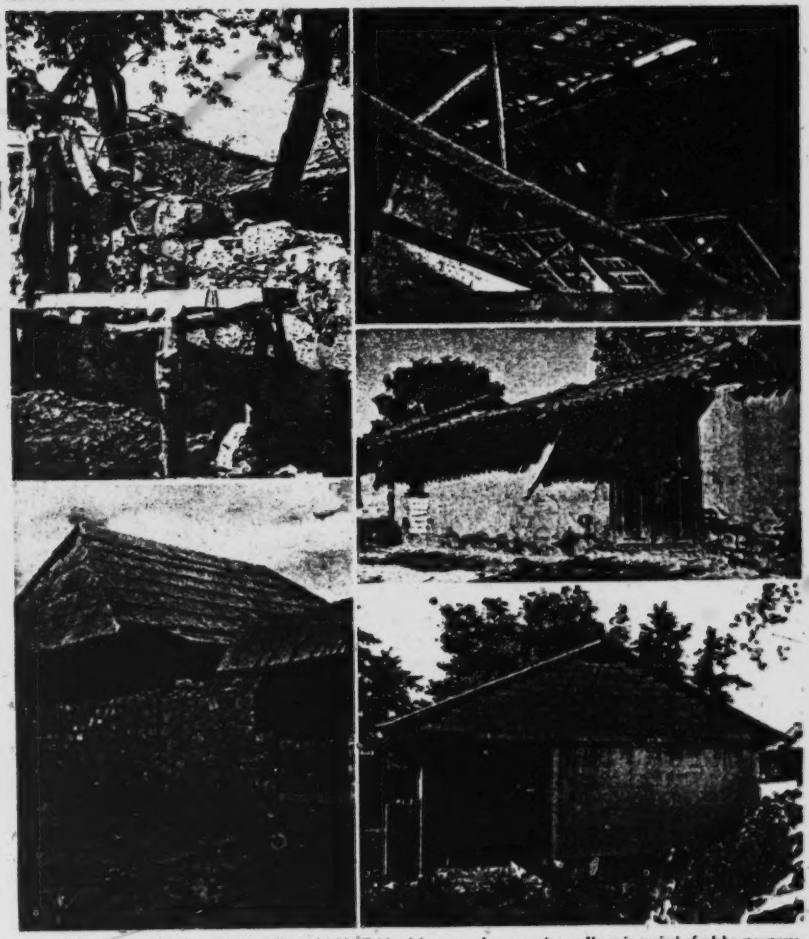

Upper (left): Mason at work in Cherán. *Upper (right):* Fairly elaborate roof construction at Ihuatzio typical of adobe structures. *Middle (right):* Gate roofed with tile, Ihuatzio. *Lower (left):* Stone house at Paracho with shake roof of "*troje*" style. *Lower (right):* Ihuatzio house with veranda, seen from one end. The "*plancha*," or plate, is carried clear across the house in this case and doubled at the ends. The wooden support, or "*barrie*," for the ridge pole is clearly seen.

[End plate 7]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 27-b]

HOUSE TYPES[34a]

342 The most striking material cultural element of the modern Tarascans is the wooden house (*troje*), constructed of logs or large planks placed horizontally and interlocked at the corners by notching or cogging in a fashion similar to the log house of Scandinavia.[35] Ordinarily the Tarascan structure is square or rectangular in plan, carries a 4-shed roof of shakes, and has a porch or veranda

[34a] Ignacio Bernal, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1944) have discussed Tarascan house types in some detail, only a summary of the subject will be given here.

[35] South of Lake Pátzcuaro the wooden *troje* often lacks the usual notched corners, but the ends of the planks are housed in an L-shaped cornerpiece (pl. 3).

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Left: A well-built stone structure in Paracho with the wide eaves characteristic of Central Michoacán. *Right:* Scene in a house-roofing fiesta in Cherán. The house owner is in the foreground bedecked with strings of bread and flowers; the relatives are in the background.

[End plate 8]

342 attached to the front, which usually faces away from the street and toward the interior of the house lot (pl. 3). The wooden *troje* is found mainly in the Sierra, where constructional materials are abundant, and extends south to the limit of the pine forest; its eastern limit has not been determined. In the Lake, La Cañada, and northern areas houses with adobe or stone walls, rectangular plan, and two-shed roofs of tile predominate. The above distributions, however, are not rigid; occasionally a few old wooden *trojes* are encountered in the towns around the lake and in the northern plateau (pl. 4), and adobe and stone construction is increasing in the Sierra.

[Text continues bottom of P. 28b—Anal 19]

592 **Functional aspects.**—Among the Tarascans the agglomeration of buildings in an individual lot include the principal house, the kitchen, burro stable, hogpen, and frequently certain storage structures. The head of a household may build two or more sets of houses and kitchens in his lot for his married sons. The main house (the wooden 342 *troje* in the Sierra or the adobe structure in the surrounding areas) serves principally as a storehouse. The maize harvest is stored in the loft [251] (*tapanco*), which is floored with heavy planks and entered through a trap door by means of a ladder or notched log. In the lower room (floored with planks in the wooded *troje*, often dirt-floored in the adobe house) are stored small grains, clothes, personal valuables; it is also used to house images of various saints, to entertain guests, and as sleeping quarters for them; some members of the family (usually marriageable girls) often sleep in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 28-C] Sierra

342 the main house. The veranda, too, is used for storing boxes, lumber, etc., and is sometimes employed as a workplace and for sitting and gossiping.

343 The kitchen (kosina) is a separate building, usually less well constructed than the main house. In the Sierra it is often made of thin planks placed vertically and carries a two-shed roof. Kosinas of horizontal interlocked planks and four-shed roofs are sometimes seen. The chimney is unknown; smoke escapes through cracks or especially constructed vents in the roof. The kitchens in the areas outside the Sierra are usually of adobe with two-shed roofs of tile or shakes; some are flimsily constructed of upright planks or of brush, and carry a one-shed roof.[29] Obviously, the kitchen is where food is prepared and eaten;

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 29-b]

[29] In some towns where the Spanish L- or U-shaped house is present, the kitchen forms one of the rooms in the main structure.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 29-C] Sierra

The house lot is fenced
351 with adobe, stone, or logs; the portion facing the street may be enclosed by a high wall of planks, stone, or adobe, which joins the house at one end. Such structures are called ɣanɣakata in the Sierra (pl. 3). Various types of gates are used at the entrance to the house lot; the more common are the double-door affair, and those with logs placed horizontally in slots carved in opposite upright posts.

Historical aspects.—The provenience of the
342 wooden *troje* presents one of the most puzzling
171 features in Tarascan culture history. The structure of interlocked logs or planks is a relatively uncommon house type in Mexico, where it has a disjunct distribution. It is found in (1) Oaxaca among the Mixe, Mixtec, and Trique groups;

342 171 (2) Veracruz on the northern slopes of the Cofre de Perote; (3) the Sierra Madre Oriental between Apulco and Huayacocotla near the Hidalgo-Veracruz border and near the Pan American highway northeast of Jacala, Hidalgo; (4) the Sierra Madre Occidental (Durango and Chihuahua); (5) isolated spots in the Sierra Madre del Sur (Guerrero) west of Chilpancingo; and (6) the Tarascan Sierra of Michoacán. The log cabin in 342 Durango and Chihuahua possibly may have been 171 introduced by United States Confederate refugees, 177 a few of whom settled in the Sierra Madre in the late 1860's and 1870's. Located near one of the main Veracruz-México roads, the Perote people also may have obtained the idea of interlocked logs from United States or European travelers or settlers. The plank structures of Michoacan are technically superior to the North American log cabin (introduced into the North American colonies from Scandinavia in the 17th century), and are known to have existed since the last quarter of the 18th century. Log cabins were apparently unknown in Spain during the colonial period. The idea of their construction may have been introduced into Mexico from northern Europe.

342 There is nothing in the Relación de Michoacán or in the available Relaciones Geográficas (Muc. Nac., leg. 102) that indicates the presence of log structures among 16th-century Tarascans.[39] The native houses were constructed of adobe or stone with four-shed straw-thatched roofs. The first definite evidence of the modern *troje* that the writer has encountered appears in the Calderon report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73), which mentions ". . . jacales de . . . vigas horizontales cubiertas de tajamanil . . ." in Tuícuaro (f. 336v), ". . . cuatro trojes de Maderas de Pino, bien construidas y conservadas . . ." in Nocutzepo (Lake Pátzcuaro) (f. 301), and ". . . chozas (or casas) de madera . . ." in many other towns in the Sierra (map 18). In most pueblos, however, wooden houses were mingled with those of stone or adobe. Moreover, houses constructed of small logs or poles placed vertically ("*estacas plantadas*") were

[712] [39] Log fortifications were constructed by the Tarascans at Tzintzuntzan (Ciudad Hidalgo) in pre-Spanish times (Stanislawski, 1947 a, p. 48). There is no evidence, however, that the notching technique was known. For a description of pre-Conquest Tarascan houses, see Beals, Carrasco, and McCurdy, 1944, pp. 23-26.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 30-b] Sierra

342 widespread both in the Sierra and in surrounding
[177] areas. The modern *troje*, then, appears to have been introduced into Michoacán sometime between 1580 and 1780.

Some native constructional and functional elements were applied to the log or plank structure. For instance, the square floor plan and the four-shed roof were common features of the aborig-
342 inal house. Again, the use of the *troje* as a store-
251 house and the retention of the separate kitchen as living quarters would seem to indicate application of native uses to an introduced element. The storage of grain in the loft, however, may be an introduced European trait. As in most parts of indigenous Mexico, separate granaries (*trojes*) were possibly employed by pre-Conquest Tarascans.[40]

342 The wooden *troje* is disappearing in the Tarascan area. As mentioned above, a few old structures exist in some of the towns outside the Sierra. According to the local inhabitants, such *trojes* were formerly more numerous; however, there is no evidence that the entire town was once composed of wooden houses. Owing to decrease in large pines and firs, the cheaper adobe and stone structures are gradually replacing the *troje* in the Sierra towns.[41] Only a few small Sierra villages and *ranchos* consist entirely of wooden structures.

In addition to the interlocked plank house,
342 various roofing materials have been introduced
177 into the Tarascan area (as well as into all parts of Mexico). Aboriginally, houses were roofed with grass or palm thatch, which is still employed in the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán. During the last half of the 16th century Basque miners probably introduced the shake (*tejamanil*) to roof their houses and ore refineries at the mining centers in central Mexico.[42] From the mines the use of shakes gradually spread to Indian villages situated

[Text continues top of P. 32a]

[40] One of the "temporary structures" depicted in the Relación de Michoacán is similar to the modern vaulform granaries (*cacaxtli*) of parts of Morelos, Puebla, and Tlaxcala. Moreover, the original ms. of the Relación de Tiripitio, 1580 (in the Garcia Library, University of Texas, Austin), illustrates a vaulform *troje* similar to that shown in the Relación de Michoacán. The Tiripitio *troje* was of two stories, the lower floor being used to store maize, the upper, reached by a notched log, for storing clothes, personal valuables, etc.

[41] Fair adobe brick can be made in the Sierra by mixing the local soil (of low clay content) with pine needles.

[42] The Relaciones Geográficas of 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) invariably mention shaked roofs in mining centers of New Spain. In the modern Basque country, however, shakes are used to roof only shepherds' huts (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944, p. 34).

[P. 31]

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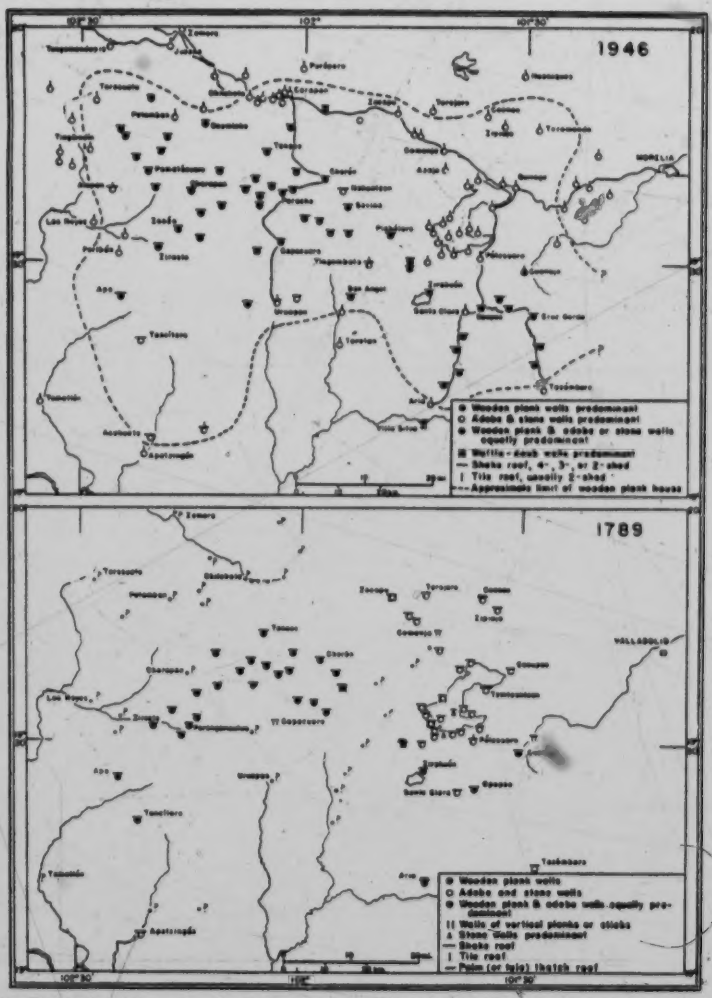

MAP 18.—Distribution of house types in the Tarascan area, 1789 and 1946. The 1789 data are from AGN Historia, vol. 73, Calderón report.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32 a]

342 within or near pine forests. By 1789 most of the
177 buildings in Tarascan towns in the Lake and Sierra regions were roofed with shakes (map 18). Today in the towns bordering the Sierra the red Castilian tile has completely replaced *tejamanil* and is slowly penetrating into the Sierra towns.[43]

THE LAND SYSTEM AND THE PUEBLO

621 Tarascan settlements are fundamentally agri-
423 cultural villages. They include not only dwellings arranged along streets and in house lots, but also the surrounding farm land. The land is the body of the pueblo, whose political and economic life revolves around land ownership and boundaries, crop planting and harvesting.

423 Few records exist on the ancient Tarascan land
311 system; most lands, however, were probably held in common. Each community owned surrounding lands, the limits of which were determined by metes and bounds; the record and adjudication of pueblo boundaries were in the hands of the village chief, who apportioned agricultural plots to his subjects.[44] As in many modern Indian areas of Mexico, the aboriginal concept of village lands and their established boundaries is indurated in the present political and economic structure of the Tarascan pueblos.[45] Such holdings in the Sierra include various types of land: *monte*, or woodland pasture on steep mountain slopes and on lava flows; cropland in basin floors (*planes*, t'pákua), on lower mountain slopes (*laderas*, uanáten), and in craters of cinder cones (*joyas*, t'pákua-supíču). In La Cañada often the following lands are held by a given pueblo: irrigable alluvium on the valley floor, *temporal* lands and *monte* on the adjacent slopes, and *humedad* lands in the Sierra. In the Lake area types of land vary from pueblo to pueblo. Often small strips of irrigable vegetable plots are held along the lake shore; most towns hold *temporal* land on the lower slopes; those on

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[43] Although used in most Spanish towns (except mining centers) in New Spain since the late 16th century, tiles began to appear in the Lake Pátzcuaro district only in the late 18th century. In 1789 Pátzcuaro was the only town in the vicinity with tile roofs (approximately 80 percent of the houses were roofed with tile, the remainder, with shakes). In the same year one house in Naranja boasted of a tile roof. (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 288, 318.)

[44] A copy of an aboriginal land title (1519) of Chevanátzicurin is extant in AGN Tierras, vol. 867, exped. 5.

[45] In many respects the native land system in central Mexico paralleled that of 16th century Spain. Particularly was this true in regard to the concept of village holdings.

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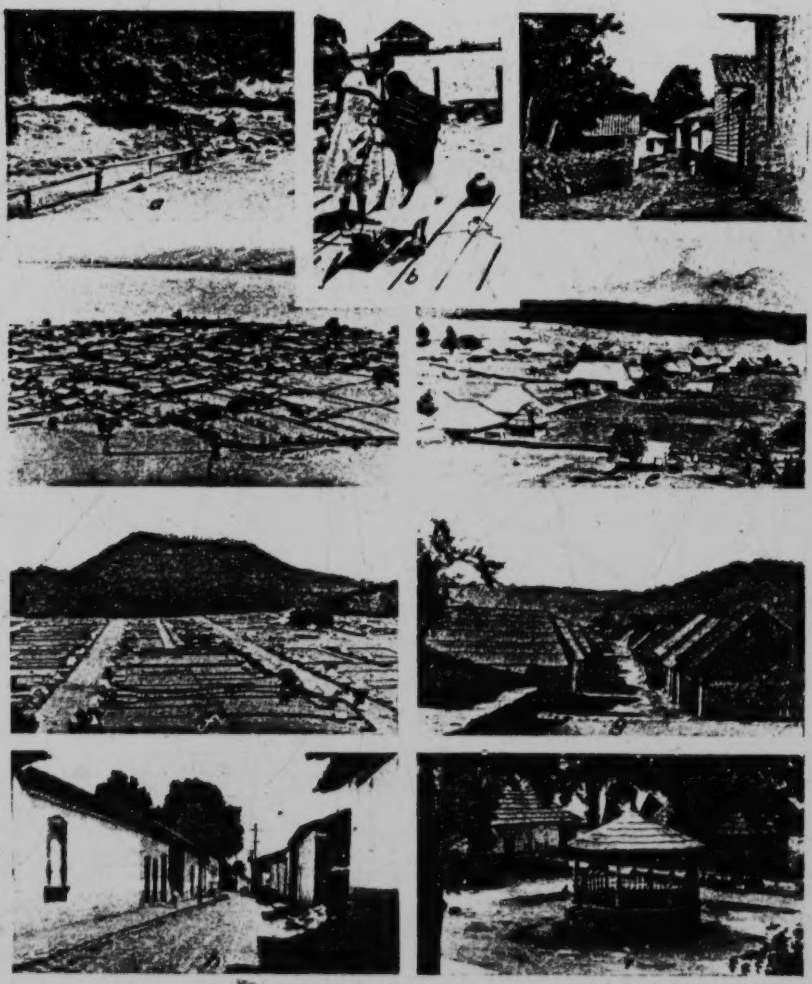

PLATE 2.—Water supply and settlement. *a*, [illegible]ion aqueduct at Pamatácuaro, which brings water from the local spring (center) to the outskirts of town. *b*, Hoisting water from one of the public wells in Charapan. *c*, Street in Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d*, Panorama of San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro, showing compact assemblage of adobe structures. *e*, Partial view of Zacán near Paricutín Volcano (background), showing grid street pattern, scattered dwellings, and large lots. *f*, Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo), founded in 1944 to house refugees from destroyed San Juan Parangaricutiro. Nearly all frames were transported from old San Juan and reassembled on the new site. *g*, Street scene, Charapan (Storrs). *h*, Street scene, Tiríndaro, Zacapu Basin. *i*, Plaza at Charapan.

[End-plate 2]

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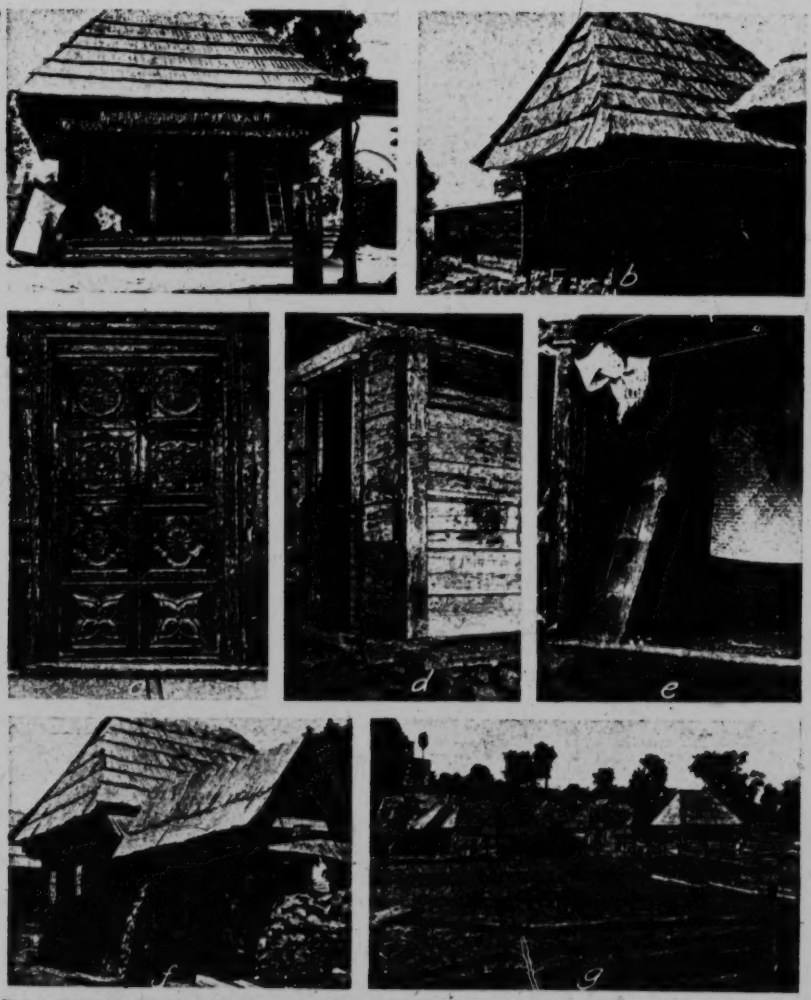

PLATE 3.—Houses types. a, Front view of trojo from inside house lot, Quiroga. b, Back view of trojo from the street, Sicuicho. Note the plank wall (kanchakata) to left of house. c, Elaborately carved door, Cocucho. d, Flanks housed in L-shaped enclosure, Cocucho. e, Notched pank ladder leading to loft o trojo, Cocucho. f, Roofed gate, Sicuicho. g, Trojos at Pamandaro. Note wall fences.

[End-plate 3]

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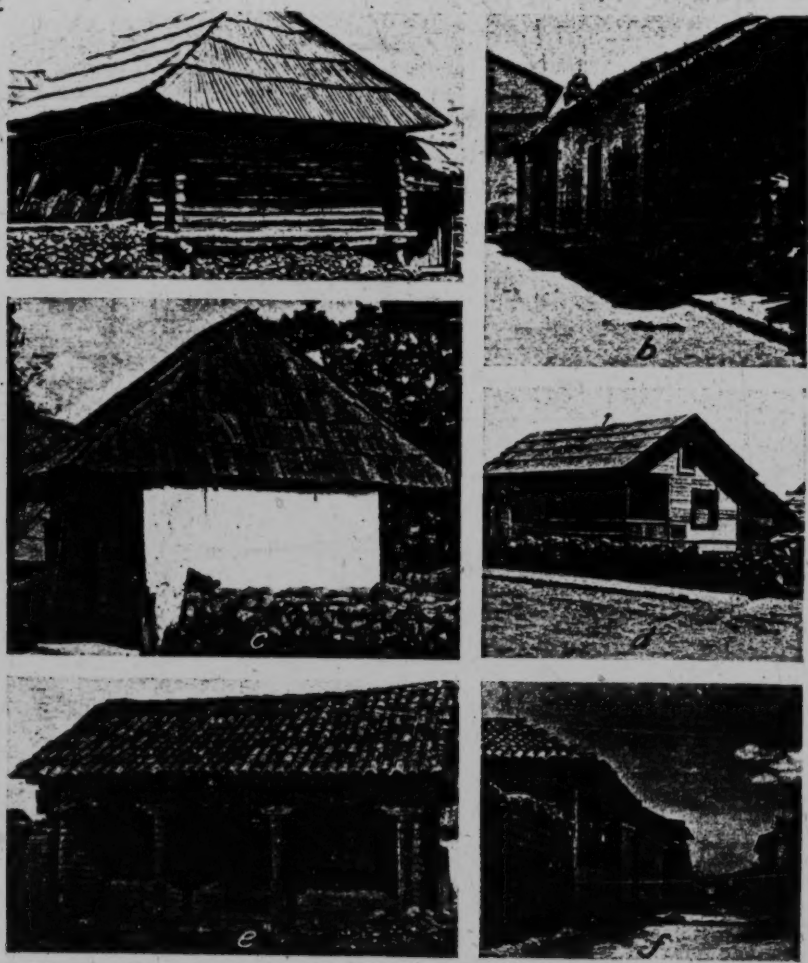

PLATE 4.—House types. *a*, Old log structure, Zacán. *b*, Old wooden type, Tlalpujahua. *c*, Adobe house at Apo. The floor plan and roof are similar to those of the plank type. *d*, Wooden house at Cuitzeo, the unique pueblo east of Uruapan. These new structures are North American in appearance. *e*, A hundred adobe pre-shed house, San Jerónimo. *f*, Street scene, San Jerónimo. The house at left with the high verandahs front is often seen in Lake Pátzcuaro towns.

[End-plate 4]

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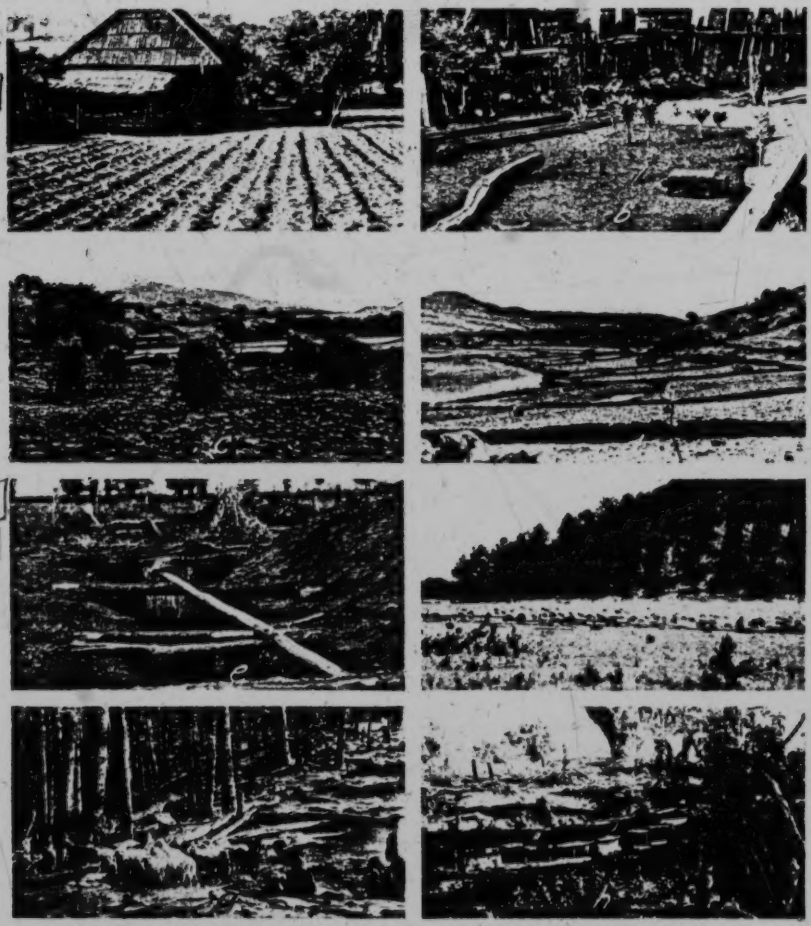

PLATE 7.—Horticulture and domestic animals. *a*, Large plowed *ekuáro*, San Felipe. Note animal pen adjoining *trojo*. *b*, Small patch of cabbage in house lot, San Felipe. *c*, Vines of chayote in *ekuáro*, Tanaquillo, La Cañada. *d*, Irrigated vegetable plot along west shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, near Arócutín. *e*, Ditch well and *petas* (t'apóratárakuera) used to lift water from ditch to irrigate field. Near Uriaho. *f*, Sheep grazing in harvested maize field, near Tanaco. *g*, Herding sheep near summit of Cerro de Patamban. The flock is from the ranchs of Uringuitiro. *h*, Bee hives in house lot, Amájo.

[End-plate 7]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[196] *Upper,* Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower,* Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 3] NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.
Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1946]

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in 342 the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important. 556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as 581 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least 556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as 554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, iaúrukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone
333 on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[492] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of

[Continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ꞓarímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*" [3] (píꞓekua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*

[Continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "*parines*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*ꞓaxin*).

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

353 Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly fin-
439 ished on the inside and, less frequently, on the outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. [338] This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

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FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la tarima*" (uanájɛukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

343 crosspiece, "*atravesaño de la tarima*," are placed
335 first, then the two remaining foundation beams. The lower beams are notched at each intersection to half their thickness on the upper side; the upper beams are similarly notched on the lower side. Very frequently the front and back beams are notched to receive the ends of the floor planks (fig. 4; pl. 4, upper, left).

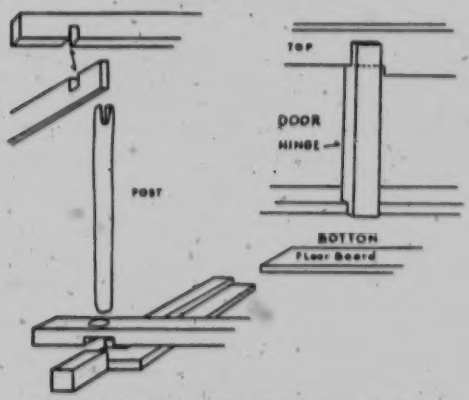

FIGURE 4.—Details of construction of the "*troje*" shown on figure 3.

Upon the foundation beams are placed the floor planks, "*tarima*" (ta/ûjpani) (pl. 4, lower, right). Upon the floor planks are laid one or two more beams, "*planchitas*." One marks the line of the front wall with the door. If there is a wooden floor to the veranda, a second, somewhat heavier beam is laid at the outer edge (pl. 4, upper, right). These beams are morticed to received tenons on the lower ends of the pillars of the veranda and the side frames of the door.

The walls are of logs or, more commonly, of heavy planks set on edge. Both logs and planks are notched to interlock at the corners in the manner of the log cabin of North America and Europe. Assembling planks or logs in this fashion is spoken of as "to chain," "*encadenar*." Two methods of notching planks are used (fig. 5). The number of planks varies somewhat according to the total size of the house. The door is 9 *cuartas* (72 in.) in height, and the front wall up to this point is made of short planks. When four or five planks are in place, giving the required height for the door, the side frames of the door

[p. 11a]

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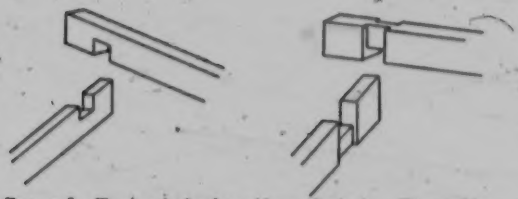

FIGURE 5.—Two methods of notching wall planks. That on the right is more recent and is a tighter fit.

(aŋamárakua) are put in place (pl. 4, lower, left). Each frame has a tenon at the bottom, fitting into a mortice in the "*planchita*," and a groove at the side to receive the wall planks.

Various methods of completing the doorframe are used. The simplest way is to notch the top of the doorframes to receive a long plank extending across the front of the house. Sometimes this plank is ornamented with carving; in this case it may be cut so the lower part is red heartwood, the upper part white sapwood. More often, the doorframe is finished with one or even two special pieces, "*arco de la puerta*" (uiímukua). These pieces are grooved to receive the upper wall planks (fig. 6).

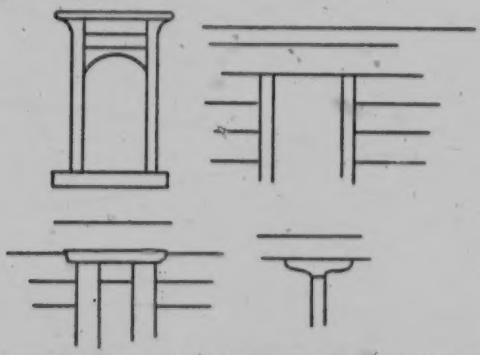

FIGURE 6.—Methods of finishing doorframes, windows, and pillars.

If the veranda is floored, usually four pillars rest on the forward "*planchita*." The pillars are made of heartwood and are usually round but occasionally spindle shaped. Each end has a tenon, the bottom tenon fitting into the "*planchita*" (pl. 4, upper, right), the upper into a capital, *zapata* (fig. 6), or directly into a roof beam, "*arco del portal*" (uanárukua). If no capital is used, the roof beam is often carved into an arch between

[p. 11b]

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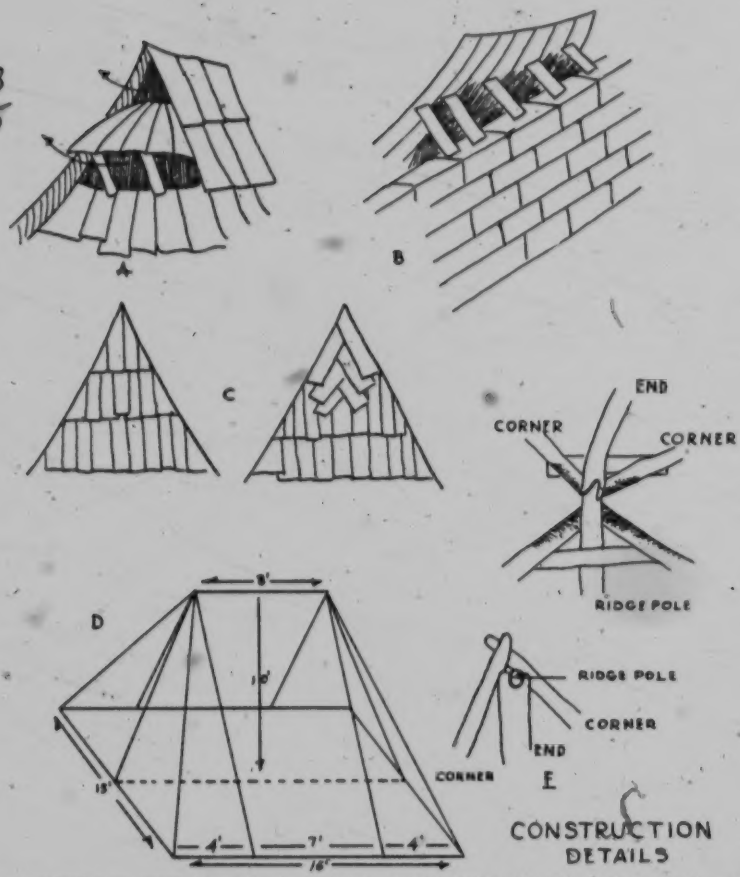

FIGURE 7.—Details of roof construction. *a*, Vent in roof of kitchen; *b*, lean-to kitchen built against an adobe wall with ventilation arrangement; *c*, two ways of finishing shakes at apex of an end roof section; *d*, arrangement of rafters in a small Cherán house; *e*, joining of rafters and ridge pole viewed from outside roof frame; and (above) same seen from inside roof frame.

[p. 12]

343 each pillar. In any case, carved ornamentation is
335 common, often covering roof beam, capital, and even the upper part of the pillars (pl. 5, lower, right). The pillars at each end of the veranda usually have a groove to receive the ends of the side-wall beams.

The topmost two wall planks and the beam above the pillars are usually one *vara* longer than the others, and the ends are cut into a curve and often carved. In addition, a special carved piece of red heartwood called a "*cornisa*" may surmount the usual wall.

The top of the wall and the beam supported by the pillars in front of the veranda must now be carefully leveled again. A morticed cross beam, "*atravesaño del tapanco*" (uanáɔekua), is generally placed in the middle of the room at the top of the walls. The ceiling is laid directly over the tops of the walls, and wooden pins attach the two outer planks to the walls. As the ceiling serves as the floor of the attic, the planks are usually of the same thickness as the lower floor. In one corner, almost always over the veranda, but occasionally inside the room, an opening is left to provide access to the loft or attic.

Upon the "*planchas*" is erected the frame of the roof. First are placed the "*tijeras*" (jauárakua) consisting of pairs of fir poles about 1½ *varas* apart. Half of the upper end of each pole is cut away, and the two are nailed together or, more commonly in Cherán, they are fastened with a wooden pin. The lower ends rest in sockets cut in the "*planchas*." Two pairs of rafters are now leaned toward each other and fastened together. Usually, three groups of rafters of four each are used. At each end of the house another rafter is now placed with a deep notch in the upper end. Within this notch is fitted a ridge pole (fig. 7, *d*, *e*). For further strength, pairs of rafters may be braced by crosspieces nailed to them below the apex of the roof.

In other towns the ridge pole is not used (pl. 5, lower, left). Additional smaller rafters may also be added after the main framework is erected, but in Cherán the house normally has 14 rafters of equal size, 3 groups of 4 and 1 at each end supporting a ridge pole.

Stringers, "*fajillas*" or "*costillas*" (látasa), are fastened horizontally to the rafters. The distance apart depends upon the length of shakes used. Nails are ordinarily employed now to fasten the

[p. 13a]

343 stringers, but wooden pegs (tarúju) of pine heart-
335 wood or wild crabapple, or string of maguey or
[824] bark fibers, may be used. The method of attachment is such that each shed of the roof is a separate unit and, by removing the wooden pins, may be lifted off intact in case it is desired to move the house to another location (pl. 5, upper, right). The stringers are crudely made with ax or saw. They are not measured, but after fastening, any surplus length is cut off.

The shakes are laid in two layers with the thick sides facing in opposite directions (fig. 8). They

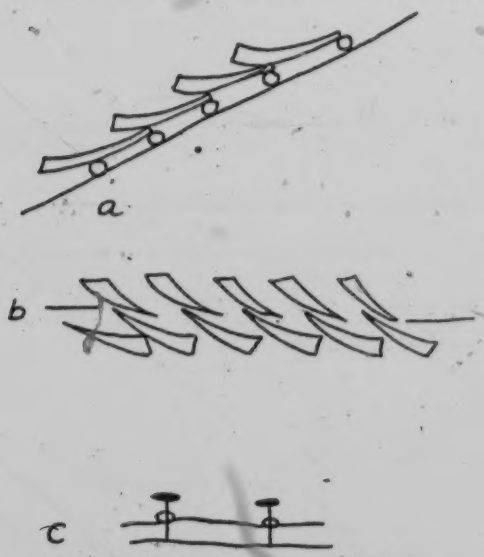

FIGURE 8.—Methods of attaching and laying shakes.

are fastened down now usually with 2- or 3-inch nails. However, they may also be fastened with small pins (piréńa) of red-pine wood, or, prefer-
[824] ably, of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. If pins are employed, a hole is made with an awl. The shakes must be put on while green; otherwise splitting is excessive. If it is necessary to use old shakes, they are first soaked in water.

In addition to the above methods, shakes may be held in place by long thin strips of wood placed on top of the shakes. Stones are placed on the wooden strips at intervals. This method is rarely used now on houses, where the steep pitch of the roofs makes it rather insecure, but it is common on the roofs of sheds and stables and is not infre-

343 on the roofs of kitchens. If the much
335 inferior pine shake is used, the nails usually are not driven all the way in and a length of wire is run from one nail to another, a turn being given about each nail (fig. 8, *c*). This may be done with fir shakes also, in which case the nails are driven all the way in after wiring.

The door is usually carefully made and is bought from a master carpenter. The hinges and latch are usually of metal, although the hardware may be crude. If a well-made door cannot be afforded, however, the door may consist merely of loose upright planks fitting in grooves at top and bottom.

A hinged trapdoor is placed in the opening to the loft. This is usually a well-built door bought from a carpenter and fastened by a stout padlock. A ladder gives access to the door. Sometimes the ladder is a notched log (kékua).

Thirty days is considered the minimum construction time for a house.

343 Some further general comments on houses, or
531 "*trojes*," may be made. Houses with carved ornament are called "*trojes labradas*." The parts
335 decorated may include the beam over the front pillars, the piece over the door, capitals, the upper part of the pillars, and "cornices," or special pieces along the upper walls. A "*troje labrada*" usually is carefully made throughout. Undecorated houses, "*trojes lisas*," may be made crudely with only ax and adze as tools. Small "*trojes lisas*" are virtually the only ones to lack a veranda. Occasionally, heavy planks are not used for the ceiling. Instead, light boards are laid over several cross beams, which also support the "*planchas*," or frames, holding the roof.

343 The size of the "*troje*" is taken from the length
335 of the rear wall. Other dimensions vary according to table 1. Lengths in the table are in *varas*.

TABLE 1.—*Proportions of the houses, or "trojes"*

Length of long side	Length of short side	Height of wall	Rafters	Length of rafters	Shakes
Varas	*Varas*	*Varas*	*Number*	*Varas*	*Number*
5	4½	2½	14	3	400
6	5½	2¾	14	4½	800
7	6½	3	14	5	1,000
8	7½	3	18	6	1,100
9	8	3½	18	6	1,500

[p. 14a]

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

493 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
[602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

343 A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

342 Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína
335 tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (aŋájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

[p. 14 b]

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

354 In some house yards there are large domed
[427] ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND
DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

[p. 206]

HOUSE

FURNISHINGS

342 The terms "house," or "*troje*," and "*cocina*" as
343 employed in the Sierra refer to the construction
196 of the house rather than to its use. Normally, each family has a house and a kitchen. In the kitchen, the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The house serves as a storage place for all types of property. In it also is kept the image of the family saint. Sometimes in place of a "*troje*," a "*cocina de torito*" is floored and used for storage. Despite this shift in use, the structure is still called a "*cocina*," or kitchen.

343 The "*troje*" contains a minimum of furnishings.
353 The loft is used purely for crop storage and usually
778 has no furnishings whatever. The lower floor

HOUSE
FURNISHINGS

343
352
778

generally has a table against the wall opposite the door upon which is placed the image of a saint, if the family owns or is carring for one. If not, a picture of a saint will be found behind the table on the wall. Usually, a variety of religious [353] pictures are tacked or pasted behind or around [373] the picture or image of the saint. Often candles and a pottery incense burner are on the table; in addition, the table may have a varying number of miscellaneous objects placed there temporarily for safekeeping. The ceiling, especially over the [353] altar table, may be decorated in colored tissue paper and strings of miniature household objects. Several wooden chairs with arms are kept in the

[p.21d]

343 room, the number depending upon the economic
352 status of the family. They are rarely used except to seat visitors. Tin trunks or wooden chests are usually found for storage of clothing. Clothing may also be hung on a pole extending from front to back wall. A sewing machine is a fairly com-
[404] mon item of equipment. Rather rarely, the room will contain a wooden bedstead; this again is used

[354]

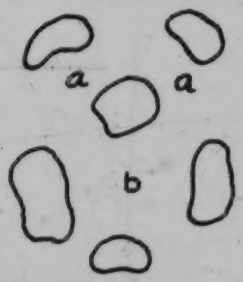

FIGURE 15.—Fire hearth of stones. *a*, Space for pots; *b*, space for *comal*.

only for guests, when mats are spread over the bed. In emergencies, the room may also be used for the storage of harvests. A portion of the veranda may also be boarded for this purpose. The second floor is customarily used to store maize on the cob.

[p. 22a]

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

435 The main supplementary structures to be con-
351 sidered are fences, gates, and sheds. The only fences involving expenditure are those of masonry-adobe. Costs are the same per meter as for a house wall.

The gate will vary in cost. Often it may consist of only a few planks, which may be second-hand material secured without cost, or even merely a pole or two laid horizontally across the opening. A well-made *zaguán* gate bought from a carpenter will cost about 17 pesos and up, depending on size. The balance of the gate, including the roof over it, will usually be constructed by the house owner. Ordinarily, the few shakes needed will be left over from house building or may be secured for a few cents.

435 Sheds are usually built by the householder. A
343 sizable shed roof might require a bundle of shakes costing 5 pesos. No nails would be used, the shakes being held down by rough-hewn strips of pine and stones.

COMPARISON OF COSTS

435 It is clear from the foregoing data that a ma-
342 sonry-adobe structure is as cheap or slightly cheaper than a wooden house, or "*troje*." It also has more storage space. On the other hand, it requires somewhat more care in upkeep and also more expense to make it look "right" to the Tarascan. The interior, for example, should have a coat of plaster of either adobe or lime and sand. Preferably, so should the exterior. Both should also be whitewashed or kalsomined. None of these costs are included in the estimates.

435 An interesting comparison is made in table 5
342 of the costs of the following four categories of Tarascan houses:

511 (*a*) What the Tarascan would conceive to be the minimal shelter, which would be far below the Tarascan standard of decency.

(*b*) Housing considered a poor standard but not impossible.

(*c*) A respectable standard for a small family.

(*d*) A high standard for a small family.

Only people of some wealth normally use masonry-adobe structures; consequently, only in this category have I shown costs for this type of housing, without including any "frills" for decoration or finishing.

[p. 27b]

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

STORAGE

343 The Cherán house is really a storehouse. The
251 loft and, sometimes, the lower floor are employed for storage of crops and food reserves. The lower floor is used for the storage of clothing, furniture not in immediate use, and for the family altar and the image of the saint. On occasion, it may be used as a sleeping room for guests. Supplementary sheds also may be used for crop storage, especially for fodder for animals.

SLEEPING AND COOKING

362 Cooking and eating is all done in the kitchen.
574 Guests may be fed in the kitchen, outside, on the house veranda, or in the house. Female visitors are usually entertained in the kitchen. Male visitors are more apt to be entertained outdoors or on the house veranda, depending on the
362 weather.
513 In mountain towns, sleeping is always in the

[p. 28c]

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for
177 their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
[171] It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

342 The history of shakes and of interlocked log
171 structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

343 The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
127 the Tarascan *ɛarímba* (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

343 de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing
127 food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

342 To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-
174 Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe,
177 with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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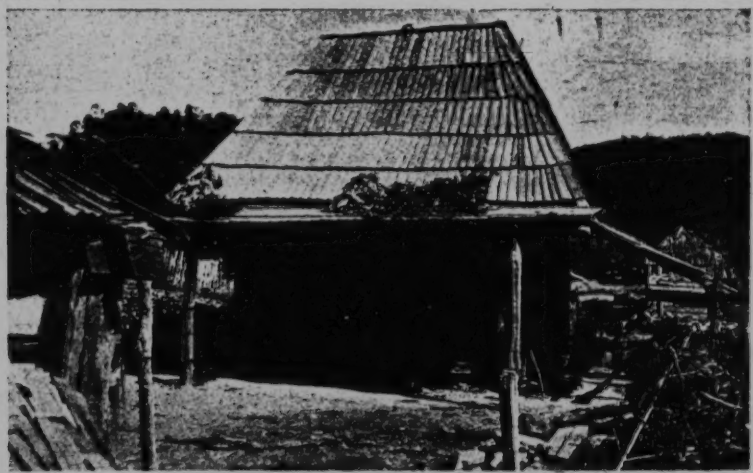

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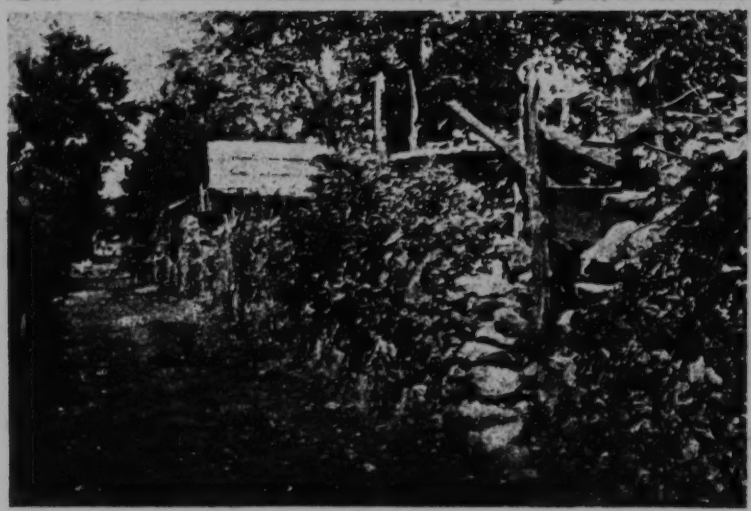

Upper: "*Troje*" in Angahuan with a shed in front in place of a veranda. *Lower:* A street on the outskirts of the town of Cherán. Fences are carlessly built of dry stone, supplemented by poles.

[End plate 2]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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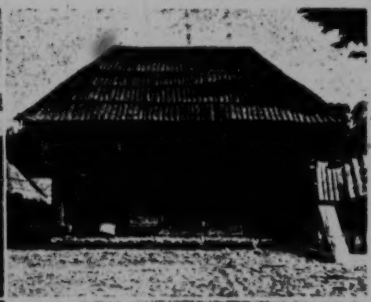

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Upper (left): Kitchen of simple type with corner posts (Angahuan). *Upper (right):* Kitchen of elaborate type (Angahuan). The gate or half door is rare in Cherán. *Middle (left):* Wooden "*troje*" at Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro, with tile roof and adobe support for the ridge pole. *Middle (right):* Storehouse of style found mainly in Angahuan (ámutakata). *Lower (left):* Large storehouse (ámutakata) over gate. *Lower (center):* Storehouse (ámutakata) with lower part made into a room. *Lower (right):* Smokehouse (uhéll) in Capacuaro.

[End plate 6]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 28-c] Sierra

342 the main house. The veranda, too, is used for storing boxes, lumber, etc., and is sometimes employed as a workplace and for sitting and gossiping.

343 The kitchen (kosina) is a separate building, usually less well constructed than the main house. In the Sierra it is often made of thin planks placed vertically and carries a two-shed roof. Kosinas of horizontal interlocked planks and four-shed roofs are sometimes seen. The chimney is unknown; smoke escapes through cracks or especially constructed vents in the roof. The kitchens in the areas outside the Sierra are usually of adobe with two-shed roofs of tile or shakes, some are flimsily constructed of upright planks or of brush, and carry a one-shed roof.[28] Obviously, the kitchen is where food is prepared and eaten;

[Text continues bottom P. 29b]

[28] In some towns where the Spanish L- or U-shaped house is present, the kitchen forms one of the rooms in the main structure.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 29-b] Sierra

● 343 being the hearth place and the warmest of the buildings, it is also the main sleeping quarters of the family.[27]

The minor structures include the stable, chicken roosts, and the hogpen, all constructed of logs or rough planks; the gate roof (*puerta de golpe*) in [251] the loft of which maize fodder is often stored; and, in some Sierra towns, special storage buildings, which consist of small wooden sheds on stilts or simply small plank *trojes* resting on a crude stone foundation.[28] The house lot is fenced

[27] For a description of the hearth types and kitchen implements, see Beals, Carrasco, and McQuitty, 1944, pp. 16, 23-24.

[28] The special storage places are called tímutakata in Angahuan and Charapan, uakíli in Capacuaro. Literally the term "tímutakata" means "addition," and is also used for the storage space in the gate roof. The *puerta de golpe* occurs not only in Michoacán, where it is most common, but is seen in mestizo towns in the Valley of Mexico. The main purpose of the roof is to keep rain from the wooden gate.

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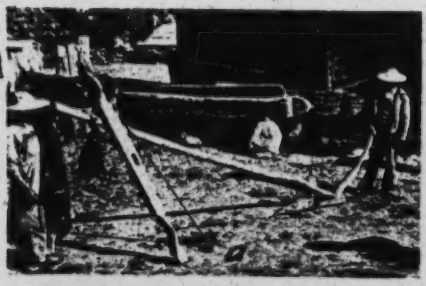
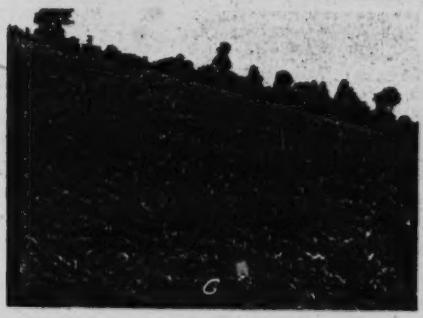
[412]





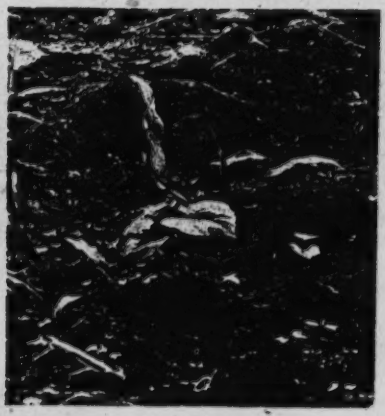


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PLATE 5.—Maize culture. *a*, The Egyptian plow, still widely used in Mexico (Oaxaca). Note straight steel tip (reja) which slips over end of plow point and good near end of tongue; leather strap used to fasten yoke to horns of oxen. *b*, Planting maize near Cuernavaca. The first plow, which opens the furrow, is followed by two small boys, who drop seeds at regular intervals. The second plow covers the seeds. *c*, Contour plowing near Cuernavaca. Field of young maize. *d*, Hill of maize and beans in low land near Cuernavaca. Plants are about 1 week old. *e*, Newly harvested domestic maize near Apa. Note wood-ash, which will be mixed with underlying soil. *f*, Platform on which maize fodder (zacate) is stored. Shade.

[End-plate 5]

361 Plans of settlements.—The planning of pueblos and *rancherías* was unknown in pre-Columbian times. Settlements were amorphous, the dwellings irregularly spaced and connected by winding footpaths. Beginning around 1550, the Spaniards [177] slowly forced the natives in most parts of central Mexico to rebuild their towns on a grid street pattern, which is now predominant in most pueblos (Indian and mestizo) in Mexico.[34] The advantages of the grid, with numbered blocks and houses, are obvious in terms of tax and tribute records. Towns were also divided into *barrios* or wards, usually four or more; some *barrios* represent the congregation of outlying *rancherías* into the town. Within the Tarascan area the realinement of the street pattern was apparently continued until the close of the colonial period, for a late 18th-century description mentions the tortuous, unplanned paths and irregularly spaced houses of some Sierra pueblos, which today have the grid pattern (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285–405). At the present time only the Tarascan *ranchos* (formed after the colonial period without direction from a centralized government) are characterized by winding streets and scattered dwellings, and probably illustrate the pattern of a pre-Conquest village (map 15).

One of the outstanding features of the grid pattern imposed by the Spaniards is the plaza, or square, located in the center of the settlement. Every Tarascan village has its plaza, which functions as the commercial, social, and administrative center of the town (map 16; pl. 2). A [361] semblance of a garden and often a bandstand occupy the center of the plaza. Administrative [344] buildings (the *palacio municipal* or *jefatura* and the jail), often the school, stores, and the dwellings of the more prominent citizens face the streets bordering the plaza. Moreover, the square is the site of religious and civil festivals and the market. [346] The church, however, rarely faces the plaza, but is often placed one-half to one block distant.

Away from the plaza, which in the larger towns is surrounded by a contiguous group of buildings, most Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra are characterized by widely spaced dwellings separated by house lots. Compact towns with contiguous building throughout occur in the Lake region and in the Zacapu Basin. (Maps 16, 17; pl. 2.)

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 27b]

[34] For a discussion of the introduction of the grid street pattern into New Spain, see Stanislawski, 1947 b.

796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the ačes. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The ačes are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the ačes. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the ačes have any real control.

THE CHURCH

The physical aspect of the Church is repre-
346 sented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is reverenced
[788] to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

Maintenance of the structures still used by
794 the church organization and the priest depends
358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the ké,i, an official of the *cabildo* or ačes, as a residence.

The church building has obviously undergone
346 a number of major alterations in its history.
358 Originally the church did not front on the

346 plaza but upon an atrium facing the opposite
358 direction. The change of entrance probably was made more than 50 years ago. At about that time the walls of the church were raised considerably and a row of windows placed near the top of the walls. During the revolution the roof was destroyed when the town was burned and was replaced sometime during the 1920's.

The cost of these changes and repairs, as indicated, is borne by voluntary contributions. The labor is paid for and there is no voluntary labor for the upkeep of church structures and property, although there is considerable voluntary work in connection with the ceremonials and the care of the altars and images. In the case of small improvements, the priest asks for donations of some 10 centavos, usually making an announcement from the pulpit. For larger and more extensive repairs or improvements, *comisionados* are named by the priest who go from house to house soliciting larger contributions.

A new idea was introduced, however, by the
358 priest who left Cherán in 1940, an idea which has had interesting economic repercussions. With the completion of the reroofing of the church, many other necessary improvements still remained. With some funds at his disposal, the priest succeeded in rebuilding the pulpit. The priest then announced an inaugural ceremony and issued invitations to become godparents of the pulpit. The invitations were written or printed and stated that the persons were being invited as honorable persons who led good lives. Acceptance involved a payment of not less than 1 peso nor more than 2 pesos. Practically all those invited accepted the invitation. The priest had prepared a large quantity
454 of pottery banks in the shape of pigs, made of
358 the attractive Black ware of Quiroga and Santa Fe. At the inauguration, the priest announced that additional improvements were being planned and that each person should take one of the banks and put a 20-centavo piece in it every 15 or 30 days. Moreover, the person who first
[554] "fattened" his pig, that is, filled it with 20-centavo pieces, would be put in a position of especial sanctity. With this incentive, many people filled their banks rapidly in order to be the first and even those who did it more slowly

361 Plans of settlements.—The planning of pueblos and *rancherías* was unknown in pre-Columbian times. Settlements were amorphous, the dwellings irregularly spaced and connected by winding footpaths. Beginning around 1550, the Spaniards [177] slowly forced the natives in most parts of central Mexico to rebuild their towns on a grid street pattern, which is now predominant in most pueblos (Indian and mestizo) in Mexico.[34] The advantages of the grid, with numbered blocks and houses, are obvious in terms of tax and tribute records. Towns were also divided into *barrios* or wards, usually four or more; some *barrios* represent the congregation of outlying *rancherías* into the town. Within the Tarascan area the realinement of the street pattern was apparently continued until the close of the colonial period, for a late 18th-century description mentions the tortuous, unplanned paths and irregularly spaced houses of some Sierra pueblos, which today have the grid pattern (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285–405). At the present time only the Tarascan *ranchos* (formed after the colonial period without direction from a centralized government) are characterized by winding streets and scattered dwellings, and probably illustrate the pattern of a pre-Conquest village (map 15).

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[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 27b]

[34] For a discussion of the introduction of the grid street pattern into New Spain, see Stanislawski, 1947 b.

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomias* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter [347] house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. [651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. Individual sales are usually small, and the [431] portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

Nixtamal mills.—Some seven or eight *nix-* 256 *tamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

527 during September. Each *barrio* piled its logs somewhere in the *barrio* as they were accumulated and took them to the bull ring only when the number was complete.[35]

527 417 On September 27 lengthy discussions took place concerning the erection of a grandstand for spectators. This is usually done, but there appear to be no set arrangements. In the discussion, it developed that one year the seats had collapsed because the posts were not well set and no cross bracing was employed. One person was hurt; the only reason more were not hurt was that the entire stand went over as a unit instead of one end collapsing. It was agreed that cross bracing should be used (but it was not).

It was finally decided to persuade individuals to take responsibility for putting up the seats. There was some difficulty about this, as the persons approached were suspicious that they would be taxed so heavily that any profits from admission charges would be wiped out. When told that the *municipio* would not tax the concession, the builders at first refused to believe it and kept asking to be told in advance what the tax would be. Moisés Valencia, the town "boss," finally had to persuade them. Intense activity now started on the part of the builder (one man finally undertook the task of erecting all the stands) and his assistants, collecting materials and hauling them to the bull ring behind the church. Boards were borrowed from some dealers in town for making the actual seats, but logs had to be cut and hauled for the framework.

[347] On September 28 carpenters began erecting the first stand or booth on the plaza. Several wooden booths were erected in the following days, mostly for selling soft drinks or ice cream.

527 On October 1 the transportable parts of the *castillo* or fireworks were brought in two lots. Rockets were fired off upon their arrival. The fireworks maker and an assistant set up shop in part of the old chapel used by the tilemakers. Later, when the pole for the big *castillo* or set piece was brought in, part of the operations

[35] About 3 weeks before the fiesta a great deal of activity began in painting, plastering, and furbishing up houses, especially those on the plaza and on nearby streets. This went on right up to the time of the fiesta. The mayor took some part in suggesting improvements, but most of the householders made them on their own initiative.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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[341]

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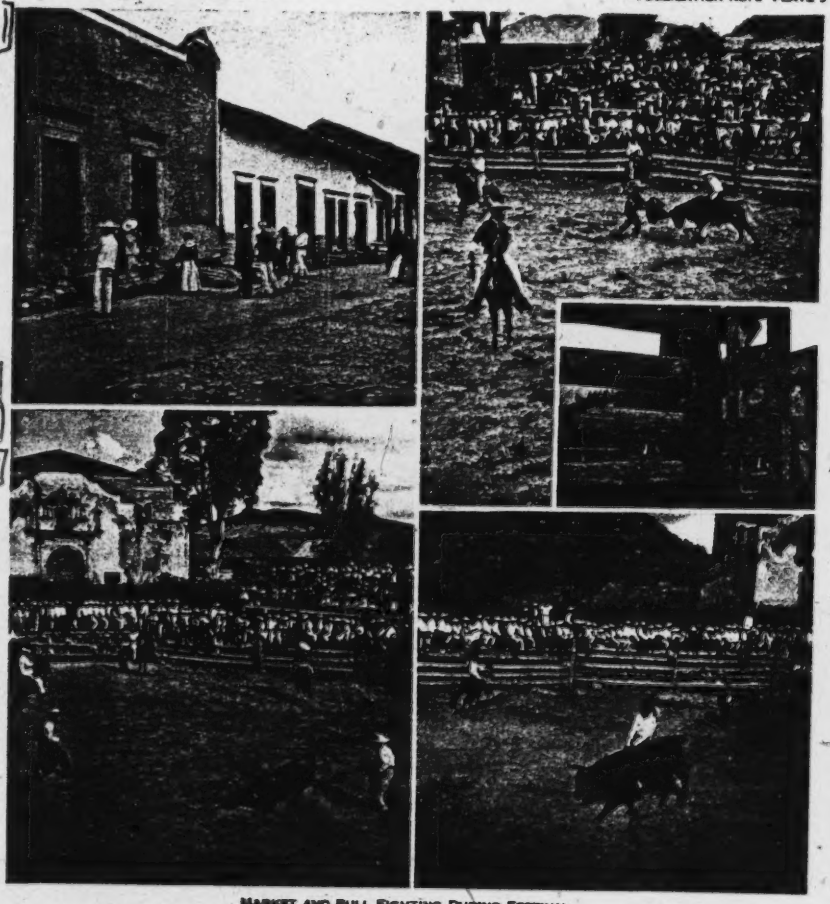

MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

Upper (left): Pottery before being unpacked for the market. *Upper (right):* Riding a bucking bull, the man with cape diverting it from the horses. *Lower (left):* Cowboys (*vaqueros*) throw the bull in the bull ring, then tie a rope around its forequarters. *Lower (right):* Bull riding. *Inset:* Construction of bull ring fence; post on right has holes cut with ax to receive the logs forming the gate.

[End Plate 5]

342 tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo [177] influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

OF CHERÁN The Town of Cherán

361 The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding 363 paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 361 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. 351 The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

The lots are all owned individually. They may 351 be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in 423 various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

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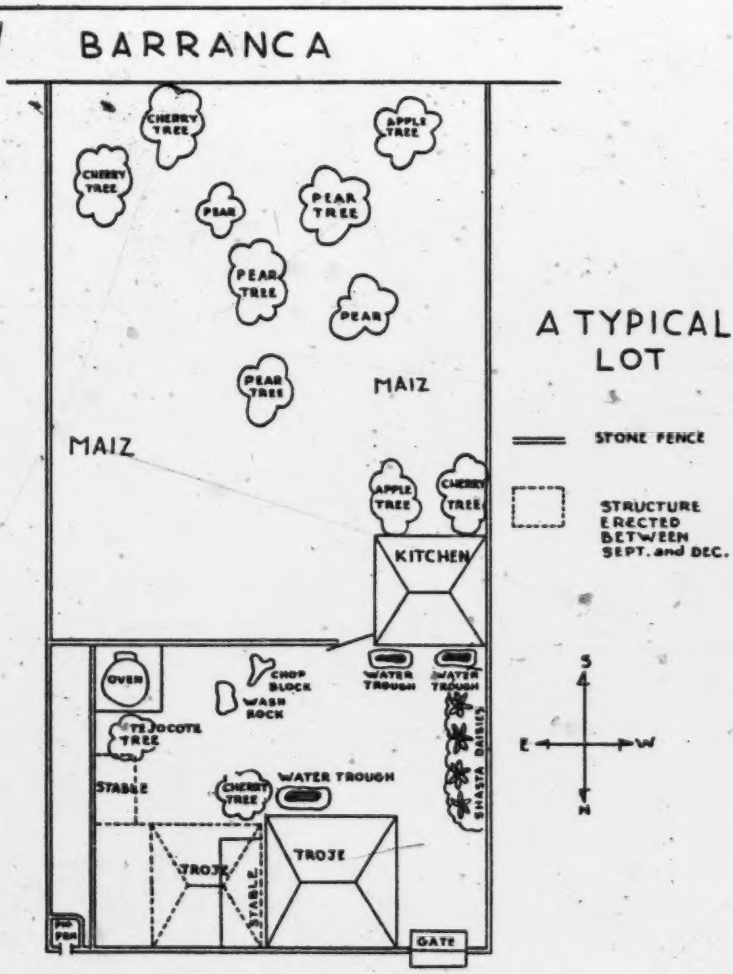

FIGURE 2.—Plan of a typical Cherán lot in the southeast section.

[p. 8]

342 ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, sup-
335 ported by the adobes of the "*capisayo*," and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*piso*," the upper by a ridge pole (pirijtakua in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito*," or "*zoquete*," forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-
[171] and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

351 Supplementary structures consist of fences,
333 gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called sérka. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (uatótakua)
351 are employed to divide lots, or especially in the
335 outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called tirindikua.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

● 351 335 are connected by a piece of wood at top and bottom. Almost invariably they have a small gable roof (úmutakata in Angahuan, the name of the storehouses on posts already described). Two pieces are supported by the gate posts at right angles to the gate. The ends of these are connected with two pieces which support rafters. Construction is like that of a gabled house roof in miniature. Sometimes a light floor is laid, and the space is used to store maize husks for tamales or some similar, not very valuable, material. The gate roofs keep the gate from rotting or warping from rain. They are an inevitable part of the Tarascan landscape and may be seen sometimes in open fields over the entrance to the field even though there be no gate (pls. 3, right; 7, lower, left). In the Lake region, they are roofed with tile, a practice sometimes seen elsewhere (pl. 7, middle, right).

In some cases, however, simpler constructions are used. The gate may simply be upright planks resting in a groove at the bottom and held by cord loops at the top. In the fields, gates are often made by planting two posts with holes chopped in each to receive bars. Such gates are sometimes seen in town also. They are called "*agújas*" in Cherán, but in Parícutin they are called jarásurita.

[continued on p. 20b]

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 While a high degree of specialization is characteristic of the Tarascans in comparison with most primitive people, such a term is always relative. Actually almost any man in Cherán is first of all a farmer; only landless men, which means also poor men, are not farmers. Probably most Cherán men are fairly skilled with an ax, sufficiently so to do a reasonably competent job felling a tree, trimming poles, cutting fence posts or ties, and hewing out rough timbers. On the other hand, to make a living at woodworking occupations requires more skill and speed than would be possessed by many men. In the same way, any man might do a fair job of building a dry-stone field wall, but he would not be as fast as a specialist, nor could he put up a masonry wall or lay adobe bricks in a fashion that would meet Cherán standards of fitness. Nevertheless, these facts make an absolutely correct assessment of the

[p. 20a] [Continued bottom of page 20b]

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

435 The main supplementary structures to be considered are fences, gates, and sheds. The only
● 351 fences involving expenditure are those of masonry-adobe. Costs are the same per meter as for a house wall.

The gate will vary in cost. Often it may consist of only a few planks, which may be second-hand material secured without cost, or even merely a pole or two laid horizontally across the opening. A well-made *zaguán* gate bought from a carpenter will cost about 17 pesos and up, depending on size. The balance of the gate, including the roof over it, will usually be constructed by the house owner. Ordinarily, the few shakes needed will be left over from house building or may be secured for a few cents.

435 Sheds are usually built by the householder. A sizable shed roof might require a bundle of shakes
343 costing 5 pesos. No nails would be used, the shakes being held down by rough-hewn strips of pine and stones.

COMPARISON OF COSTS

435 It is clear from the foregoing data that a masonry-adobe structure is as cheap or slightly
342 cheaper than a wooden house, or "*troje*." It also has more storage space. On the other hand, it requires somewhat more care in upkeep and also more expense to make it look "right" to the Tarascan. The interior, for example, should have a coat of plaster of either adobe or lime and sand. Preferably, so should the exterior. Both should also be whitewashed or kalsomined. None of these costs are included in the estimates.

435 An interesting comparison is made in table 5 of the costs of the following four categories of
342 Tarascan houses:

511 (*a*) What the Tarascan would conceive to be the minimal shelter, which would be far below the Tarascan standard of decency.

(*b*) Housing considered a poor standard but not impossible.

(*c*) A respectable standard for a small family.

(*d*) A high standard for a small family.

Only people of some wealth normally use masonry-adobe structures; consequently, only in this category have I shown costs for this type of housing, without including any "frills" for decoration or finishing.

[p. 27b]

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
574 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[Continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

574 with whom especially friendly relations exist, nor-
609 mally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

351 So far as is known, customs in other mountain
574 towns are similar in all respects except for the
184 attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 The major insect pests are fleas. In some vil-
136 lages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is
164 impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to
[515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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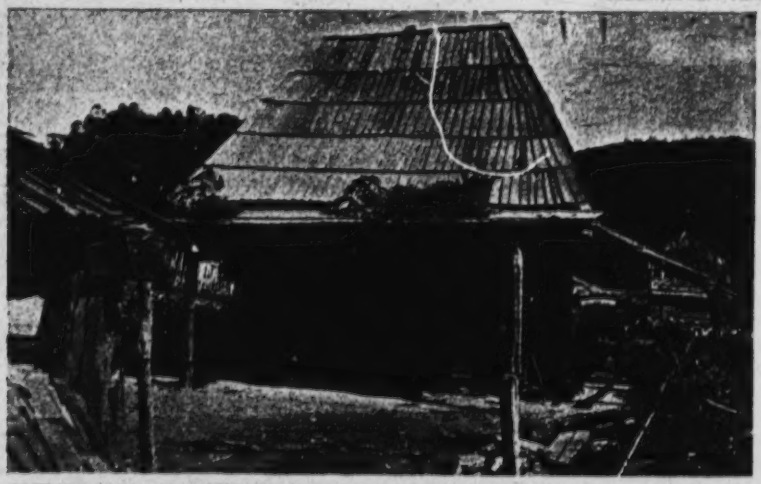

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●351

Upper: "*Troje*" in Angahuan with *ajitud* in front in place of a veranda. *Lower:* A street on the outskirts of the town of Cherán. Fences are curiously built of dry stone, supplemented by poles.

[End plate 2]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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Right: Street near the plaza in Cherán. A stone-and-adobe whitewashed structure is visible near the church. The center shows a well-built stone-and-adobe fence capped with straw and shakes, while the houses are of wood. A typical roofed gate is visible left of center. *Left:* Two types of pole fence in Capacuaro. In Cherán such fences are usually found only between lots.

[End plate 3]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 29-c] Sierra

The house lot is fenced
351 with adobe, stone, or logs; the portion facing the street may be enclosed by a high wall of planks, stone, or adobe, which joins the house at one end. Such structures are called ɣanɣakata in the Sierra (pl. 3). Various types of gates are used at the entrance to the house lot; the more common are the double-door affair, and those with logs placed horizontally in slots carved in opposite upright posts.

Historical aspects.—The provenience of the
342 wooden *troje* presents one of the most puzzling
171 features in Tarascan culture history. The structure of interlocked logs or planks is a relatively uncommon house type in Mexico, where it has a disjunct distribution. It is found in (1) Oaxaca among the Mixe, Mixtec, and Trique groups;

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32-b]

423 the western and southern shore often have fields
[311] in the Sierra.

Two systems of land ownership—communal and private—prevail in most of modern Tarasca. Since the land reforms of 1915, the *ejido*, a third type of holding, has displaced most of the haciendas around the margins of the Sierra.

Since Spanish contact most of the Tarascan agricultural land has become private property of family heads. Even in the few remaining pueblos which claim complete communal ownership of their lands, a strong individualization of property has developed. The historical process of the shift from communal to private ownership is not clear. Late 18th-century documents on land disputes among the Tarascan pueblos indicate that at that time the communal system prevailed at least in the Sierra. The issuance of individual land titles may not have occurred until after the reforms of 1857. In the Sierra private landholders (*propietarios*) often possess one or more plots in the *plan*, and still others on the less fertile *laderas*. Size of individual holdings varies greatly, since land is purchasable. Normal holdings average 2 to 3 hectares per family. Traces of the communal concept exist in the minds of the modern proprietors. Although legally possible, there is little desire to sell land to nonmembers of the community. If such a transaction should arise, it usually must be approved by the town council.[46] Consequently, pueblo lands are kept intact. Moreover, individual holdings, especially those in the *plan*, are rarely enclosed, for after harvest the fields are used as communal pasture.[47] Accordingly, the final date for removal of crops and the first date for planting in unenclosed lands of each pueblo is communally regulated.

Vestiges of the ancient land system are retained in the special communal holdings found in most modern Tarascan villages. Five pueblos in La Cañada—Tanaquillo, Acachuén, Ichán, Tacuro, and Carapan—retain communal ownership of all lands, at least in name. Family heads are allotted one plot of *temporal* near the pueblo and another of *humedad* in the Sierra to the south and east. The individual allotments vary from 2 to 4

[623] [46] The Tarascan town council is normally composed of the *representante del pueblo* and his committee of six. The *representante* deals with most internal affairs of the pueblo.

[351] [47] Fences and ditches are used most frequently to divide cultivated lands from pasture and to separate individual holdings on the *laderas*, or slope land.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[176] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

596 they have lived thus far. In the few cases
591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

593 More commonly a joint family will not be
591 established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

593 Much the same situation will obtain regard-
423 ing farm lands. A father may give his son
885 some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
●352 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

592 Objects found in a house or "*troje*":

●352 Sleeping mats
Small table
Chairs, either low chairs, regular size chairs, or stools, one for each man in the household and usually two or three for guests.
Serape, worn by the man during the day and serving as a blanket for man and wife at night. A second *serape* will often be found if there are children.
Chest, box, or trunk for extra clothes
Saint's picture
Candle and candle holder
Flower holder
Ladder for getting to loft
Gun (sometimes)
Cross beam suspended from the ceiling on which are hung clothing, blankets, etc.

Objects found in the kitchen:

592 Wooden hooks for hanging up "anything"
415 Stump and flat stone for burning pitch pine for light
Corn husk mats for holding up pots(at least three)
Large comal
3 "frying pans" of Patamban pottery for cooking meat
1 "frying pan" of Patamban pottery for cooking eggs
Several round and oblong wooden bowls
Grass-root pot brush
Atole strainer
4 cane splint baskets of various sizes
2 pottery jars
Broom for sweeping yard (of brush)
Broom for sweeping house (of broom straw)
Paring knife
Bowls of Quiroga ware or Guanajuato ware for serving broth and meat on special occasions
Charcoal-burning flat iron
Gourd canteens for use at harvest time or in woods
½ dozen china plates
½ dozen china cups
Tea pot
China bowls
½ dozen wooden spoons of various sizes
Tin can for dipper to fill water jars
Chocolate beater
Tortilla baskets
2 water ollas
1 small pitcher
5 large 2-handled pots
8 smaller 1-handled pots
Clay fireplace
Firefan
Small metate for chiles
Large metate for maize

592 Table
352 3 chairs (usually small low style)
Machete
415 ½ dozen spoons
2 table forks (rare)
1 table knife (rare)
1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

412 Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)
592 Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs
Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes
Wooden pitchfork
Wooden hook
Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)
Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)
Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

Clothing must also be secured. The man will
291 own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

HOUSE

FURNISHINGS

342 The terms "house," or "*troje*," and "*cocina*" as
343 employed in the Sierra refer to the construction
196 of the house rather than to its use. Normally, each family has a house and a kitchen. In the kitchen, the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The house serves as a storage place for all types of property. In it also is kept the image of the family saint. Sometimes in place of a "*troje*," a "*cocina de torito*" is floored and used for storage. Despite this shift in use, the structure is still called a "*cocina*," or kitchen.

343 The "*troje*" contains a minimum of furnishings.
353 The loft is used purely for crop storage and usually
774 has no furnishings whatever. The lower floor

[p. 21c]

HOUSE
FURNISHINGS

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352 generally has a table against the wall opposite the
778 door upon which is placed the image of a saint, if the family owns or is carring for one. If not, a picture of a saint will be found behind the table on the wall. Usually, a variety of religious
[353] pictures are tacked or pasted behind or around
[373] the picture or image of the saint. Often candles and a pottery incense burner are on the table; in addition, the table may have a varying number of miscellaneous objects placed there temporarily for safekeeping. The ceiling, especially over the
[353] altar table, may be decorated in colored tissue paper and strings of miniature household objects. Several wooden chairs with arms are kept in the

[p.21d]

343 room, the number depending upon the economic
352 status of the family. They are rarely used except to seat visitors. Tin trunks or wooden chests are usually found for storage of clothing. Clothing may also be hung on a pole extending from front to back wall. A sewing machine is a fairly com-
[404] mon item of equipment. Rather rarely, the room will contain a wooden bedstead; this again is used

[354]

FIGURE 15.—Fire hearth of stones. *a*, Space for pots; *b*, space for *comal*.

only for guests, when mats are spread over the bed. In emergencies, the room may also be used for the storage of harvests. A portion of the veranda may also be boarded for this purpose. The second floor is customarily used to store maize on the cob.

[p. 22a]

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[439] kua). All the manufactured articles are imported.

352 The metate, when in use, is placed on a plank beside the fire. At night, it is removed and mats
[513] are spread out for sleeping.

[p. 22 b]

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánpakua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *sarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tirípatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.²) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.:[1]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-*sara* (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[1] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 2-inch planks, which are adzed.

322
[412]
[415]
[531]
[402]
[415]
[352]
[291]

PLATE 13.—Woodwork. *a*, Gauging tools, Paracámaro. *b*, Wooden spoons and ladles, Paracámaro. *c*, Modern electrically powered lathe shop, Paracho. *d*, Turned objects made at Paracho. *e*, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cherán. *f*, Making umbrellas with the bow lathe, Paracho. *g*, Nest of wooden boxes, Cherán. *h*, Small (2 feet high) folding chair commonly made in Cherán. *i*, Masks made at Sirio.

[End-plate 13]

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

● 353 439 [338] Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly finished on the inside and, less frequently, on the outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 335 *la tarima*" (uanájɨukua). The foundation beams are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

HOUSE
FURNISHINGS

343
352
778 generally has a table against the wall opposite the door upon which is placed the image of a saint, if the family owns or is carring for one. If not, a picture of a saint will be found behind the table on the wall. Usually, a variety of religious [353] pictures are tacked or pasted behind or around [373] the picture or image of the saint. Often candles and a pottery incense burner are on the table; in addition, the table may have a varying number of miscellaneous objects placed there temporarily for safekeeping. The ceiling, especially over the [353] altar table, may be decorated in colored tissue paper and strings of miniature household objects. Several wooden chairs with arms are kept in the

[p. 21d]

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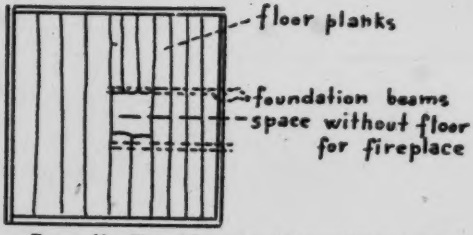

FIGURE 11.—Plan of floor of an elaborate kitchen (seen only in Paracho).

structures are at the entrance to the lot, but may also be inside (pl. 6, middle (right) and lower (left)). Two beams connect pairs of posts and a floor of planks is laid across these. Upon the planks rest four "*planchas*," supporting a roof similar to that of the "*troje*." The entrance is either through the floor or one of the gable ends. The floor plan is always rectangular.

[354]

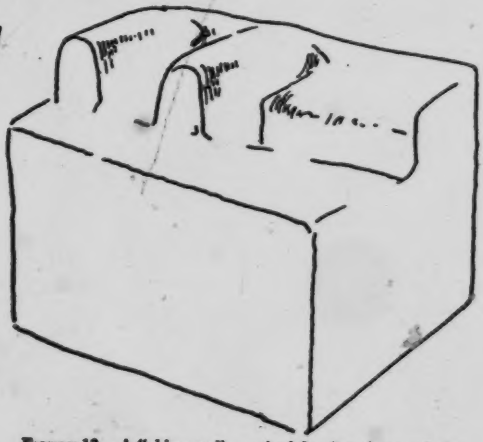

FIGURE 12.—A "*chimenea*," or raised fireplace (seen only in Paracho).

In Angahuan, the lower part of these structures is often walled and the structure then serves the function of a "*troje*." Often the walls are made simply of shakes or old boards, but sometimes the posts rest on foundation beams and the wall planks are well fitted (pl. 6, lower, center). In this case, the floor plan is square and, except for this, the structure is a "*troje*." Such square structures have a wide distribution and are called "*trojes*" in some towns, such as Paracho, but in Parícutin

[p. 16 b]

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

● 354 In some house yards there are large domed
[421] ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND
DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

343 room, the number depending upon the economic
352 status of the family. They are rarely used except to seat visitors. Tin trunks or wooden chests are usually found for storage of clothing. Clothing may also be hung on a pole extending from front to back wall. A sewing machine is a fairly com-
[404] mon item of equipment. Rather rarely, the room will contain a wooden bedstead; this again is used

[354]

FIGURE 15.—Fire hearth of stones. *a*, Space for pots; *b*, space for *comal*.

only for guests, when mats are spread over the bed. In emergencies, the room may also be used for the storage of harvests. A portion of the veranda may also be boarded for this purpose. The second floor is customarily used to store maize on the cob.

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[p. 22 b]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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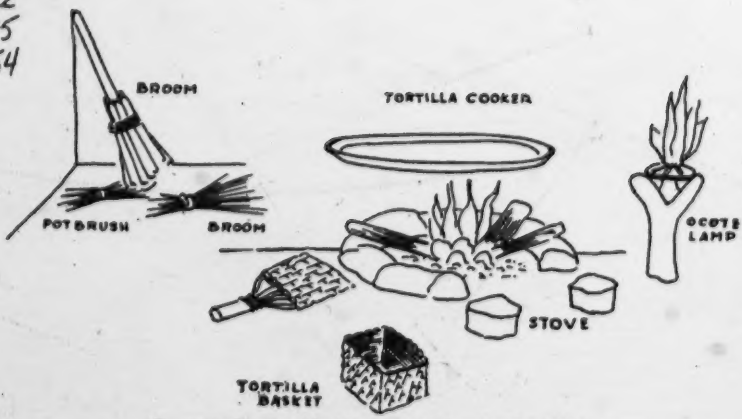

FIGURE 16.—Utensils and furnishings commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

[p. 22c]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánčakua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tirípatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

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In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
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342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
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[Continued on p. 24a]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

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WOODEN HOUSES

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[p. 24a]

415

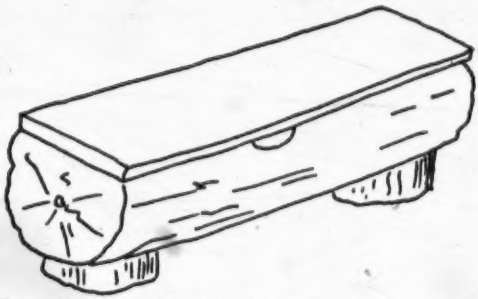

FIGURE 18.—Hollowed log with wooden cover used for storage of water outdoors.

354 "*chimenea*," is more common, and there often is also a special fireplace for the comal, a circular ridge of clay with an opening on one side to feed the fire similar to that shown for Cherán in figure 16.

ECONOMICS OF THE

TARASCAN HOUSE

	Price in pesos
435 Heavy square beams, each, f. o. b.	1.50–2.50
Delivery charge, each	1.50
342 Veranda pillars, each, f. o. b.	1.25–2.00
Delivery charge, each	1.25–1.50
Shakes, bundle of 400	5.00
Rafter poles, dozen	4.00
Roof stringers, dozen	2.50
Trap door	1.50–3.00
Door	2.00–8.00
Foundation stones, delivered average (2.50 each)	9.00–22.50
Nails, per kilo	1.00

Planks at Paracho were more costly in January 1942. Boards, six *varas* long, cost 0.75 to 1.25 pesos each, depending on width. Heavy planks cost according to length:

Length in *varas*:	Price in pesos
5	1.50
6	1.75
7	2.00
8	2.50
9	3.00

Shakes, 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length; cost, 6 pesos per bundle of 400 (irépeta).

COST OF CONSTRUCTION

Table 3 represents the most accurate account secured of the materials, labor, and costs of a wooden house, or "*troje*." This house was built in July 1940 at Morelos 31. Its outside dimensions were 16 by 14 feet (6 by 5.2 *varas*), and it was raised off the ground about 18 inches (46 cm.)

[p. 24 b]

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
574 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[Continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of [p.32a] page 32b]

776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

356 When houses are repaired or reconditioned, it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

821 When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.

825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.86b]

556 Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more
511 violent revolutionary days are close enough
that people conceal their wealth rather than
[669] display it. That this was not always the case is evidenced by the considerable number of ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy before the revolution. Today wealthy men live modestly. Their table differs primarily in quantity rather than in quality from that of the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule, than do other women, and on special occasions they display more and better jewelry. There
[357] are few servants in Cherán, and their place is taken by dependent relatives or orphans who are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a moro dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

435 The values of the major commodities and services in Cherán are expressed in monetary terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the ačes. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The ačes are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the ačes. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the ačes have any real control.

THE CHURCH

346 The physical aspect of the Church is represented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is reverenced [788] to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

794 Maintenance of the structures still used by the church organization and the priest depends 358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the kéⁿi, an official of the *cabildo* or ačes, as a residence.

346 The church building has obviously undergone a number of major alterations in its history. 358 Originally the church did not front on the

346 plaza but upon an atrium facing the opposite
358 direction. The change of entrance probably was made more than 50 years ago. At about that time the walls of the church were raised considerably and a row of windows placed near the top of the walls. During the revolution the roof was destroyed when the town was burned and was replaced sometime during the 1920's.

The cost of these changes and repairs, as indicated, is borne by voluntary contributions. The labor is paid for and there is no voluntary labor for the upkeep of church structures and property, although there is considerable voluntary work in connection with the ceremonials and the care of the altars and images. In the case of small improvements, the priest asks for donations of some 10 centavos, usually making an announcement from the pulpit. For larger and more extensive repairs or improvements, *comisionados* are named by the priest who go from house to house soliciting larger contributions.

A new idea was introduced, however, by the
358 priest who left Cherán in 1940, an idea which has had interesting economic repercussions. With the completion of the reroofing of the church, many other necessary improvements still remained. With some funds at his disposal, the priest succeeded in rebuilding the pulpit. The priest then announced an inaugural ceremony and issued invitations to become godparents of the pulpit. The invitations were written or printed and stated that the persons were being invited as honorable persons who led good lives. Acceptance involved a payment of not less than 1 peso nor more than 2 pesos. Practically all those invited accepted the invitation. The priest had prepared a large quantity
454 of pottery banks in the shape of pigs, made of
358 the attractive Black ware of Quiroga and Santa Fe. At the inauguration, the priest announced that additional improvements were being planned and that each person should take one of the banks and put a 20-centavo piece in it every 15 or 30 days. Moreover, the person who first
[554] "fattened" his pig, that is, filled it with 20-centavo pieces, would be put in a position of especial sanctity. With this incentive, many people filled their banks rapidly in order to be the first and even those who did it more slowly

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p1118a]

454 accumulated a substantial contribution without
358 feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

This procedure would have amounted to little
454 more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A
[323] regular part of the pottery stocks brought to
[532] Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.[33]

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The priest, of course, is appointed by the
793 Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

[177] [33] The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat nonplussed by the devious, even fantastic, route by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to
624 help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
533 sioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 One commissioner for the moros is named
624 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and
535 does not collect money, paying the entire expense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing
[558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 The four commissioners for the bull ring are
624 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None
358 of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta
541 begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not,
[427] it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In
[534] 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

13| ritory is close to the railroad which runs
through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
10| The southern boundary might be defined
roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan
and thence close to the railway from Uruapan
to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from
Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs
just inside the northern limits and in others,
just outside. Within or near the borders of
the present-day Tarascan area occur a number
of old Mexican towns closely associated with the
historic Tarascans and their contemporary cul-
ture, which provide the administrative centers
and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los
Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
[563] towns of local importance have arisen more
recently, towns which were once Tarascan but
are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated
Tarascans. A good example of such a town is
Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may
be characterized generally as an elevated tem-
perate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic
soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood
forests. In detail there are differences, and a
number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake
Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages
are either on the shore or upon islands in the
lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to
cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but
is concentrated in the summer months. The
climate is temperate and cool even in mid-
summer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile
valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about
by hills and mountains covered with forest.
Although there is but little difference in eleva-
tion from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warm-
er and some tropical or subtropical plants such
as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of
Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada.
Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[912] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas,
and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

13 West of Lake Pátzcuaro and south of La Cañada is the rugged area known as La Sierra, extending as far west as the town of Tinguindín. This region is relatively homogeneous, with an essentially temperate climate. Although the elevation of towns varies from about 6,000 feet to about 9,000 feet, generally the temperature is cool. Heavy rainfall and the presence of numerous 10,000-foot peaks apparently combine to prevent cultivation of most subtropical plants. Extensive steep, forested slopes and lava flows are interspersed with numerous valleys and depressions in a high state of cultivation. Only in the west, where rainfall apparently is less, are a few towns favored by a milder climate. South of La Cañada and about
133 equidistant from Uruapan, Zacapu, and Pátzcu-
[361] aro is Cherán, largest of the mountain Tarascan towns and, until very recent years, one of the most isolated.

Situated on a sloping bench, Cherán looks westward over a long depression, dotted with villages and interrupted here and there by cinder cones rising as much as a thousand feet above the depression (pl. 1, upper and lower, left). North and south of Cherán, the series of peaks which bound the depression to the west culminate in two 10,000-foot cones. Eastward is another smaller basin of fertile soil, similarly marked by cinder cones and by the striking isolated volcanic peak of El Pilón, also over 10,000 feet in height.

Except for occasional marginal farm clear-
137 ings, the steeper slopes, and those areas where
[311] relatively recent lava flows make cultivation impossible, are covered with forest. The predominant species are three or four types of pine, but completely pure stands are rarely found. Usually there is a fair intermixture of oak and madroña, while, beginning at the level of Cherán, fir trees occur and increase in number at higher elevations. These forest lands provide one of the important resources of the Cherán population.

Wherever the land is sufficiently level to per-
311 mit regular cultivation, the forest has been almost entirely cleared away. In many places, areas hundreds of acres in extent are continuously cultivated. Maize and, to a much smal-
311 ler extent, wheat, are almost the only field
241 crops. Cultivation of these, plus exploitation

311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

The town of Cherán has a population of
632 about 5,000. The community is unique among
162 Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherias. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherias or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the
632 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
311 a large area. Much of this area is mountain
578 and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan
361 agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

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Sierra Tarascans

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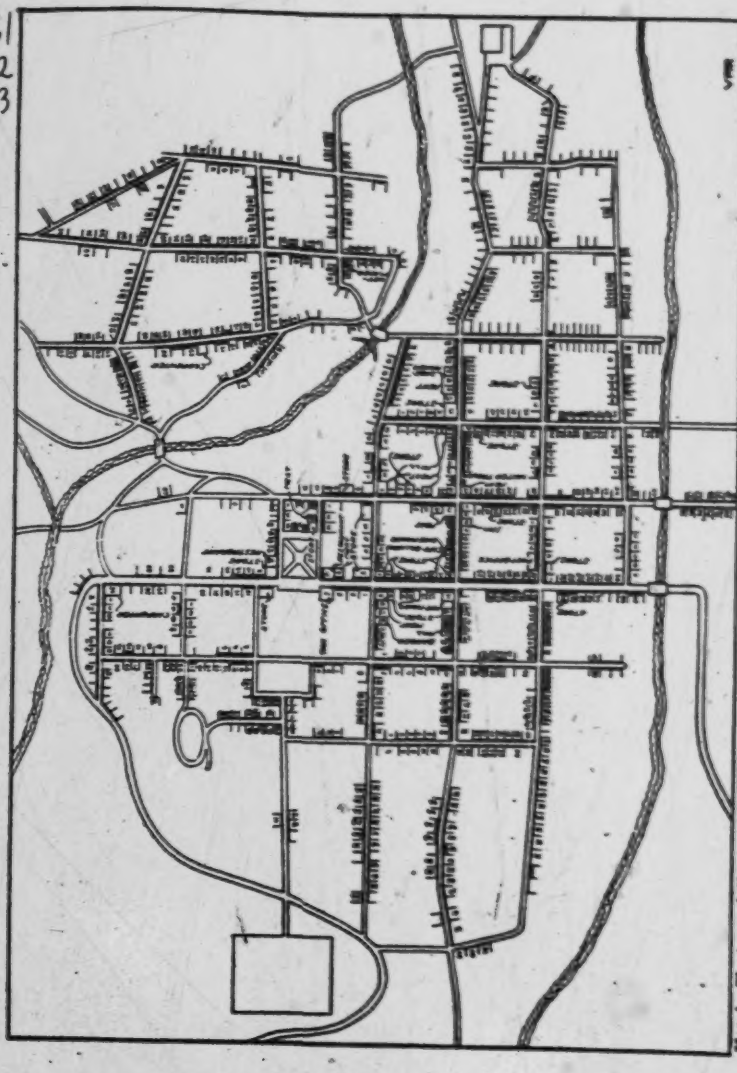

MAP 4.—The town of Cherán, showing the distribution of house types and specialists. The fine line bordering streets indicates vacant property. The medium line indicates the presence of wooden structures without masonry (although the lot may be walled with masonry). The heavy line indicates the presence of masonry or adobe structures. The majority of the latter also have one or more wooden structures on the same lot. Location of the majority of the specialized businesses or occupations is shown. The numbers refer to the house numbering system as of 1940.

[p. 10]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settle-
174 ment. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p42a]

632 The general situation of the *municipio* has
634 already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
423 daries, although there are usually disputes with
632 neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[476] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000.
[161] Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished.
361 A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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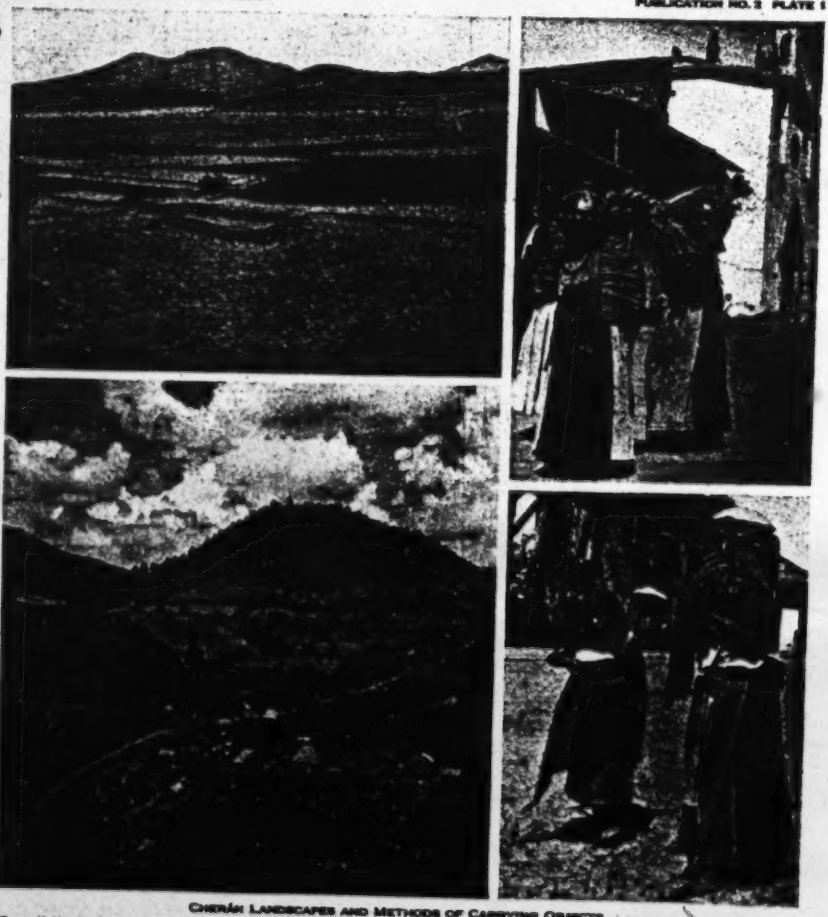

CHERÁN LANDSCAPES AND METHODS OF CARRYING OBJECTS.

Upper (left): The plains below Cherán, the major agricultural area, about 7,000 feet elevation, viewed from the highway, near southeast corner of the town. Darker portions are plowed fields; the remainder not yet plowed. *Upper (right)*: Women carrying water in typical manner, with the usual Cherán water jar. A method of wearing the rebozo is shown. The church and priest's residence are in background. *Lower (left)*: The northwest *barrio* of Cherán. The new highway curves along the edge of the barranca. Typical cultivated fields slope gently up to the cinder cone, which rises 1,000 feet above the town. *Lower (right)*: Carrying heads of maize (corn ground for tortillas) from the mill. Carrying on the head is unusual, but the method used by the girl is common for small objects. The woman's skirt has the thick plait or rollo.

[End Plate 1]

114 by one or more of the authors included the following:

Sierra region:
- Ahuiran
- Angahuan
- Aranza
- Capacuaro
- Charapan
- Cherán
- Cocucho
- Corupo
- Nahuatsen
- Nurió
- Paracho
- Parangaricutíro
- Parícutín
- Patamban
- Pomacuarán
- Quinseo
- San Felipe
- San Lorenzo
- Tarecuato
- Urapicho
- Zirosto

La Cañada:
- Acachuén
- Carapan
- Chilchota
- Huáncito
- Ichán
- Santo Tomás
- Tacuro
- Tanaquillo
- Urén
- Zopoco

Lake Pátzcuaro:
- Cucuchucho
- Huecorio
- Ihuatzio
- Janicho
- Jarácuaro
- Tecuena
- Tzentsénhuaro
- Tzintzuntzan
- Tzurumútaro
- Yunuán

[continued on p. 6b]

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 Tarascan towns tend to be located on level, or relatively level ground. Exceptions are found only in a few villages located in the higher mountains such as Quinseo, Cocucho, and others. Ex-
[363] cept where the irregularities of the terrain prohibit, the towns are subdivided by streets forming rectangular blocks oriented approximately to the compass points (pl. 1, upper). This is undoubt-
[177] edly a reflection of the Spanish origins of these towns; in many of the settlements traditions of former locations still exist. The blocks are subdivided into lots, or *solares*, of quite variable size, which are used both as building sites and gardens. Usually, the lots are fenced, particularly on the side facing the street. Houses either may adjoin the street line or may be located well within the lot away from the street. In the center of the larger towns, structures are more apt to adjoin the street, but the doors of living quarters almost always open on the yard rather than the street.

In the Lake region, the fishing villages tend to
[363] be on the edge of the water. As a result, some of the smaller villages, such as Tecuena and Yunuán, do not have streets but merely paths. Where the ground is very uneven, as at Janicho

[p. 6a] [continued bottom of page 6-b]

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

Tarascan words are written in the alphabet
104 approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most
[764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

Two clearly defined types of construction exist
342 in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

342 where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

[continued on p. 7b]

The Town of Cherán THE TOWN

361 133 The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine [312] afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring 9½ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center. [135] At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

363 Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north-south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

[p. 7a] [continued bottom of page 7-b]

342 tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo [177] influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

OF CHERÁN The Town of Cherán

●361 The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding 363 paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 361 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. 351 The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

The lots are all owned individually. They may 351 be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in 423 various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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[342]

Upper: Angahuan, showing the rectangular arrangement of streets and the large lots. *Lower:* A portion of the town of Cherán, viewed from the hill in the northwest section, which furnishes most of the stone used in building.

[End plate 1]

133 stream.[5] Both lakes present similar shore features—moderately steep banks alternating with wide, flattish delta fans.

In other respects the two lakes are distinct. Pátzcuaro is shallow (deepest point in the southern arm, 20 feet; in the northern part, 50 feet, in 1941); Zirahuén is relatively deep (148 feet, maximum sounding). Moreover, while the level of Zirahuén (6,953 feet in 1942) is relatively stable, that of Pátzcuaro (6,671 feet in 1942) has fluctuated frequently in historical times. Since 1939 the lake level has descended nearly 4 feet, exposing large areas of mud flats along the shore and revealing one new island (Pastora) near the southwest corner of the lake (pl. 1). In some places the descending waters have uncovered old tree stumps, indicating that formerly the lake level was even lower than at present. On the other hand, the western portion of the large lacustrine plain of Chapultepec in historical times formed an eastward extension of the lake's southeast arm, denoting a former level higher than the present one.[6] The cause of flucuation in level is not clear.
[132] De Buen (1944), judging from meteorological data (1939–43), has suggested a correlation between rainfall and evaporation variation on the one hand and lake surface fluctuation on the other. The excessive evaporation and low rainfall during those years likely affected lake volume, but normal precipitation and evaporation in following years have not halted the gradual decrease in lake level. Moreover, if fluctuation is caused by meteorological elements, one would expect neighboring lakes to be similarly affected. Periodic clearing and clogging of sublacustrine crevices, often associated with lakes of volcanic origin, is another popular hypothesis applied to Lake Pátzcuaro.

133 The lake contains 10 islets on which live some of the most conservative of the Tarascan people—
361 the fishermen. The four islands off the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (Pacanda, Yunuén, Tecuena, and Janitzio) are old volcanic hilltops with steep banks and, with the exception of flat-topped Pacanda, with little land suitable for cultivation. In the

[5] De Buen (1944) assigns the origin of all present and former lakes in the western portion of the Mesa Central to disruption of normal drainage by vulcanism. He also suggests that Lakes Patzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Yuriria were formed from portions of Rio Lerma drainage, since the fish *Chirostoma*, abundant in Lake Chapala and the Lerma, is found also in these lakes, the number of species decreasing from Chapala (10) to Zirahuén (2).

[6] The 16th-century map of Lake Pátzcuaro which accompanies the Relación de Michoacán (1903) clearly shows the former extent of the southeastern arm. At the time of the Conquest this section included the island of Apatzio, now a hill some 300 m. from the water's edge.

133 shallow southern part of the lake lie Jarácuaro,
[361] the largest of the group, and the newly formed Pastora. (The former island of Copujo is now attached to the mainland.) Both islands are low, composed of semiconsolidated alluvial materials. Along the southern shore only low marsh now separates the Urandén islets (low volcanic hills) from the mainland (pl. 1).

The southern escarpment.—Although geologically similar to the Sierra, the abrupt southern escarpment, which forms part of the Mesa Central's southern wall, constitutes a distinct physiographic area. Pleistocene and Recent vulcanism continues from the Sierra to the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Rivers, Jorullo having been the most recent volcanic activity on the escarpment. The canyons formed by deeply entrenched spring-fed streams are the escarpment's salient features. Some barrancas exceed 500 feet in depth. The upper tributaries of the escarpment streams are eroding headwardly into the Sierra, capturing enclosed basins and intermittent water courses.[7] Above the barranca area shallow basins occur in the upper portion of the escarpment. Probably of volcanic origin, these flattish-floored valleys are now tapped by escarpment streams. Typical examples are the plains surrounding Uruapan, those below Peribán and Los Reyes, the valleys of Tingambato and Tacambaro, all important sites of former Tarascan settlement in the *tierra templada*.

The northern plateau area.—The former Tarascan area north of the Sierra forms part of the interior plateau county of Central Mexico. For the most part physiography is characterized by old volcanic hills and mountains separated by flat to rolling plains country. The part of this region formerly inhabited by Tarascans extends from Lake Chapala east to the Sierra de Ozumatlán and from the Sierra north to the Lerma River. (The low areas near the river and its tributaries are often termed the "Bajío.") A narrow belt of the hill and plains landscape also extends south from Lake Chapala to include the Cotija-Tingüindín area along the western side of the Sierra. Average elevations in the interior plateau decrease from 7,200 feet along the flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán to 5,000 feet at Lake Chapala. The

[7] For example, this phenomenon has occurred at the southwestern edge of the Sierra, where a tributary of the Tepalcatepec has apparently captured the drainage of the structural basin which runs east-west from Paracuaro-tiro to Peribán.

133 higher hills and mountains rise 2,600 to 4,000 feet above the surrounding plains.

The young volcanic land forms found in the Sierra are lacking in much of the northern area, where the principal elevations consist of eroded composite Tertiary volcanoes. A few tongues of Recent lava flow from the Sierra into the northern edge of the plains, and cinder cones extend northward from El Zirate. Many lakes, some occupying structural basins, dot the northern area. The extensive sections of old alluvium, which form a good part of the plains, probably represent beds of Pleistocene lakes. At the northern and northwestern base of the Sierra many spring-fed lakes and marshes existed in historical times, e. g., Ciénaga de Zacapu, de Tangancícuaro, de Chapala, etc. The lacustrine basins and the borders of the former lakes and marshes were the major areas of Spanish settlement in the Tarascan North, for both afforded year-round pasture and sites for irrigated wheat farms. Some marshy sections still exist, but natural desiccation and artifical [311] drainage have converted much of the wet area to dry farmland. The once extensive chain of lakes in the Cotija graben, west of the Sierra, has almost completely disappeared, and the marshes of Zacapu, around which are grouped a few remnant Tarascan pueblos, have been converted into a large farming area.

A unique physiographic subarea of the northern zone, called "La Cañada," a narrow east-west depression at the northern base of the Sierra, is still one of the significant Tarascan regions. The valley floor, 10 km. long and 2 km. wide, decreases rapidly in altitude from 6,360 feet at its eastern end to 5,840 feet at Chilchota, near the western extremity (pl. 1). The western end of the valley is marked by an ancient lava flow, which once partially blocked normal drainage. Subsequent deposition of alluvium (possibly lacustrine) behind the lava dam has resulted in the present wide flattish floor of the valley's western half. Today the stream draining the valley flows subsequently through a deep gorge cut through the northern end of the lava flow. The numerous intermittent streams which descend from the adjacent hills have built up small alluvial fans along the valley sides. Like other areas at the edge of the Sierra, [312] La Cañada is favored by numerous large springs [361] issuing from fissures at the southern and eastern borders of the depression. Alluvium and water

133 have attracted human settlement to the valley
[312] since prehistoric times. Sierra Tarascans, who
[361] call La Cañada "Erášemen" (view from above),
[102] probably visited the valley for chile and early maize before the Spanish Conquest. Spaniards immediately seized the well-watered plains near Chilchota for wheat fields. Today La Cañada is a garden spot of orchards and wheat fields amid rocky volcanic hills.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

132 **Meteorological data.**—In dealing with meteorology, northwestern Michoacán will be treated as a whole; attempts will be made to point out regional differences in temperature and rainfall. Meteorological stations in the area are few; data are entirely lacking for the Sierra. Consequently, only general statements can be made concerning the weather and climate of modern Tarasca.

191 Nor was the region's winter climate an induce-
177 ment.[27] The religious had penetrated all Indian settlements in the Sierra and Lake areas; every pueblo was under an absentee *encomendero* to whom tributes in money, grain, or handicrafts were paid periodically. But the Indians had little contact with the Spanish tongue. By 1750, however, some Spanish families, probably traders, had settled in a few Sierra market towns (Patamban, Paracho, Nahuatzen, Corupo), and in 1800 the towns of Charapan and Parangaricutiro also contained one or two Spanish families.[28] A large part of the inhabitants of those pueblos today speak only Castilian (map 12). After independence in 1822, a few Spaniards or mestizos established agricultural settlements on the Sierra, e. g. the *rancho* of Arato, now a pueblo 10 km. west of Paracho.

361 Although the Tarascan area first to harbor
191 Spaniards was the Lake region (Pátzcuaro, Tzint-
177 zuntzan), some of its pueblos have succeeded in preserving the native tongue. Such towns are located on the islands and in isolated positions on the shore (northwestern edge of the lake, and the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula). By 1750 numerous Spanish haciendas and mestizo *ranchos* existed along the southern, southwestern, and northeastern borders of the lake. Cocupao (modern Quiroga), Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro at that time were approximately 50 percent Spanish-speaking, and the city of Pátzcuaro, the colonial administrative and economic center of the Lake area, was less than 25 percent Tarascan in speech. Today the language of the former colonial hacienda districts around the lake is completely nonindigenous. These include the entire southern shore, the northeastern section, and many points along the western border.

191 The history of the southern shore represents a
177 typical example of the influence of haciendas on the hispanicization of native populations. By the mid-18th century large Spanish holdings had enveloped most of the native pueblos, contrary to laws which insured Indians a block of land (for

[27] The Sierra's unattractiveness to Spanish settlement is aptly described by the Franciscan friar, Diego Muñóz, writing in 1603 on the cultivated land near Capacuaro: ". . . *y no son tierras para mas que gadios criados alli que las tienen curadas y experimentadas; que españoles las apaleen poco por ser templa riguroso el mas frio de machoacan acrecentandolo el ayre caso ordinario desabrido rracio y delgado y la yerua es aspera, ynutil para ganado.*" (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14).

[28] AAM, siglo XVIII, leg. 235 (1746); leg. 277 (1756). In 1798, 10 *gente de razón* lived in Charapan, 6 in Parangaricutiro, 40 in Corupo (AAM siglo XIX, leg. 175).

191 buildings) measuring 600 yards (*varas*) in each
177 cardinal direction from the village church. Deprived of land, most of the men of the pueblos sought work in the sugar plantations in the *tierra templada* around Ario and Tacámbaro, returning only occasionally to their homes. Others became peons in the adjacent haciendas, working with mulatto and mestizo labor (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–306). Consequently, the decreased use and subsequent loss of the native language was inevitable. Only the fishers inhabiting the small Urandén Islands immediately offshore, who were unaffected by the haciendas, were able to preserve their native tongue.

MODERN LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The modern Tarascan area is in no sense a
191 solid block of indigenous speech (table 1). The inhabitants of only 32 of the 66 Tarascan towns and 31 of the 50 indigenous *ranchos* all speak the native tongue (map 12). Nearly 25 percent of the population within the present area is composed of mestizos who know only Spanish. Such people are mainly merchants and *arrieros* living in most of the Indian pueblos and farmers inhabiting nonindigenous *ranchos* scattered throughout the Sierra and the Lake district. Fifty years ago native market centers, the towns of Nahuatzen and Tingambato now contain but a handful of people who have retained the indigenous language.
[162] According to 1940 census figures, only 35 percent of the inhabitants of Patamban are Tarascan in speech, 38 percent of those of Parangaricutiro, 30 percent of those of Paracho, 20 percent of those of Sirosto, and 10 percent of those of Corupo.[29] Moreover, in 1940, 18 mestizo *ranchos* were scattered between Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra. In addition to mestizo merchants and farmers, many Spanish-speaking lumbermen inhabit the ephemeral sawmills prevalent in the Sierra forests. Hence, infiltrating mestizo settlement has shattered the once-continuous indigenous area in the Sierra and Lake district into small islets of purely Tarascan speech. The more notable of these
191 islets are: (1) seven towns in La Cañada, (2)
361 the pueblos and *ranchos* grouped around the flanks of Cerro de Patamban, (3) the Tarecuato district, (4) a string of villages east of Cerro de

[29] The percentage for Corupo is open to question. Although no actual statistical sampling was done, an impression of a much greater percentage of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants was obtained by the writer when he visited that town in 1946.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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191 Quirceo, and (5) the islands and adjacent shore
361 settlements of Lake Pátzcuaro (map 11). (See table 1.)

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940* [1]

[Data from official census, 1940]

THE SIERRA

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Locality [1a]	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Charapan:			
Charapan (p)	1,715	1,311	76.4
San Felipe (p)	887	795	89.5
Huancho (r)	20	20	100.0
Rancho Nuevo (r)	24	19	63.0
La Palma (r)	161	0	.0
Municipio of Cherán:			
Cherán (p)	3,388	2,969	87.6
Cosumo (r)	195	81	41.0
Tripiatiro (r)	24	20	83.7
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Huácato (r)	127	0	0
Los Nogales (r)	396	0	0
Rancho Seco (r)	60	0	0
El Pedregal (r)	118	0	0
Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Capes (r)	26	0	0
Porumbo (h)	49	0	0
La Zarzamora (r)	92	0	0
Zinciro (r)	413	0	0
Municipio of Los Reyes:			
Atapan (p)	1,001	357	35.6
Jesús Díaz (Sirio) (p)	696	696	100.0
Pamatácuaro (p)	1,382	1,372	99.2
Sicuicho (p)	819	709	86.5
Zacán (p)	876	439	50.1
Cherato (r)	271	261	96.3
La Providencia (r)	95	95	100.0
San Benito (r)	255	255	100.0
San Luis Sorena (r)	64	64	100.0
La Tinaja (r)	154	154	100.0
El Tropezón (r)	84	84	100.0
Uringuitiro (Juzípitiro) (r)	287	287	100.0
Zarzamora (r)	130	130	100.0
Querándaro (r)	60	60	100.0
La Mesa (r)[2]	[3] 120	120	100.0
San Marcos Arachécuta (r)[2]	[3] 50	50	100.0
La Jolla (r)[2]	(7)	(7)	(7)
Tapan (r)[2]	[3] 50	50	100.0
Tierras Blancas (r)[2]	[3] 85	85	100.0
Venado (r)[2]	(7)	(7)	(7)
Municipio of Nahuatzen:			
Nahuatzen (p)	3,048	25	.7
Arantepacua (p)	660	660	100.0
Cumachuén (p)	1,056	1,039	98.3
Sevina (p)	881	876	99.4
Turicuaro (p)	749	749	100.0
La Mojonera (p)	831	0	0
El Padre (r)	94	0	0
El Pino (r)	152	0	0
San Isidro (r)	845	9	.1

[1] This table does not necessarily include statistics for all settlements within a given municipio. The boundaries of many municipios listed, such as Los Reyes and Pátzcuaro, extend beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech; in such cases many purely mestizo towns and ranches have been omitted. However, all settlements containing Tarascan-speaking inhabitants are listed.

[1a] In this column (c)=ciudad; (v)=villa; (p)=pueblo; (r)=rancho; (rr)=railroad station; (h)=hacienda.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 19-a --- ANALYST]

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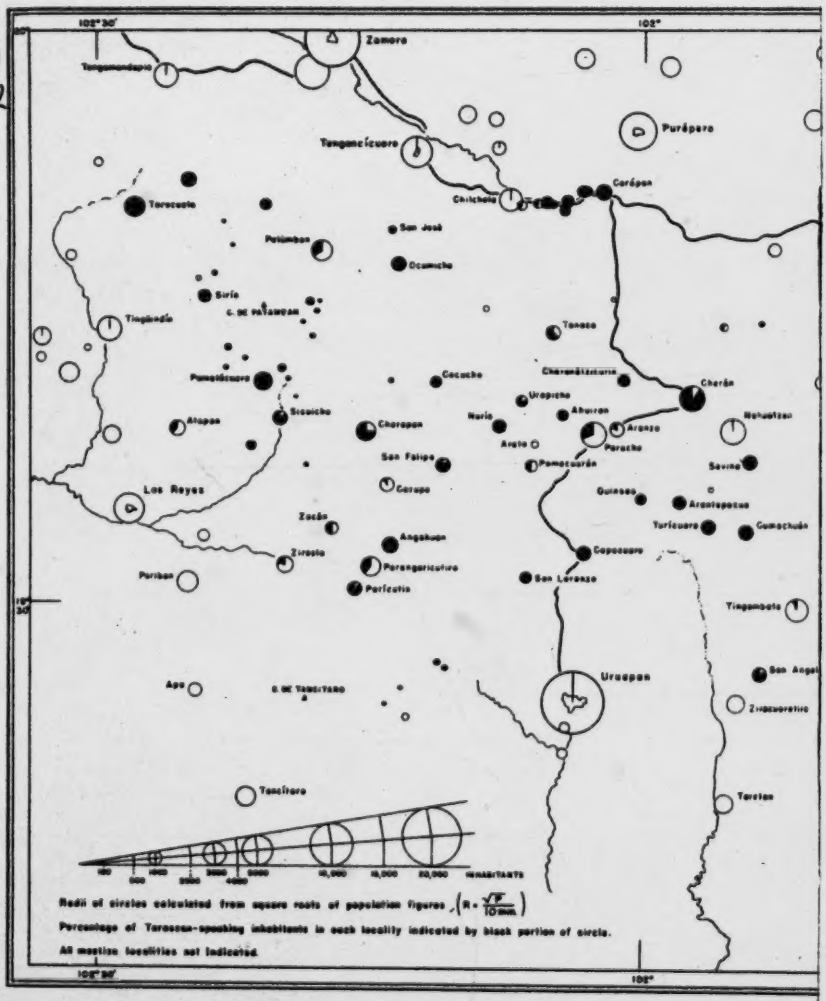

MAP 12.—Distribution of Tarascan speech by settlements, 1940. Based on official 1940 census da

[Facing page 18; section A.]

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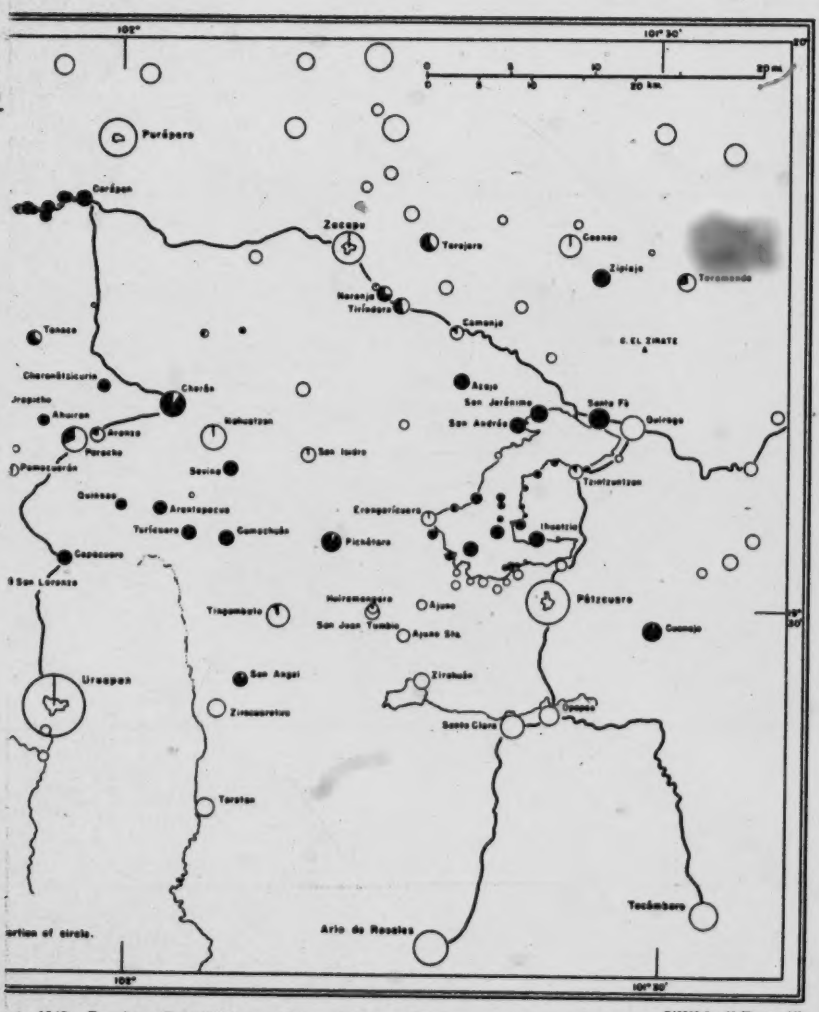

nts, 1940. Based on official 1940 census data. A few small Tarascan ranchos are not indicated. 748068 O - 48 (Face p. 18)

[Facing page 18; section B]

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Paracho:			
Paracho (v)	3,304	1,005	30.4
Ahuiran (p)	593	593	100.0
Aranza (p)	792	126	17.1
Arato (p)	233	0	0
Cocucho (p)	584	584	100.0
Cheranátzicurin (p)	751	751	100.0
Nurio (p)	810	784	96.7
Pomacuaran (p)	628	288	45.8
Quinceo (p)	482	482	100.0
Tanaco (p)	948	620	66.3
Urapicho (p)	541	422	78.0
Pacápitiro (r)	107	23	21.5
El Tejocote (r)	81	74	91.3
Municipio of Parangaricutiro:			
Parangaricutiro (p)	1,895	725	38.2
Angahuan (p)	1,098	1,098	100.0
Corupo (p)	813	85	10.4
Paricutin (p)	723	620	84.6
Zirosto (p)	1,314	269	20.5
La Alberca (r)	81	[4](?)	(?)
La Atascada (r)	74	[4](?)	(?)
Barranca Seca (r)	89	4	4.5
Canoa Alta (r)	21	0	0
Las Canoas (r)	113	0	0
La Cantera (r)	59	40	67.8
Las Cocinas (r)	[5] 0	0	0
Los Desmontes (r)	23	0	0
El Estudiante (r)	26	8	30.7
Huanondio (r)	80	0	0
Los Lobos (r)	29	0	0
Stipicha (r)	20	0	0
El Tejamanil (r)	84	0	0
El Tepemal (r)	51	44	90.0
El Tepetate (r) [3]	[3] 50	22	44.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Cuanajo (p)	1,735	1,682	97.0
Huiramangaro (p)	540	17	3.1
San Juan Tumbio (p)	867	0	0
Ajuno (p)	540	0	0
Ajuno Sta. (rr)	719	0	0
Municipio of Tancítaro:			
Tancítaro (v)	1,858	6	.3
Apo (p)	876	0	0
Municipio of Tangamandapio:			
Tangamandapio (p)	2,573	12	.5
Tarecuato (p)	2,146	2,146	100.0
La Cantera (r)	962	962	100.0
Las Encinillas (r)	78	78	100.0
Los Laureles (r)	8	8	100.0
Ucuario (r)	306	0	0
Municipio of Tangancícuaro:			
Ocumicho (p)	1,040	1,013	97.3
Patamban (p)	2,333	809	34.6
San José de Gracia (p)	170	147	86.4
Agua Escondida (r)	33	33	100.0
Aranza (r)	54	21	39.0
Camécuaro (r)	37	2	5.4

[3] Locality not listed in 1940 census. Names obtained from local inhabitants.

[4] Estimated population.

[5] Entirely mestizo according to census, but 100 percent Tarascan according to officials in San Juan Nuevo (Los Conejos) in 1946.

[6] Uninhabited in 1940, but estimated population in 1946 around 35, all Tarascan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tangancícuaro—Continued			
Las Cañas (r)	81	29	39.2
Guarechanillo (r)	22	9	40.9
Rancho Nuevo (r)	38	3	8.0
Las Trojes (r)	14	0	0
El Tenguecho (r)	471	450	95.5
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Pichátaro (p)	1,877	1,740	92.7
Municipio of Tingüindín:			
Tingüindín (v)	2,897	15	.5
Tacítzcuaro (p)	1,495	7	.4
Las Trojes (r)	45	0	0
Municipio of Uruapan:			
San Lorenzo (p)	575	575	100.0
Capacuaro (p)	785	778	99.1
Charangueran (r)	138	0	0
Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo) (p) [6]	(7)	(7)	(7)

THE LAKE AREA

Municipio of Erongarícuaro:			
Erongarícuaro (p)	1,209	14	1.1
Arócutín (p)	211	211	100.0
Jaríocuaro (p)	875	875	100.0
Napízaro (p)	239	214	[7] 89.5
Puácuaro (p)	498	498	100.0
Uricho (p)	461	461	100.0
Nocutzepo (p)	409	0	0
Técuaro (p)	188	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	234	0	0
Opongüio (r)	178	15	8.5
Revolución (r)	10	10	100.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Pátzcuaro (c)	9,857	[8] (7)	(7)
Janitzio (p)	771	748	97.0
Ibarra (Pátzcuaro Sta.)	820	13	1.5
Huecorio (p)	490	0	0
Tzintzunguaro (p)	289	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (p)	412	0	0
Primo Tapia (p)	369	0	0
San Pedro Pareo (p)	284	0	0
Carián (r)	37	37	100.0
Tecuena (r)	73	73	100.0
Urandén Morales (r)	39	39	100.0
Urandén Morelos (r)	104	104	100.0
San Pedrito (r)	14	14	100.0
Yuunán (r)	116	116	100.0
Yuretzio (r)	170	14	8.2
Municipio of Quiroga:			
Quiroga (v)	3,609	4	.1
San Andrés (p)	1,179	1,165	98.8
San Jerónimo (p)	1,837	1,813	98.1
Santa Fé de la Laguna (p)	2,086	2,086	100.0
Atzimbo (r)	179	0	0
Chupícuaro (r)	31	0	0
Ichácato (r)	249	0	0
La Tirimicua (r)	82	0	0
Tzirandagaizio (r)	24	0	0

[6] Inhabited 1944. Official census figures not available.

[7] In 1946, according to local inhabitants, Napízaro was only 30 percent Tarascan.

[8] Owing to loss of original census data, the number of Tarascans in Pátzcuaro could not be calculated. The percentage would probably be extremely low.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 20-a]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE LAKE AREA—Continued

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Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tzintzuntzan:			
Tzintzuntzan (c)	1,677	25 (9 186)	2.2(9 12.7)
Quenchendo (p)	296	279	94.5
Dunlado (p)	1,206	1,206	100.0
La Pacanda (p)	247	240	97.1
Cocucubo (r)	481	0	0
Las Corrales (r)	177	0	0
Las Cuevas (r)	69	0	0
Las Granadas (r)	92	92	100.0
Ichupio (r)	182	182	100.0
Ihuipardamucu (r)	45	15	33.9
La Noria (r)	23	0	0
El Ojo de Agua (r)	104	104	100.0
Petambicho (r)	381	0	0
Las Pilas (r)	67	0	0
Santa Cruz (r)	178	0	0
Tarerio (r)	201	194	96.5
El Tecolote (r)	13	0	0
El Tigre (r)	119	0	0
Uocandatacua (r)	110	110	100.0
La Verdolaga (r)	75	0	0
La Vinata (r)	71	71	100.0
THE NORTHERN PLATEAU REGION			
Municipio of Cocucu:			
Cocucu (v)	2,430	6	.2
Azajo (p)	1,097	1,088	99.2
Cocucuja (p)	808	91	11.3
Zipiajo (p)	1,211	1,202	99.4
Bellas Fuentes (h)	876	1	.1
Laredo (r)	345	1	.3
Matupo (r)	484	0	0
Tunguitiro (r)	749	2	.3
Municipio of Zacapu:			
Zacapu (v)	6,160	14	.2
Cantabria (p)	1,188	0	0
Naranja (p)	1,082	763	70.5
Tarejero (p)	1,457	891	61.1
Tirindaro (p)	1,202	656	54.6
Buenavista (h)	234	7	3.1
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	151	2	1.3
San Antonio (r)	809	0	0
Municipio of Morelia:			
Morelia (c)	44,204	32	.07
Tarecuendo (p)	1,231	579	26.4
Tres Puentes (r)	176	6	3.4
LA CAÑADA			
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Chilchota (p)	2,679	9	.4
Azacuada (p)	717	713	99.3
Carapan (p)	1,239	1,240	98.5
Huáquito (p)	769	759	98.8
Ichán (p)	779	776	100.0
Santo Tomás (p)	288	282	98.0
Tocuro (p)	445	445	100.0
Tanaquillo (p)	430	194	44.9
Urén (p)	850	138	33.6
Zocupo (p)	330	330	100.0

[9] Number and percentage of Tarascans in Tzintzuntzan, 1945, according to ethnographical census. The percentage was calculated on the basis of 1,231 inhabitants in Tzintzuntzan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 20-b]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

LA CAÑADA—Continued

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Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Chilchota—Continued			
La Cofradía (r)	69	0	0
Tsintzicha (r)	117	48	41.0
Municipio of Tangancícaro:			
Tangancícaro (v)	4,793	10	.2
Etécuaro (p)	871	9	1.0

TIERRA TEMPLADA

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Zitácuaritiro:			
San Angel Zurumucapio (p)	970	823	84.7
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Tingambato (p)	2,798	204	7.3
Municipio of Uruapan:			
Uruapan (c)	20,583	111	.5
Jucutácato (p)	500	5	1.0
La Rosa de Castilla (r)	60	2	3.3
Toreo Alto (r)	240	3	1.2
Caltzontzin (p)[a]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Ario de Rosales:			
Villa Silva (p)[a]	(?)	(?)	(?)

[a] Inhabited 1943. Official census figures not available.

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Distribution of monolingual Tarascans.—In spite of continued areal recession of native speech and infiltration of mestizos, monolingualism still exists in many parts of Tarasca. According to calculations from 1940 census data, approximately 38 percent of the Tarascan population is monolingual. Personal field experience, however, would indicate that a smaller proportion (probably 20 percent) speak only Tarascan. The monolinguals are composed principally of conservative women and girls and the older men living in the more isolated pueblos and *ranchos*. Pronounced monolingual centers are scattered through the Tarascan area and correspond to the islets of purely indigenous speech mentioned above (map 13). One center includes the *ranchos* around the Cerro de Patamban and also the majority of women in the pueblos of Pamatácuaro, Sicuicho, and Sirío, nearby. (According to data from the 1940 census, approximately 67 percent of the Tarascan population of this area is monolingual. Following percentages in this paragraph are calculated from the 1940 census.) Another center includes Tarecuato and the adjacent *rancho* of La Cantera (66 percent monolingual). Still another area is situated southwest of Nahuatzen, and consists of the pueblos of Quinceo, Turícuaro,

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 22 b—ANALYSIS]

that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b --- ANALYST]

TARASCAN

SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[23] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b - ANALYST]

[23] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of *villa* or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,877 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

161 appear. Such cultural changes—improved trans-
191 portation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within
191 the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid
177 to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

361 men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo
621 Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

Settlement sites.—The few available early
361 descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[23] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[23] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 303); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castillo (1580-40); many documents concerning the congregations of 1550-1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 25-a]

361 wooded mountain slopes (where maize could be easily cultivated with the digging stick) and on elevations difficult of access (chiefly for protection from Chichimec raids). Many of these *estancias* were likely wiped out by the early epidemics; [177] others the Spaniards probably congregated with larger towns during the last half of the 16th and first years of the 17th centuries (Simpson, 1934; Spain—Law, Statutes, etc., 1681, ley VI, tít. 3), in order to better instruct natives in Christianity and to facilitate the collection of tribute and forced labor. Probably few present Tarascan pueblos possess their pre-Spanish sites.

Modern Tarascan settlements occupy a variety of sites, most of which have level, or nearly level, surfaces. Those along Lake Pátzcuaro are on eminences or shelves above the water's edge; all avoid frequently flooded delta plains. In the Sierra many towns are located on slopes or benches immediately bordering the large basin plains; others occupy level spots in local swales. A few, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Quinceo, and Ocu-

361 micho, occupy benches on hill slopes. With the exception of Paracho, Sierra settlements avoid the centers of basin flats. Likely, many villages were moved from pre-Conquest mountain sites to present locations near abundant plow land. The inhabitants of Urapicho, for example, tell a legend concerning the former location of their pueblo on the high slopes of the Cerro de Urapicho nearby. Formerly many of the La Cañada pueblos occupied protective slope and hill sites in the surrounding mountains, but after the end of the 16th century they were concentrated in their present locations in the alluvial floor of the valley (map 14).

Settlement and water supply.—One of the most 312 significant factors in the location of Tarascan [361] settlements has been water supply. Aside from the Lake pueblos, almost every town in Tarasca is located near a spring. While the northern plateau and southern escarpment areas abound in springs, the Sierra has ever been a problem area in terms of water supply. In pre-Conquest

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26a --- ANLYST]

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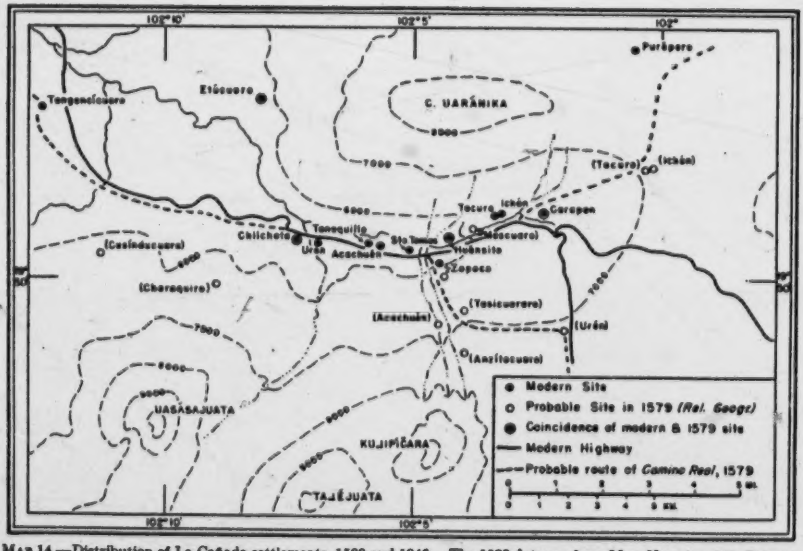

MAP 14.—Distribution of La Cañada settlements, 1580 and 1946. The 1580 data are from Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Relación de Chilchota, 1579. The towns of Tacuro and Ichán still retain their old lands east of Charapan.

4: Wer K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 26b]

●361 Plans of settlements.—The planning of pueblos and *rancherías* was unknown in pre-Columbian times. Settlements were amorphous, the dwellings irregularly spaced and connected by winding footpaths. Beginning around 1550, the Spaniards [177] slowly forced the natives in most parts of central Mexico to rebuild their towns on a grid street pattern, which is now predominant in most pueblos (Indian and mestizo) in Mexico.[34] The advantages of the grid, with numbered blocks and houses, are obvious in terms of tax and tribute records. Towns were also divided into *barrios* or wards, usually four or more; some *barrios* represent the congregation of outlying *rancherías* into the town. Within the Tarascan area the realinement of the street pattern was apparently continued until the close of the colonial period, for a late 18th-century description mentions the tortuous, unplanned paths and irregularly spaced houses of some Sierra pueblos, which today have the grid pattern (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285–405). At the present time only the Tarascan *ranchos* (formed after the colonial period without direction from a centralized government) are characterized by winding streets and scattered dwellings, and probably illustrate the pattern of a pre-Conquest village (map 15).

One of the outstanding features of the grid pattern imposed by the Spaniards is the plaza, or square, located in the center of the settlement. Every Tarascan village has its plaza, which functions as the commercial, social, and administrative center of the town (map 16; pl. 2). A [361] semblance of a garden and often a bandstand occupy the center of the plaza. Administrative [344] buildings (the *palacio municipal* or *jefatura* and the jail), often the school, stores, and the dwellings of the more prominent citizens face the streets bordering the plaza. Moreover, the square is the site of religious and civil festivals and the market. [346] The church, however, rarely faces the plaza, but is often placed one-half to one block distant.

Away from the plaza, which in the larger towns is surrounded by a contiguous group of buildings, most Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra are characterized by widely spaced dwellings separated by house lots. Compact towns with contiguous building throughout occur in the Lake region and in the Zacapu Basin. (Maps 16, 17; pl. 2.)

[Text continues bottom P. 27b]

[34] For a discussion of the introduction of the grid street pattern into New Spain, see Stanislawski, 1947 b.

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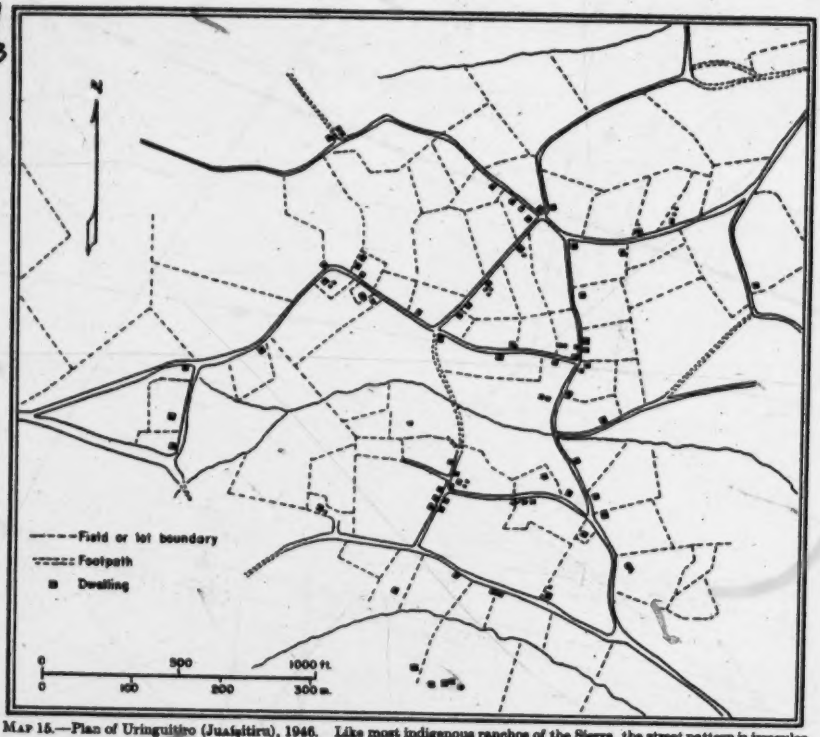

MAP 15.—Plan of Uringuitiro (Juaṣitiru), 1946. Like most indigenous ranchos of the Sierra, the street pattern is irregular and dwellings are widely spaced.

[P. 28-d] Sierra

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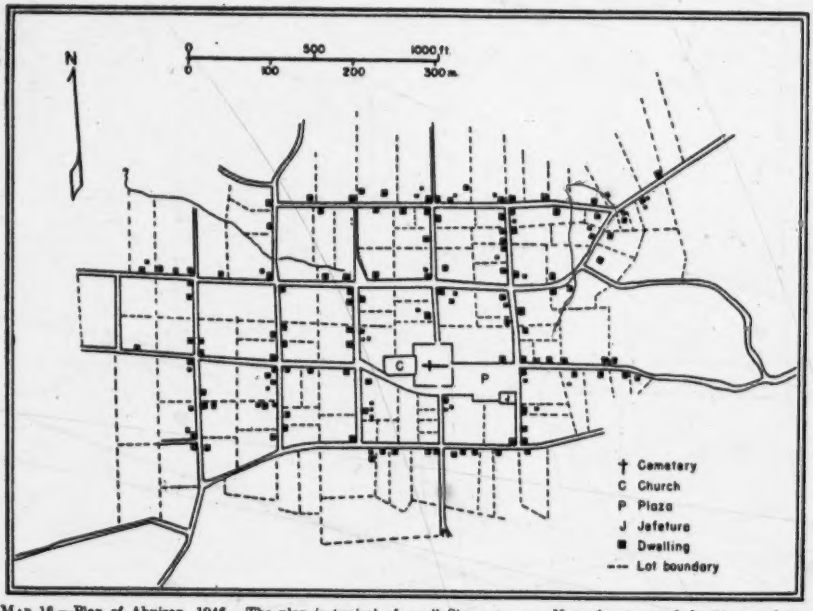

MAP 16.—Plan of Ahuiran, 1946. The plan is typical of small Sierra towns. Note the scattered dwellings and lot (ekuŁAu) boundaries.

[P. 29-a]

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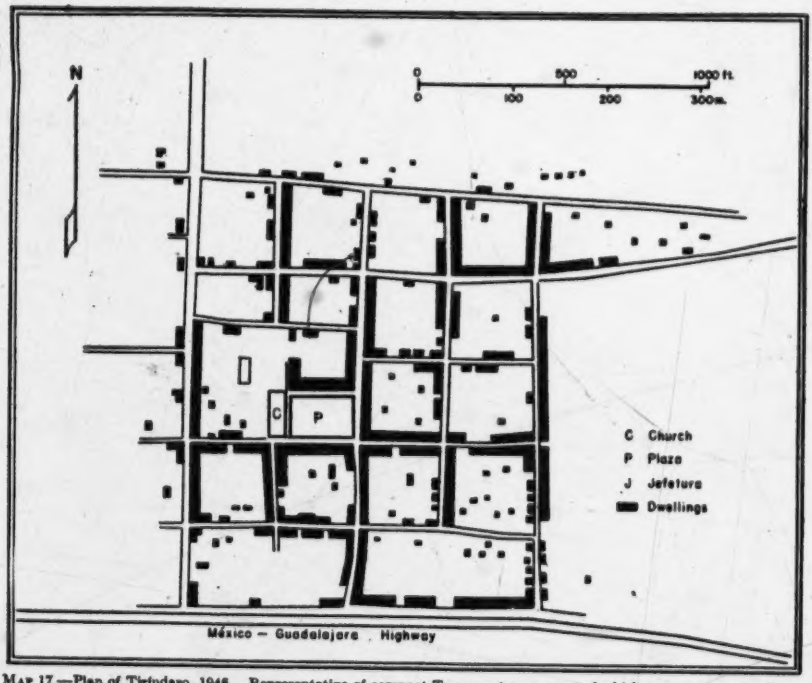

MAP 17.—Plan of Tirindaro, 1946. Representative of compact Tarascan towns, most of which occur in areas bordering the Sierra.

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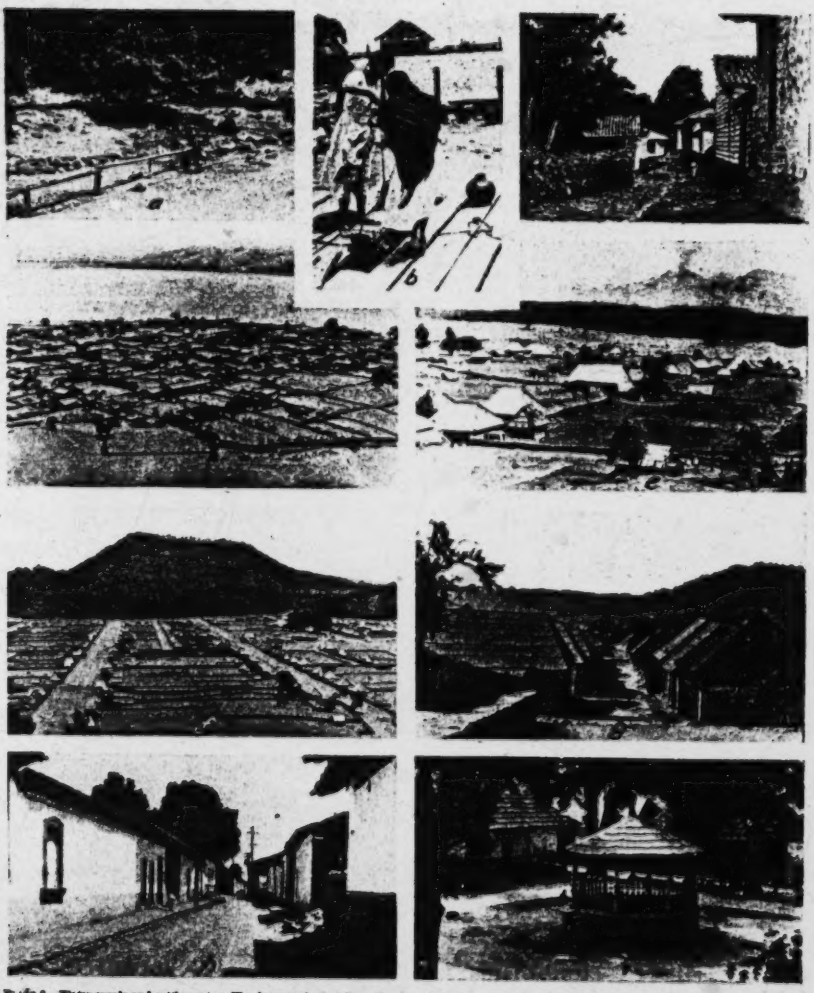

PLATE 2.—Water supply and settlement. *a*, Wooden aqueduct at Pátzcuaro, which brings water from the local spring (water) to the outskirts of town. *b*, Hoisting water from one of the public wells in Charapan. *c*, Street in Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d*, Panorama of San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro, showing compact assemblage of adobe structures. *e*, Partial view of Zacán near Parícutin Volcano (background), showing grid street pattern, scattered dwellings, and large lots. *f*, Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo), founded in 1944 to house refugees from destroyed San Juan Parangaricutiro. Nearly all dwgs were transported from old San Juan and reassembled on the new site. *g*, Street scene, Charapan (Sierra). *h*, Street scene, Tirindaro, Zinapécuaro Basin. *i*, Plaza at Charapan.

[End-plate 2]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation. 82 [131]

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved. 173 173 173 82

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions. 173 829 [170]

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block. 131

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of pre-Conquest days. 131 36 [173]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

[361] 133 361 463 438

178 179 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

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174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

[114] [172] [131]

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.3]

INTRODUCTION

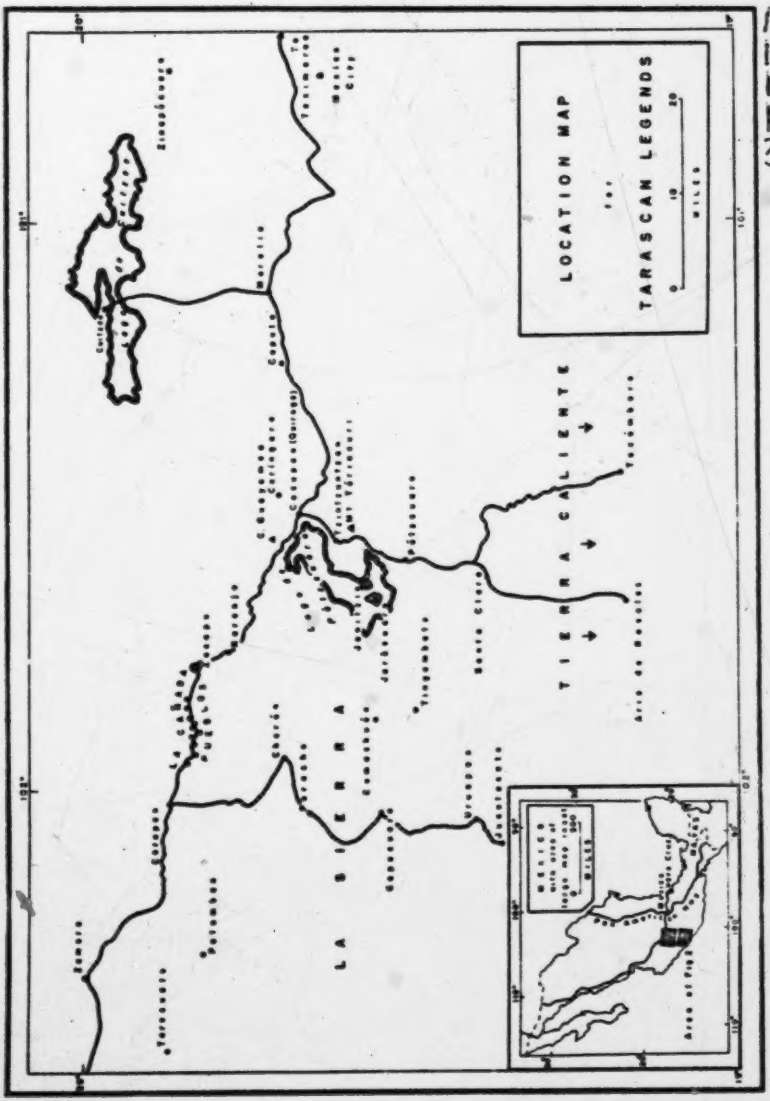

Fig. 1. Map of the Tarascan Area.

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style. 115 539

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author. 539 126

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual 175 114

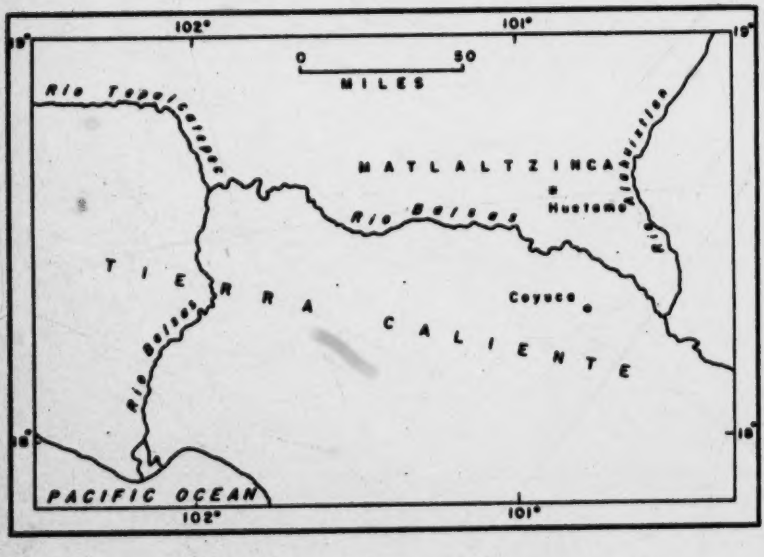

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Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison. 539 114

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead
823 of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most signifi-
[539] cant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to fur-
[361] nish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with
584 a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La
[178] Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of
49 three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the
[539] main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [133] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[End Plate 1]

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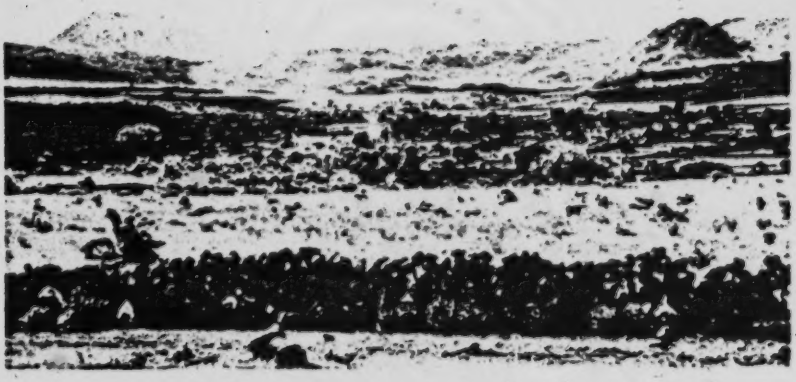

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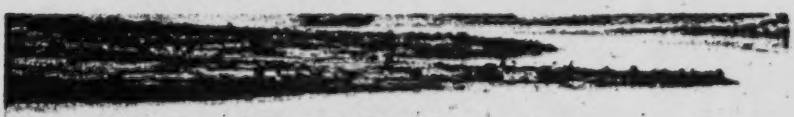

Plate I. Views of Tarascan Countryside

[115] *Upper*, looking towards village of Copula, home of Luis Espinosa, one of the narrators.

Lower, looking across Lake Pátzcuaro from top of island of Janitzio.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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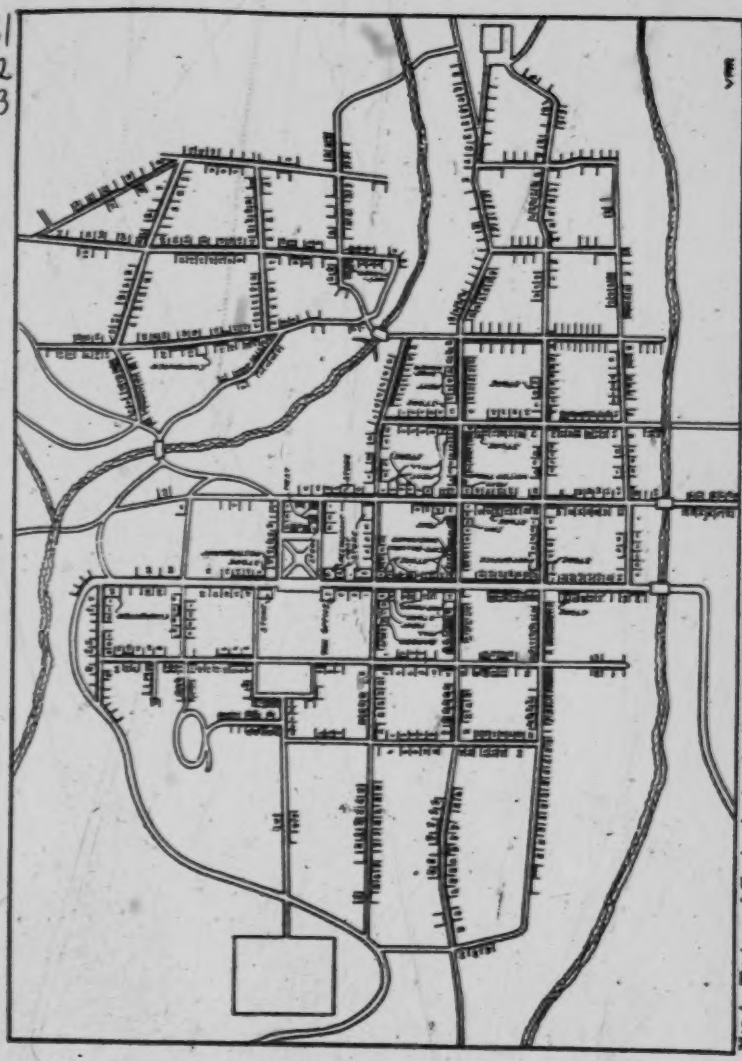

MAP 4.—The town of Cherán, showing the distribution of house types and specialists. The fine line bordering streets indicates vacant property. The medium line indicates the presence of wooden structures without masonry (although the lot may be walled with masonry). The heavy line indicates the presence of masonry or adobe structures. The majority of the latter also have one or more wooden structures on the same lot. Location of the majority of the specialized businesses or occupations is shown. The numbers refer to the house numbering system as of 1940.

[p. 10]

CHERÁN: A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE—BEALS

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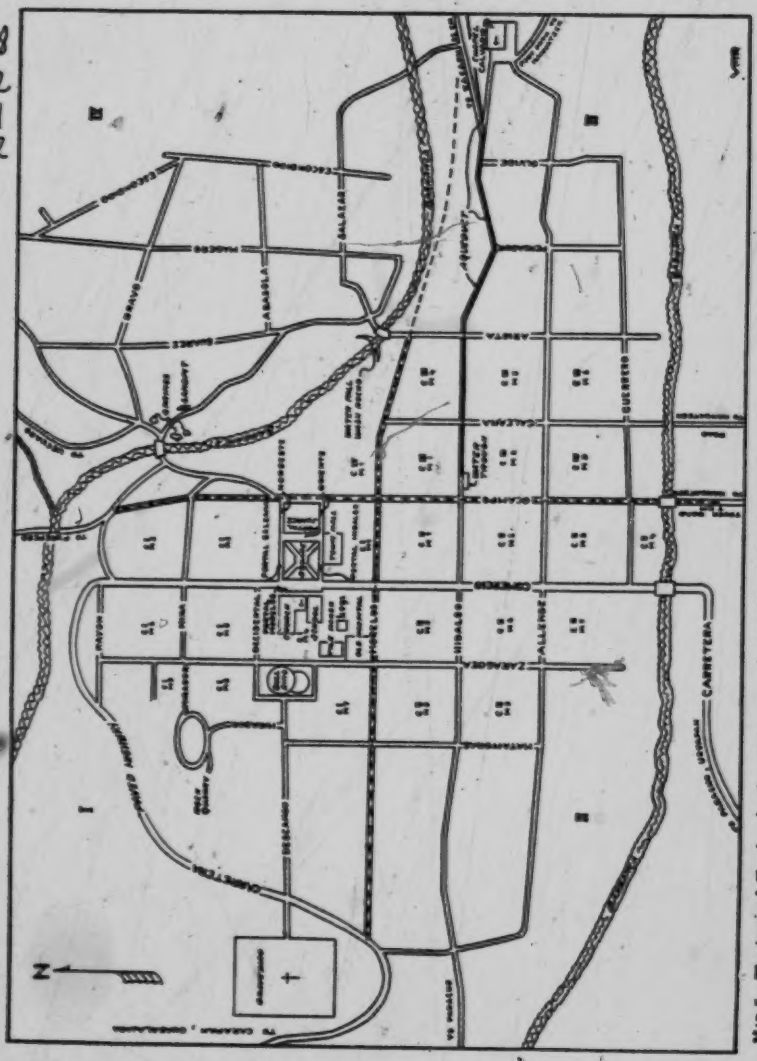

MAP 5.—The town of Cherán, showing street names and the barrio numbers. C, cuartel, or barrio; M, manzana, or block. Numbers indicate the town numbering system.

[p. 11]

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

STORAGE

343 The Cherán house is really a storehouse. The
251 loft and, sometimes, the lower floor are employed for storage of crops and food reserves. The lower floor is used for the storage of clothing, furniture not in immediate use, and for the family altar and the image of the saint. On occasion, it may be used as a sleeping room for guests. Supplementary sheds also may be used for crop storage, especially for fodder for animals.

SLEEPING AND COOKING

362 Cooking and eating is all done in the kitchen.
574 Guests may be fed in the kitchen, outside, on the house veranda, or in the house. Female visitors are usually entertained in the kitchen. Male visitors are more apt to be entertained outdoors or on the house veranda, depending on the weather.

362 In mountain towns, sleeping is always in the
513

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

362 kitchen. With few exceptions, the entire family
513 sleeps on mats about the fire. Cold weather and lack of bedding are given as the reasons for this. Even where a masonry-adobe structure with a bed exists, the family normally sleeps in the kitchen.

On ceremonial occasions modifications occur.
362 The house to some extent becomes a center of activities, while cooking will move into the open or under supplementary sheds. These occasions are not many. In the main, family life takes place outdoors when the weather permits; in the kitchen when it does not. The term "house" in practice is a euphemism, and some members of the family may not enter the structure for days at a time.

592 HOUSE SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

362 A survey of Cherán houses was made to deter-
125 mine the relationship between size of buildings

592 and the number of persons in the household. A
362 sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent
125 of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which

they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

592 It is evident that in an appreciable number of
362 cases more than one family occupies a lot. This
[735] situation may be due to several causes. In some instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty.
[591] In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

362 In those cases where no house existed, 15 out
[735] of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however, that cases may exist where the person may be relatively comfortable financially and has not built a house because he has no agricultural land and hence no great need for storage space. In most cases where more than 1 family occupied a lot, there is a separate kitchen for each family. In the 22 cases in which more than 1 family occu-

362 pied a lot, 6 had no house. These cases must be ascribed to poverty in all probability. The same is true of the 4 cases where single families occupying a lot had no houses. The housing situation suggests, then, that 19.2 percent of Cherán residents are inadequately housed according to Cherán standards.

Considerable inequality in the amount of living space per person is evident, even when averages from the different *cuartels* are compared. This difference is even more marked in terms of the individual families. Individual households may vary from 179 square feet of living space per person to as little as 22 square feet per person. This inequality appears less marked, however, if only kitchen space is considered. In view of living habits, the amount of space per person in the kitchens is a more accurate indicator of living conditions. This also varies appreciably from household to household but the range appears to be from 14 square feet (1.3 sq. m.) of kitchen space per person in cases with a house also—or from about 20 square feet (1.85 sq. m.) in cases without a house—to as high as 95 square feet (8.82 sq. m.) per person. The smallest kitchens, with relation to number of persons, appear in cases with a house as well. However, the largest kitchen space appears in connection with households also having a house or houses.

It is probable that a number of these families are inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards, but no minimum figure can be set from present knowledge. An abstract minimum of the proper number of square feet per person

362
592

TABLE 6.—*Data on Cherán houses showing relation between size of house and number of persons in household in comparison with similar data on Sevina houses*

Town and cuartel	Data														
	Lots	Houses measured	Families per lot		Persons per lot		House size per lot		Average living space		Average storage space per lot	Average kitchen area		Remarks
			Average	Range	Average	Range	Average	Range	Per lot	Per person		Per lot	Per person	
Cherán:	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*Feet*	*Feet*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	*Sq. ft.*	
Cuartel 1	190	10	1.7	1-3	5	2-11	12X14	9X9-18X18	336	59	194	197	40	6 out of 10 lots had no house.
Cuartel 2	260	13	1.6	1-3	5	2-16	14X16	11X9-28X40	340	68.8	178	142	28	4 out of 13 had no house.
Cuartel 3	260	17	1.88	1-3	5.47	2-10	15X17	12X13-28X22	430	80.3	200	184	36	2 out of 17 had no house.
Cuartel 4	270	13	1.6	1-3	5.25	2-9	15X11	9X9-22X30	230	45	78	90	19	2 out of 15 had no house.
Sevina	.....	23	1.4	1-3	4.67	2-8	15½X13¼	9X7-24X22	482	97	206	.....	.....	

[p. 19c]

362 could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

362 184 Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

[continued on p. 30b]

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

CEREMONIES

342 Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "*combate*," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

342 431 476 On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing.

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL
FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
diente, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals
264 among those working. When the work is com-
476 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated
[531] with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Parícutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
574 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[Continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT
CHERÁN

362 The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

574 with whom especially friendly relations exist, nor-
609 mally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

So far as is known, customs in other mountain
351 towns are similar in all respects except for the
574 attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences
184 are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 The major insect pests are fleas. In some vil-
136 lages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is
164 impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to
[515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

362 mitted by contact and particularly respiratory
164 and pulmonary infections. Although data are lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is suspected. There seems little to choose between various house types for health.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance,
184 seem to have similar conditions. Local varia-
362 tions, of course, occur as the result of differences in rainfall and temperature (functions of location and altitude) and the number of animals kept (causing variations in the number of flies).

[Continued on P. 33b]

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 In this section we try to determine the antiquity
173 of modern house types. We do not include all the data found in early sources referring to pre-Spanish houses and house uses, but base our study of the history of the Tarascan house on modern tradition and especially on the writings of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply useful data concerning the last century or so. The houses of stone and adobe are usually considered to be relatively recent introductions in the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake area.[8] This view is supported by the relatively greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake region, it is remembered that wooden structures once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred to the older custom of building houses in the center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types discussed, kitchens of poles and *"trojes"* and the trója kosína of logs are regarded as the oldest types. Tools, until recently were limited to the ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of a few generations ago are merged into *"los antepasados"* and, unless an historically known event is referred to, it is difficult to know to what period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

[8] This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

[8] In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish word adobe, while in the Lake area a native word (isuirukata) is known.

362 184 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada, where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE[7]

342 [173] houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would be untrustworthy.

342 127 Some of the data available from the 16th century refer to a wider area than that covered by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"[9] of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.[10] The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.[11]

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."[12]

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (iauárukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*" (today k'uta', in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza*, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxcata."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j*, *k*; *m* is described in the text as a provisional

[9] Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

[10] F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

[11] Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobernación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

[12] Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 125. Mexico, 1938.

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for
177 their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
[171] It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

342 The history of shakes and of interlocked log
171 structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

343 The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
127 the Tarascan *tarimba* (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

343 de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing
127 food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-
342 Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe,
174 with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards
177 introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

362 plished: changes in construction methods, and changes in living habits and house use.

One needed alteration in construction methods is in the direction of better ventilation for living quarters. This means more ventilation for masonry-adobe structures and better controlled ventilation for wooden structures (including adequate smoke-venting). Moisture-proof concrete foundations for masonry-adobe structures would remove a major drawback to this type of construction. Neither of these changes would increase costs beyond the reach of most of the 80 percent who approach present Cherán standards of adequate housing. In less prosperous towns, however, the added expense of concrete foundations would be more serious, particularly in towns not accessible by road.

In Cherán, living habits are a more serious drawback to adequate housing conditions than are economic factors (always excepting the lower 20 percent). As has been shown, actual living goes on in the kitchen, which serves for both eating and sleeping. Much potential living space thus is unused. Whether a wooden or a masonry-adobe house is owned, it is not used for any part

[p.37a]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

362 of healthful living. The problem, then, is to secure use of more of the available living space. This may prove more difficult than providing additional living space. It is our impression that the answer to this problem lies partly in introducing practical, economical, and cleanly ways of heating parts of the buildings other than the kitchen, partly in persuading Tarascans to purchase and care for additional bedding and clothing. Economically, the introduction of heating would be easier for the Sierra Tarascans (who can cut their own wood) than would the purchase of more bedding and clothing. Introduction of adequate care for bedding likewise would be difficult.

Essentially, then, for the majority of the Cherán population, improvement of housing conditions is not an economic problem. Rather is it a problem of altering basic patterns of culture. It may be concluded, therefore, that in addition to the economic betterment of the lower segments of the population, a program of education and directed acculturation is required. The housing problems consequently merge into the wider problems of education and culture change.

[p. 37 b]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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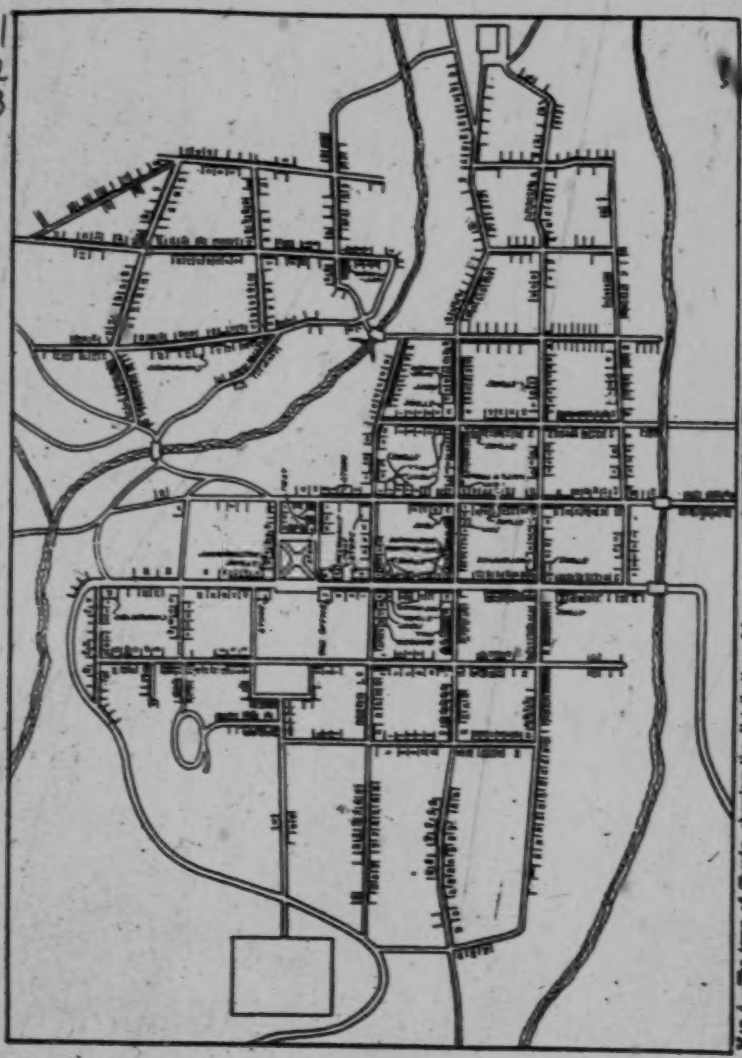

MAP 4.—The town of Cherán, showing the distribution of house types and specialists. The fine line bordering streets indicates vacant property. The medium line indicates the presence of wooden structures without masonry (although the lot may be walled with masonry). The heavy line indicates the presence of masonry or adobe structures. The majority of the latter also have one or more wooden structures on the same lot. Location of the majority of the specialized businesses or occupations is shown. The numbers refer to the house numbering system as of 1940.

[p. 10]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.9a]

632 The general situation of the *municipio* has
634 already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
423 daries, although there are usually disputes with
632 neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[476] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban
[161] settlement with a population of about 5,000. Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished.
361 A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

963 sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

633 A larger subdivision than the block is
103 furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúkutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúkutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keíku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalákua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Paricutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

The *barrios* show very few differences.
633 Paricutin is less populated, has larger lots, and
184 is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest,
[231] the dogs of Paricutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

633 Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.[27]

[27] On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

114 by one or more of the authors included the following:

Sierra region:
- Ahuiran
- Angahuan
- Arania
- Capacuaro
- Charapan
- Cherán
- Cocucho
- Corupo
- Nahuatsen
- Nurió
- Paracho
- Parangaricutíro
- Paríscutin
- Patamban
- Pomacuarán
- Quinseo
- San Felipe
- San Lorenzo
- Tarecuato
- Urapicho
- Zirosto

La Cañada:
- Acachuén
- Carapan
- Chilchota
- Huáncito
- Ichán
- Santo Tomás
- Tacuro
- Tanaquillo
- Urén
- Zopoco

Lake Pátzcuaro:
- Cucuchucho
- Huecorio
- Ihuatzio
- Janicho
- Jarácuaro
- Tecuena
- Tzentsénhuaro
- Tzintzuntzan
- Tzurumútaro
- Yunuán

[continued on p. 6b]

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 Tarascan towns tend to be located on level, or relatively level ground. Exceptions are found only in a few villages located in the higher mountains such as Quinseo, Cocucho, and others. Ex-
[363] cept where the irregularities of the terrain prohibit, the towns are subdivided by streets forming rectangular blocks oriented approximately to the compass points (pl. 1, upper). This is undoubt-
[177] edly a reflection of the Spanish origins of these towns; in many of the settlements traditions of former locations still exist. The blocks are subdivided into lots, or *solares*, of quite variable size, which are used both as building sites and gardens. Usually, the lots are fenced, particularly on the side facing the street. Houses either may adjoin the street line or may be located well within the lot away from the street. In the center of the larger towns, structures are more apt to adjoin the street, but the doors of living quarters almost always open on the yard rather than the street.

In the Lake region, the fishing villages tend to
[363] be on the edge of the water. As a result, some of the smaller villages, such as Tecuena and Yunuán, do not have streets but merely paths. Where the ground is very uneven, as at Janicho

[p. 6a] [continued bottom of page 6-b]

342 where Mestizo influence is marked. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Capacuaro, almost the only nonwooden structure is the church. Structures of wood also occur in the other districts, although they are relatively rare.

The difference in materials used apparently has a geographic basis. The Sierra region has abundant forests, while often lacking sufficient water to permit easy manufacture of adobes or

[continued on p. 7b]

The Town of Cherán **THE TOWN**

361 The town of Cherán lies at the head of a broad valley about 1,300 feet (400 m.) above the valley
133 floor at an elevation of 8,500 feet (2,500 m.) (pl. 1, lower). The terrain slopes rather steeply toward the west. A small ravine forms the western half of the south boundary of the town; the eastern half of the south boundary lies beyond the ravine. A much larger ravine forms the north boundary of the town. A branch of this ravine runs through the town and partly isolates the northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*. Springs at the bottom of this ravine
[312] afford part of the water supply. A pipe-and-wooden-trough system also brings water from a spring 9¼ miles (15 km.) away to cement tanks in the approximate center of the town as well as to a fountain in the plaza, which lies north of the center.
[135] At the northeast is a small cinder cone, which affords most of the stone used for buildings and fences. The town encroaches on the slopes of the cone on the east and south. The northeast *barrio*, or *cuartel*, climbs part way up the slopes of another cinder cone.

363 Most of the streets of the town are oriented to the cardinal directions, and the central part of town is subdivided into rectangular blocks. In some sections irregularities of the terrain have led to modifications of the block plan; in these sections streets may follow the curving contours. Streets vary in width from mere pathways to about 40 feet (12.2 m.). In the heart of town they are often paved with small cobblestones and have a central drain or gutter. Stone-paved sidewalks are common in the middle of town. The main north-south street is traversed by the Carapan-Uruapan highway and was paved with oil macadam in 1940.

[p. 7a] [Continued bottom of page 7-b]

342 tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo [177] influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

OF CHERÁN The Town of Cherán

361 The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding ● 363 paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

361 The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. 351 The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

351 The lots are all owned individually. They may be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in 423 various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

[p. 76]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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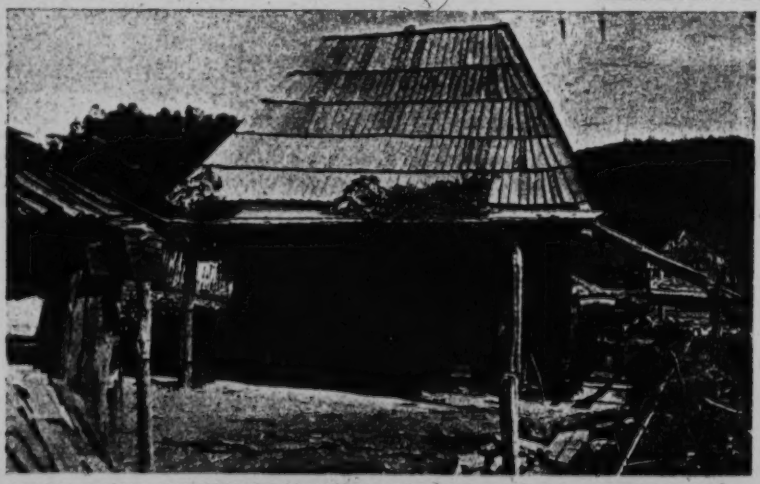

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Upper: "*Troje*" in Angahuan with shed in front in place of a veranda. *Lower:* A street on the outskirts of the town of Cherán. Fences are carelessly built of dry stone, supplemented by poles.

[End plate 2]

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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Right: Street near the plaza in Cherán. A stone-and-adobe whitewashed structure is visible near the church. The center shows a well-built stone-and-adobe fence capped with straw and shakes, while the houses are of wood. A typical roofed gate is visible left of center. *Left:* Two types of pole fence in Capacuaro. In Cherán such fences are usually found only between lots.

[End plate 3]

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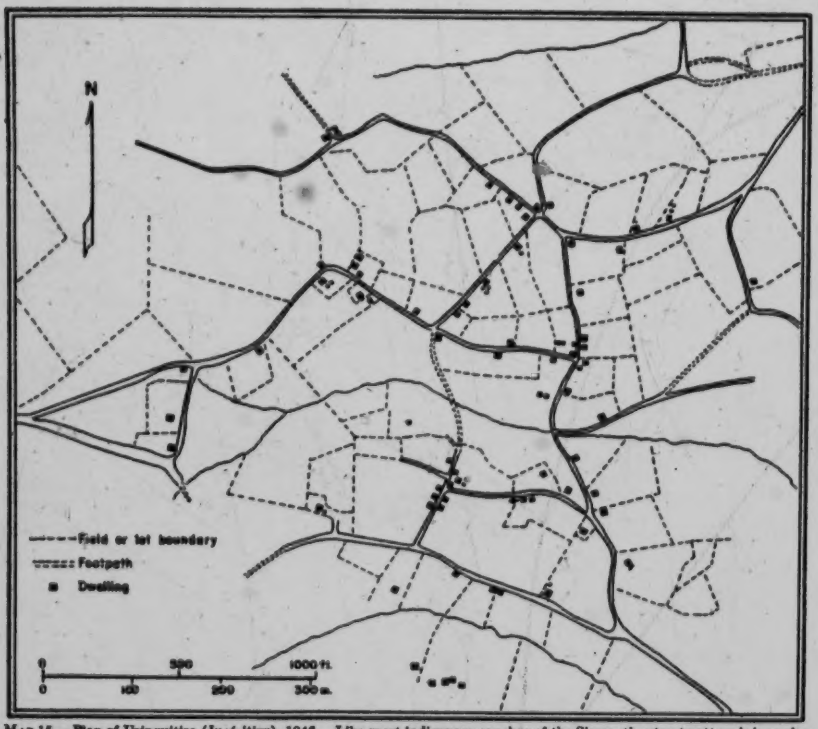

MAP 15.—Plan of Uringuitiro (Juaíitiru), 1946. Like most indigenous ranchos of the Sierra, the street pattern is irregular and dwellings are widely spaced.

[P. 28-a] Sierra

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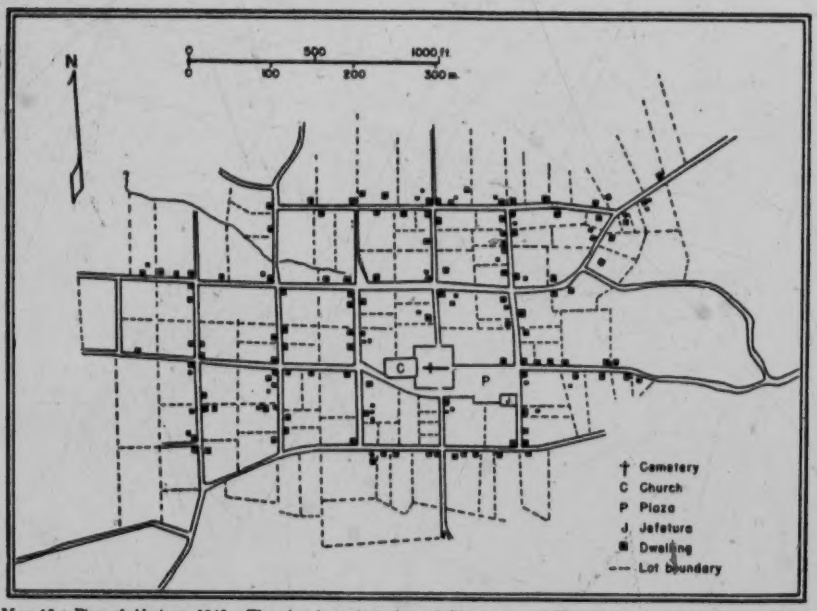

MAP 16.—Plan of Ahuiran, 1946. The plan is typical of small Sierra towns. Note the scattered dwellings and lot (ekuárau) boundaries.

[P. 29-a]

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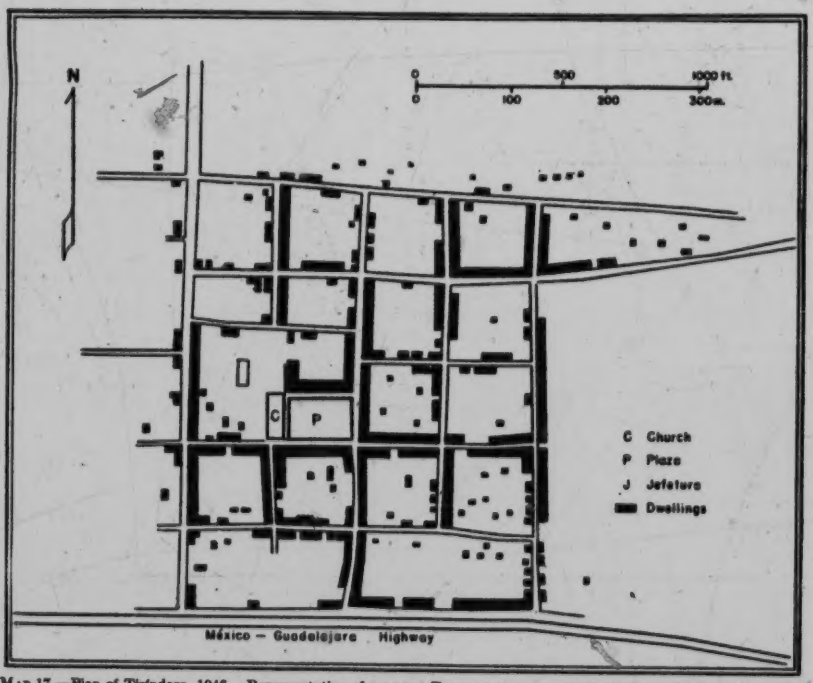

MAP 17.—Plan of Tirindaro, 1946. Representative of compact Tarascan towns, most of which occur in areas bordering the Sierra.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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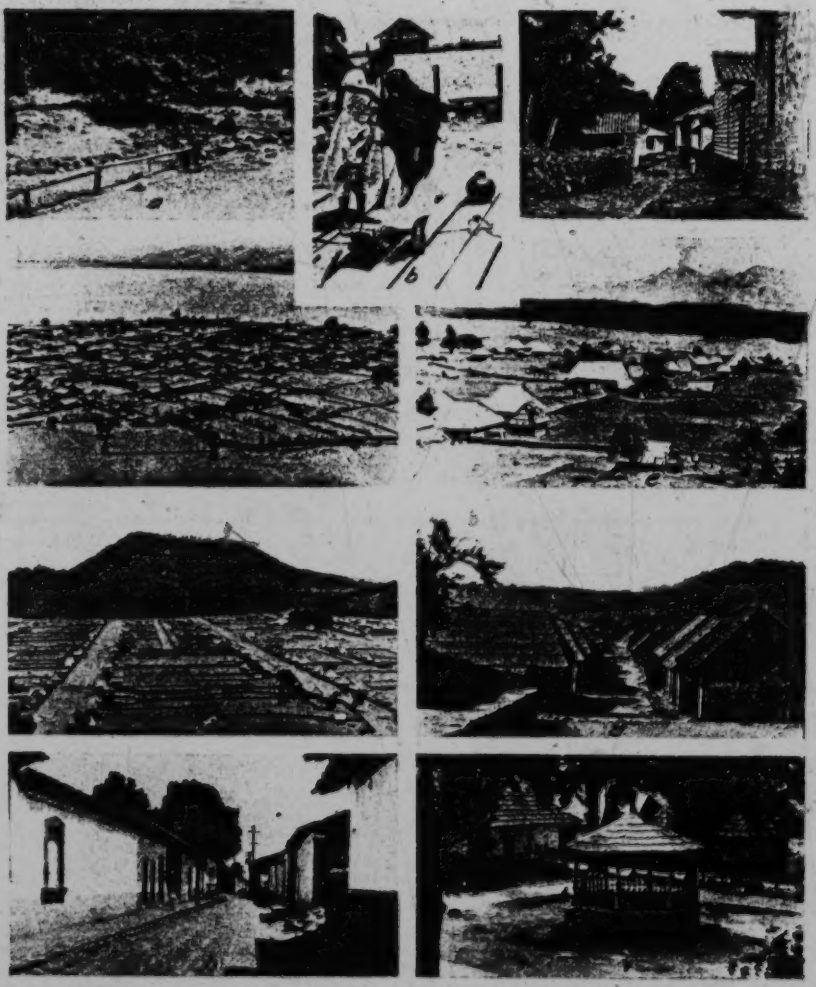

PLATE 2.—Water supply and settlement. *a*, Wooden aqueduct at Pátzcuaro, which brings water from the local spring (center) to the outskirts of town. *b*, Hoisting water from one of the public wells in Charapan. *c*, Street in Ihuatzio, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d*, Panorama of San Jerónimo on Lake Pátzcuaro, showing compact assemblage of adobe structures. *e*, Partial view of Zacán near Parícutin Volcano (background), showing grid street pattern, scattered dwellings, and large lots. *f*, Los Cuatros (San Juan Nuevo), founded in 1944 to house refugees from destroyed San Juan Parangaricutiro. Nearly all houses were transported from old San Juan and reassembled on the new site. *g*, Street scene, Charapan (Sierra). *h*, Street scene, Tiríndaro, Sierra Beata. *i*, Plaza at Charapan.

[End-plate 2]

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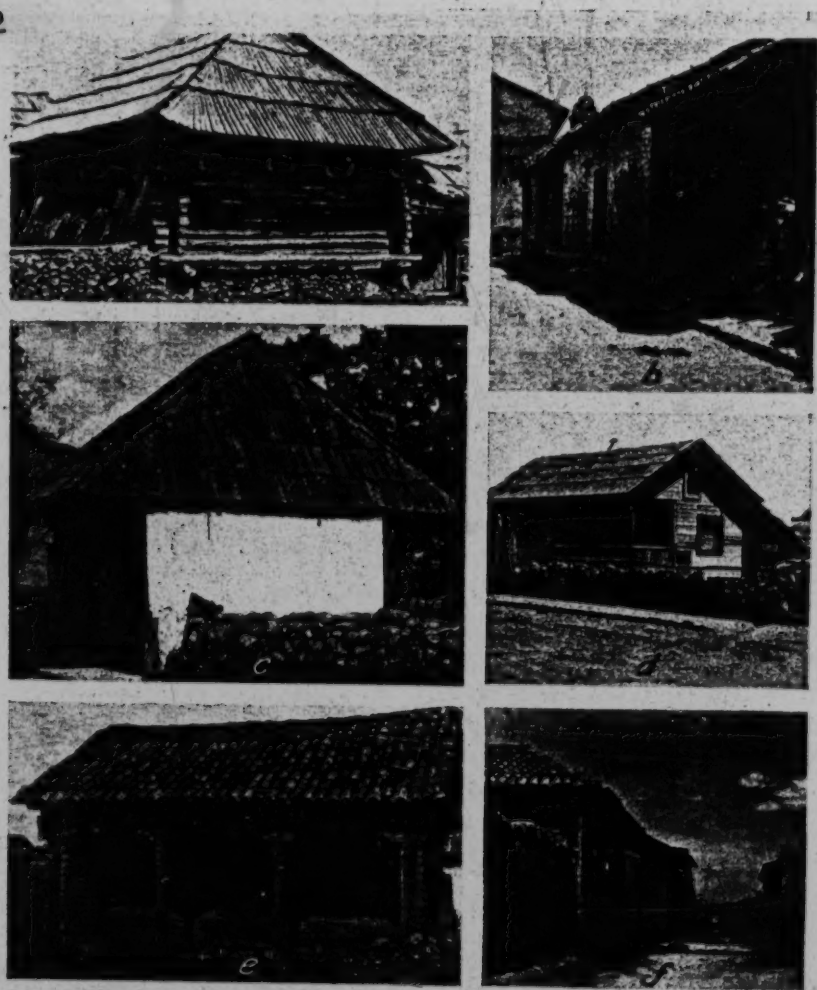

PLATE 4.—Shaman house. a, Old log structure, Zuñi. b, Old wooden type, Tlaxcala. c, Adobe house at Ajo. The door plan and roof are similar to those of the pueblo type. d, Wooden house at Chilmaulin, the extreme pueblo east of Uxmal. These new structures are North American in appearance. e, A modernized Chiapas two-room house, San Juan Chamula. f, Sawmill center, San Juan Chamula. The houses at left with the high verandahs have in either case an Latin-American inspiration.

[End-plate 4]

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PLATE 14.—Market and transport. *a*, The Sunday firewood and fish market, Erongarícuaro. The wood vendor at left has already bartered a pile of pine sticks for a few fish in the basket. *b*, Pottery market of the Sunday market at Uruapan. *c*, The bread section of the Erongarícuaro market on the plaza. *d*, A train of burros bringing pine poles harvested from the slopes adjacent to Arío de Rosales. *e*, Boats from Janitzio landing on the sand flats at Erongarícuaro for the Sunday market. *f*, Sunday characteristic chairs and tables from Cocupao to the Uruapan market.

[End-plate 14]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[176] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 3] NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.

Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

231 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes
232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
[422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[438] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but
[252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A
[364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

Although some persons in Cherán were said
[232] to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

527 443 Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day before, including three women with "a little religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

527 364 Some street cleaning began on this day. Trash was burned in the streets and the streets were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

527 796 October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day. Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members [574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it Another special
342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth
585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a
[608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses.
591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com-
651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re-
364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
574 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

443 can economy is also linked with the national economy through the markets. The Sunday market at Uruapan, for example, is an important occasion for the disposal of Tarascan goods and for the purchase of supplies. The Uruapan market, however, is primarily a Mestizo market, and the Indian part in it is minor and far from obvious.

Quite otherwise is the market at Pátzcuaro. Although it is perhaps even more of a Mestizo town than Uruapan, the markets at Pátzcuaro on Fridays and Sundays are predominantly Indian markets. The Pátzcuaro markets are probably the most important agencies of exchange to be found in Tarascan territory. They would well merit intensive study.

The Sunday market in Paracho is the only large, regular market in the Sierra Tarascan area. While numerous Mestizos participate, the bulk of the vendors and almost all the buyers are Tarascans. Although subject to fluctuation in size from week to week, the Paracho market compares favorably at any time with the occasional large markets held in other towns on the occasion of a fiesta.

Cherán does boast of two weekly markets in addition to the infrequent affairs on the occasion of important fiestas. These markets, however, are merely insignificant reflexes of the Paracho market. Traveling salesmen or *viajeros* whose route to Paracho leads through Cherán often set up shop in the Cherán plaza on Saturday afternoon. In the evening or early the next morning they move on to Paracho. If they have not sold out their goods in Paracho, they may stop Monday morning in Cherán for a few hours. The number of vendors and the amount of goods sold, then, are relatively insignificant. Fresh vegetables are the main items, and housewives who do not expect to go to Paracho the following day may stock up for the week.

366 The Saturday market at Cherán usually gets
443 under way about 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Vendors continue to arrive, however, until as late as 4 o'clock, and the main activity of the market is between 5 o'clock and dusk. The market occupies the street on the south side of the plaza in front of the municipal building. The vendors form two facing lines on opposite sides of the street. Only on unusually busy

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

● 346 443 days do the lines extend the full length of the plaza. The Monday morning market is much smaller.

TABLE 3.—*Products sold in the Cherán market, 1940*

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Product	Number of vendors selling product on Sept. 7	Product sold on— Nov. 9	October 8 (fiesta)
Agua fresca (sweet water)			×
Anillos (rings)			×
Ajo (garlic)		×	
Aretes (earrings)			×
Atole			×
Ayates (carrying nets)			×
Bateas (wooden bowls)			×
Cacahuates (peanuts)		×	
Cabetes (jellies)			×
Calabaza cocida (cooked squash)			×
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)		×	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	5		×
Canastas (flat baskets)			×
Carne seco (dried meat)			×
Cebollas (onions)	4	×	×
Changungas			×
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayote)		×	
Cherimoya		×	
Chiles	13	[1]×	×
Chiquihuites (baskets)		×	
Cocos (coconuts)			×
Col (cabbage)		×	
Cucharas (spoons)			×
Cundas (harvest baskets)		×	
Dulces (sweets)		×	×
Dedales (thimbles)			×
Dardenientes		×	
Fajas (sashes)			×
Frijoles (beans)	1	×	×
Guayabas (guavas)			×
Habas cocidas (cooked broadbeans)		×	
Heloites cocidos (cooked green corn)		×	
Higos (figs)			×
Jícamas		×	×
Jitomates (tomatoes)			×
Juguetes (playthings)			×
Leña (firewood)	1		
Lenteja (lentils)	1		
Limas (sweet lemons)	1		×
Loza de Oaxaca (pottery from Oaxaca)			×
Loza (pottery)	2		×
Manos			×
Manzanas (apples)	3	×	×
Mecates (ropes)			×
Morales (bags)			×
Muñecas (dolls)			×
Naranjas (oranges)		×	
Nieve (ice cream)			×
Pan, blanco y moreno (bread, white and dark)		×	×
Pan dulce (sweet bread)			×
Pan de horno (cookies)		×	
Pastura (fodder)		×	
Peras (pears)	2		×
Pescado (fish, several kinds)[2]	3	[2]×	×
Petates (mats)		×	×
Platanos (bananas)		×	×
Pitaltomate[3]		×	
Papas (potatoes)	1		×
Queso (cheese)	1		×
Rebozos (shawls)			×
Religion (crosses, medals, etc.)			×
Ropa hecho (clothing)			×
Zanhorias (carrots)		×	
Zilantro			×
Serapes (blankets)			×
Sombreros (hats)			×
Tacalas (baskets for tortillas)		×	
Tela (cloth)			×
Tomates (black tomatoes)	2	×	×
Tunas (prickly pears)		×	
Velas (candles)			×
Vidrio (glass)			×
Yerbas (herbs)			×
Zapatos (shoes)			×

[1] Black and red chile from Queréndaro; green chile, large and small; red chile, large and small; chile pasilla ancha; chile guajillo; chile mirasol; chile verde tirápai.

[2] *Chave* (*kuéfupo*—small, dried, from Pátzcuaro; *turuli*—large, fresh, from Pátzcuaro).

[3] Small, black fruit like green tomato in taste.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.81a]

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On the occasion of a fiesta, the market occupies the entire plaza and overflows onto side streets. The variety and quantity of goods on such occasions exceed that at the regular Paracho market. Table 3 shows this clearly in the market held for October 6, 1940, the fiesta of the patron saint. Only two weekly markets were checked in any detail, as the fluctuations in the market simply reflect those occurring at Paracho the following day. Table 3 gives a list of the articles on sale in Cherán on three different dates, and for September 7 the number of vendors of each article is given.

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TABLE 4.—*Place of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1940*

Origin of vendor[1]	Article	Origin of article
Chapala	Fish	Chapala.
Cherán	Pottery	Huancito.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Pottery	Huancito.
Cherán (4)	Wood	Cherán.
Cherán	Apples	Do.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Cheese	Tierra caliente.
Pátzcuaro	Green chile Onions	Pátzcuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Uricho.
Uricho (2)	Yellow chile	Do.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, chile Tomatoes	Do. Pátzcuaro.
Uricho	Yellow chile Tomatoes	Uricho.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, cabbage	Pátzcuaro.
Do	Onions, cabbage, tomatoes	Do.
Uricho	Chile, onions, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Pátzcuaro	Potatoes, beans, tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes (purple)	Zipiajo.
Villa Jimenez	Beans	Villa Jimenez.
Zunaparic	Chile	Zunaparic.
Cherán	Bread, peaches	Cherán.
Caranco	Chile	San Gabriel, Jalisco.
San Francisco	Chile, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Do	Tomatoes	Do.
Cherán	Tomatoes	Cherán (?).
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes	Pandicuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Cherán (?).
Etucuaro	Lentils	Etucuaro.
El Tigre	Chile	El Tigre.
Zacapu	Tomatoes	Zacapu.
Lagunilla	Sweetpotatoes	Purépero.
Pandicuaro (2)	do	Zacapu.
Chucandiro	do	Zacapu (San Simon).
San Pedro Caro	Dried fish	Hacienda de la Lua.
Carapan	Lemon	Carapan.
Chapala	Cooked dried fish	Chapala.

[1] Numbers in parentheses indicate number of vendors if more than one.

Tables 4 and 5 show the places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán and at Paracho in September, 1940, and table 6 gives the products and number of vendors at the Paracho market on various dates in 1940.

About 70 to 80 percent of the vendors in the Paracho market on September 1 (table 5) were

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

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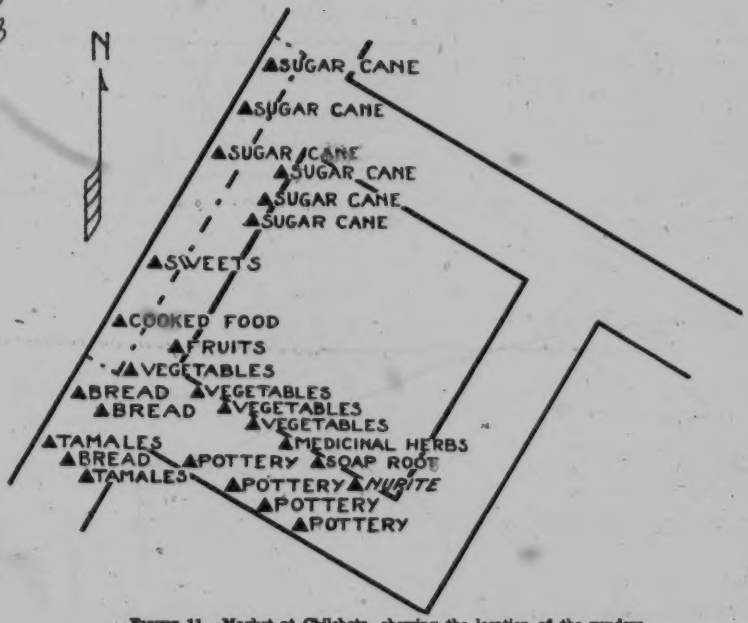

FIGURE 11.—Market at Chilchota, showing the location of the vendors.

[p. 84c]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of [178] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a [759] *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the [366] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

All the curers (*curanderas*—šurijki; in other 759 towns ¢inájpiri) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 26b]

361 Plans of settlements.—The planning of pueblos and *rancherías* was unknown in pre-Columbian times. Settlements were amorphous, the dwellings irregularly spaced and connected by winding footpaths. Beginning around 1550, the Spaniards [177] slowly forced the natives in most parts of central Mexico to rebuild their towns on a grid street pattern, which is now predominant in most pueblos (Indian and mestizo) in Mexico.[24] The advantages of the grid, with numbered blocks and houses, are obvious in terms of tax and tribute records. Towns were also divided into *barrios* or wards, usually four or more; some *barrios* represent the congregation of outlying *rancherías* into the town. Within the Tarascan area the realinement of the street pattern was apparently continued until the close of the colonial period, for a late 18th-century description mentions the tortuous, unplanned paths and irregularly spaced houses of some Sierra pueblos, which today have the grid pattern (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285–405). At the present time only the Tarascan *ranchos* (formed after the colonial period without direction from a centralized government) are characterized by winding streets and scattered dwellings, and probably illustrate the pattern of a pre-Conquest village (map 15).

One of the outstanding features of the grid pattern imposed by the Spaniards is the plaza, or square, located in the center of the settlement. Every Tarascan village has its plaza, which functions as the commercial, social, and administrative center of the town (map 16; pl. 2). A [367] semblance of a garden and often a bandstand occupy the center of the plaza. Administrative [344] buildings (the *palacio municipal* or *jefetura* and the jail), often the school, stores, and the dwellings of the more prominent citizens face the streets bordering the plaza. Moreover, the square is the site of religious and civil festivals and the market. [346] The church, however, rarely faces the plaza, but is often placed one-half to one block distant.

Away from the plaza, which in the larger towns is surrounded by a contiguous group of buildings, most Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra are characterized by widely spaced dwellings separated by house lots. Compact towns with contiguous building throughout occur in the Lake region and in the Zacapu Basin. (Maps 16, 17; pl. 2.)

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 27b]

[24] For a discussion of the introduction of the grid street pattern into New Spain, see Stanislawski, 1947 b.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 3]
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.
Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

CHERÁN: A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE—BEALS

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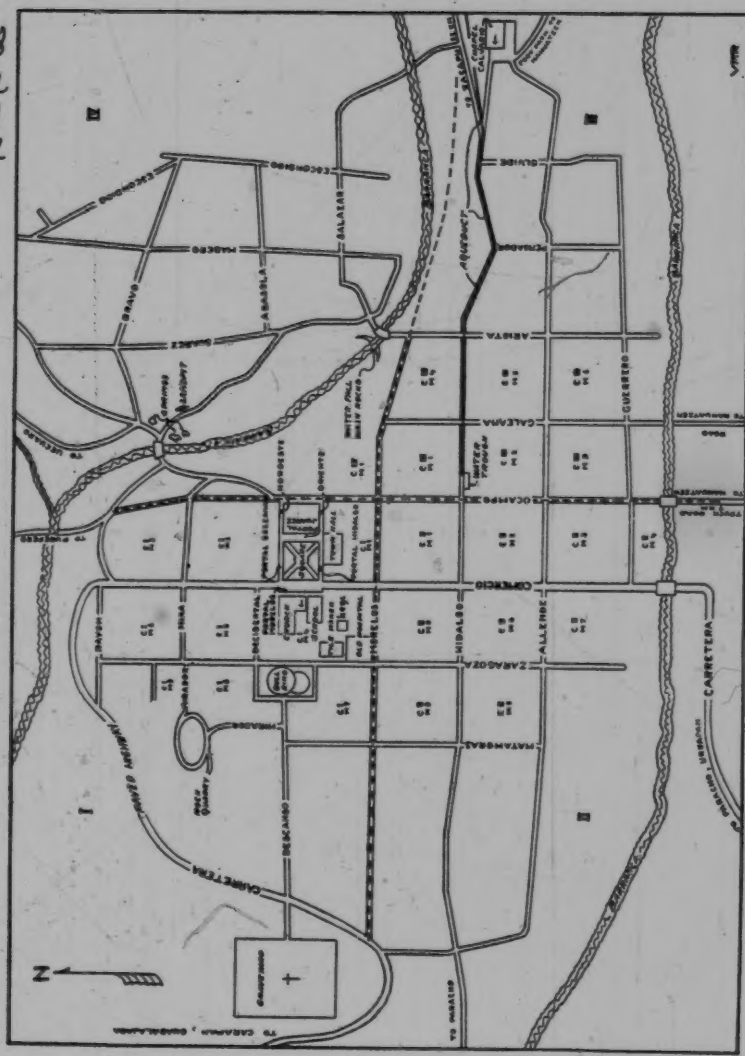

MAP 5.—The town of Cherán, showing street names and the barrio numbers. C, cuartel, or barrio; M, manzana, or block. Numbers indicate the town numbering system.

[p. 11]

314 picked up by trucks from turpentine distilleries in Uruapan and Morelia. Charcoal is a minor commercial forest product made by Tarascans living near mestizo towns. The latter comprise [372] the principal markets for charcoal, which has never entered Tarascan culture.[120] Other minor forest products consist of *ocote* splinters, used for primitive interior illumination;[120] softwoods 313 (madroño, jaboncillo, aile, etc.) for lathe work; pine and fir for cabinet work; etc.

Within the last 50 years the commercial sawmill has penetrated into the Sierra. Lumber companies purchase cutting rights of standing timber from the pueblos and set up a steam- or (when near a power line) electric-powered saw in the midst of the forest.[121] When the suitable timber has been depleted (under Federal inspection), the mill closes down, and the remnant of the forest reverts to the pueblo. Although most [464] companies bring in mestizo labor, many Tarascans from villages nearby obtain seasonal work in the sawmills, thereby supplementing their usually low income. Because of their ephemeral character, the number of mills in the area varies. In 1940 there were five mills in the Sierra proper; in 1946 the number had decreased to three.

During the last 100 years cutting has exceeded natural timber growth in the Sierra. Clearing of new plowland to sustain increased population and commercial lumbering have been the major factors of forest depletion. Moreover, disease has recently destroyed acres of pine in the vicinity of Tarecuato, and volcanic ash has laid waste the forest within a 3-mile radius of Parícutin. Lumbering even by the Tarascan woodsmen is often wasteful. Large trees are sometimes cut and left unattended for years until rot renders the wood useless.[122] Improper tapping for resin and testing for shakes often kill many trees. The sawmills, operating on a much larger scale than the native lumbermen, are even more destructive, and in former years they depleted large sections of Sierra forest. Approximately 50 years ago the timberland in the eastern part of the Sierra east

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[120] The main charcoal-producing towns in the area are San Lorenzo (Uruapan market), Opopeo and Cuanajo (Pátzcuaro market).

[120] The *rancheros* around Pamatácuaro gather much ocote, which the women market in the large mestizo towns bordering the Sierra.

[121] In 1944 the pueblo of San Felipe sold its forest to an Uruapan company for two million pesos. The proceeds were deposited in an Uruapan bank, where they remain communal property.

[122] Such wasteful exploitation was much in evidence in the forest lands of Pamatácuaro on the southern slope of Cerro de Patamban.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.147a]

535 538 796 two files, except for the little girls at that end of the lines. When the recitation begins, *el letra* steps forward alone and recites his part, returning to his place when finished. There is then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle. *El segundo* then does the same, followed by a *caminata*.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts about a month before December 25. For several evenings before the date they meet in the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The procedures beginning the night of December 24 are described as follows in an account written by Agustín Rangel:

The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the *carguero's* house. There were lots of people and about 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The *negritos* finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they were given supper and they sat around for a while. They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church. The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the *carguero's* house and the church, and third, when the Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed before going inside the church. There was a 12 a.m. Mass. The priest of the church came over to the *carguero's* house before the Holy Child left the house. The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a.m. Mass. [Note: There were several hundred persons in the procession, all with candles. The streets and houses were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even more light.]

[373]

December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner they went to church again to visit the Holy Child. Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house where they danced again. Then they went to the night Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio of the priest's house and danced before him. After they finished dancing, they danced in front of the municipal building before the mayor and officials. After they finished dancing there they went to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. They ate supper and every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.

December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten breakfast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's* house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced. After they finished there they went to Paricutin (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

HOUSE
FURNISHINGS

343
352
778 generally has a table against the wall opposite the door upon which is placed the image of a saint, if the family owns or is carring for one. If not, a picture of a saint will be found behind the table on the wall. Usually, a variety of religious
[353] pictures are tacked or pasted behind or around
[373] the picture or image of the saint. Often candles and a pottery incense burner are on the table; in addition, the table may have a varying number of miscellaneous objects placed there temporarily for safekeeping. The ceiling, especially over the
[353] altar table, may be decorated in colored tissue paper and strings of miniature household objects. Several wooden chairs with arms are kept in the

[p.21d]

354 The kitchen always has a hearth on the ground, usually made with six stones (paráŋgua), arranged as in figure 15. Infrequently, the hearth or stove is of clay (fig. 16). Space is provided for three fire places, one (fig. 15, *b*) for the *comal* or tortilla baking dish, and two (*a–a*) for cooking pots. This hearth is usually at one side of the structure. Near the fire a branched stick (čuríŋgu) is set in [373] the ground; on this stick pitch-pine splinters (k'uerámu) are burned for light at night. At the back of the kitchen are one or two shelves, 415 "*tinajera*," (plátu jatákua). On the upper are 352 the old ollas and large vessels. On the bottom are new ollas (pureči), plates (plátu), jars (iɢ́amatarakua), wooden spoons (iozésa), and knives (kučó). Below the shelves on the ground, are the three-legged metates (iauári), *molcajetes* (jiúmatakua), *comales* (eróksa), and large water jugs (k'amúkua), including one set on a fiber ring (uanɢ́ari) containing drinking water. Also on the ground are baskets (ɢ́akiáta), tortilla baskets ("tascal," kuatása), and gourds (uzáni). Either on the floor or on the shelf may be wooden bowls (batieča), other types of baskets (ɢ́akiáta kanímu and šúndi, "*chúndi*"), and fire fans (p'unítatara- [439] kua). All the manufactured articles are imported.

352 The metate, when in use, is placed on a plank beside the fire. At night, it is removed and mats [513] are spread out for sleeping.

[p. 22 b]

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

377 This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
632 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
653 tending a power line to the town and supplying
621 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

491 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
294 first treated with glue, then successively coated
386 with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.—A
286 number of women ornament women's blouses
531 or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
[462] time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

296 of petticoats are made by one woman, although
531 this technique is primarily found in Nahuatzen. The proportion of women doing this work seems significantly smaller in the third *cuartel* or *barrio* when compared with the other *cuartels*.

The crochet may be replaced by embroidery or drawn work, especially on finer materials such as linen or rayon. Designs either come "from one's head" or patterns may be bought in market. Usually the poorest designs come from the market, but no evidence was found either to indicate preservation of traditional patterns on the part of those not using commercial patterns, or to indicate creativeness in designs. Blouses decorated with crochet involve 1 week's part-time work, and embroidered or drawn-work blouses, from 1 to 3 weeks.

286 *Blanket weaving.*—About four men in Cherán weave blankets. These men buy raw wool, and wash, clean, card, and spin the wool, and do the weaving. White, brown, and black colors are usually natural wool colors. For blue, the
[386] only other common color, the weaver dyes white wool with indigo. A urine mordant is used. To produce a gray thread, white, black, and blue wool are mixed together before carding. Raw wool is washed and cleaned, losing about one-third its weight in the process.

293 Carding is done with commercial steel cards which cost $8.00 a set and last about 3 years.
[435] A handful of wool is placed on one card and the other is drawn across it several times. The wool is then folded on one of the cards and the process repeated. If wool of two or more colors is being mixed, the rectangles of carded wool are torn into pieces, mixed together, and carded a second time in order to give a more uniform color.

Spinning is done with a wheel (fig. 6). The edges of a rectangle of carded wool are folded along the long side. The rectangle is then pulled apart down the middle except at one end, giving a strip of carded wool about 1½ inches wide. One end is thrown over the left arm and the other end fed into the yarn with the left hand while the wheel is turned with the right. When 6 to 8 inches are lightly twisted, the yarn is stretched to from 24 to 30 inches, given a tighter twist, and then wound on the spindle (fig. 6). [Text continued on page 36 b]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 64-a]

438
323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and Mexico City.

[439] Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the [177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous [177] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

Spinning.—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun 283 raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.) [386] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

Weaving.—Tarascans weave all agave and 286 cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopárátakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 69-a]

322 It is first mentioned as an established industry in the report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344), indicating that it had been introduced for some time.

LACQUER WORK

386 Modern lacquerwork in Michoacán is closely associated with wood carved with the adz and 322 lathe. Before the Spanish Conquest various gourds (*Lagenaria*, *Cucurbita*, and *Crescentia*) were lacquered with a varnish made from the insect *axin* (*Coccus axin*) and *chía* (*Salvia* sp.) This industry probably centered in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins (Brand, 1944, p. 60) and was extended into the towns near the southern edge of the Sierra, e. g., Peribán and Uruapan. After the introduction of Spanish adz work during the colonial period, lacquer was applied to wooden *bateas* in Peribán, Zirosto, Zacán, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. *Bateas* were painted, but not lacquered, in Cucupao (Quiroga) and Santa Fé de la Laguna. Today few Tarascans practice the art, the famous *bateas* of Uruapan being lacquered by mestizos. Some of the turned vases and bowls of Paracho are finished with tung oil and synthetic lacquer purchased in mestizo markets.

LEATHERCRAFT

282 Probably one of the first native Tarascan crafts stimulated and expanded by the early Spaniards was leatherwork. With the introduction of cattle, Tarascan tanners were able to multiply leather production, which formerly had been based on deerskin, to meet the heavy Spanish demand for saddles, halters, shoes (the famous "*zapatos de baqueta de mechoacán*").[183] Tanning was done with local oak bark, as it is today (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13). During the colonial period leather-
282 crafts were centered in the northern Tarascan
438 towns near the pastures and hide supply, and in a few pueblos of the Sierra. The latter included Cherán, Cheranátzicurin, Ocumicho, and Nahuatzen, which was one of the largest tanning centers

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[183] Fray Toribio de Motolinía's statement of 1540 on the Tarascan leather industry is revealing: "*Han deprendido a curir curamires . . . son buenos zapateros, que hacen zapatos y sereillas* [slippers], *borceguíes* [high shoes], *pantaflos, chapinas* [wooden shoes with leather straps] *de mugeres; . . . este oficio comenzó en Michoacán, porque allí se curten los buenos cueros de venados. Hacen todo lo que es menester para una silla ginete bastos y fuste, cruzas y sobrecruzas . . .*" (Motolinía, 1903, p. 183). According to the Relación de Michoacán (p. 14) "*cotaras de cuero,*" or leather sandals, were made for the caltzontzin in pre-Conquest times.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.13b]

105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire
412 family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing wool-
388 ens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting tech-
222 nique still important in Cherán is gathering
237 wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two
[776] groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *boga* (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[104]

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather 532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed 326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan* 256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943. 438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán 389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

389 elaborate, as they require fuses of various speeds, different colors of fire, and slow-burning types of powder. As handbooks exist for this type of manufacture and supply houses also furnish information to their patrons, it was felt that detailed inquiry into techniques was not worth while. The *cohetero* usually receives a small advance payment—5 to 15 pesos—when he accepts an order. He receives no further payment until the *castillo* is burned. Should [686] there be a failure, not only may the *cohetero* fail to receive his pay, but he may be jailed and fined.

Stonecutting.—Several men do stonecutting 324 on a part-time basis. Doorsills and bases for door posts and pillars are the major products, although some men also make grinding stones for *nixtamal* mills. A fine-grained gray lava from the barranca north of town is the most-used material. Tools include an iron-headed hammer, weighing about 2 pounds, steel chisels, and a pair of calipers. Stones for the *nixtamal* mills are made in pairs and are about a foot in diameter and 6 to 8 inches thick. About 3 days are required to make a pair.

Tanning.—The only full-time tanner of hides 281 in Cherán is a native of Aranza, who moved to Cherán because of the better water supply. He has a house and lot on the east side of town beside the aqueduct. Most of his work is done on hides brought him by shoemakers and *guarache* makers. Such work is charged for on a fee basis.

A man and his uncle also tan hides on a part-time basis. They are primarily farmers and do relatively little of the tanning in Cherán.

Cowhides are tanned with oak bark. The process takes 20 to 30 days, mostly occupied with soaking the hides in the tanning mixture. Sheepskins, used for inner soles of shoes, must be put through a lye bath, scraped, and then soaked with oak bark. A batch of five or six sheepskins requires 2 days' labor and about 8 days' soaking.

The principal equipment consists of a number of large hollow logs for soaking the hides.

Lacquer.—One woman learned lacquer mak- 532 ing in Uruapan. She works fairly steadily, producing a typical Uruapan black-background lacquer with floral designs in four or five colors. She sells all her product in Cherán.

[Text continues on page 46a]

253 15 *arrobas* (375 pounds) $90
433 14 *arrobas* (350 pounds) 65
434 16 *arrobas* (400 pounds) 92

Retail price (per kilo) ..... .70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo) ..... .40–.45
Price of pigs ..... 30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week 7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig 3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 *Field watchers:*
434 Wages:
In maize ..... 1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize) ..... $60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 *Water carrying:*
434 Charge for two 25-liter cans $0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 *Beekeeping:*
12 hives produced:
433 15 liters of honey at $0.60 ..... $ 9.00
434 3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50 6.70–10.00
Wax:
1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth 3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth 9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles 15.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 *Fireworks making:*
433 Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts
434 seem reasonable.

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[p.78a]

389 Materials and prices:

	Per kilo
Nitrate	$1.70
433 Chlorate	5.00
434 Sulfur	.80
Fiber string	1.00
Shakes, cane, etc.	Nominal

(Shakes are $5 a bundle of 400, but the number used is small; 3 or 4 per dozen *cohetes*, for example.)

Comment: Cohetes are made to order and sell at $3.00 to $4.00 per dozen. *Castillos* or set pieces are done on contract. Gross income from this source was at least $400 in 1940. Between times *cohetes* were made fairly steadily. Probably the fireworks maker's income is above average.

DISTRIBUTION

439 The problem of distribution affects primarily those goods which are exported from Cherán and those things which are imported. Only a small fraction of the materials produced locally are sold locally; in the main each family produces the local products it consumes and sells its surplus for export.

The export goods of Cherán consist almost wholly of forest products and farm products. The first are usually sold on contract or are transported by the producer to market. Railroad ties, for example, are always cut on contract. Charcoal is mostly sold to dealers from Zacapu and is delivered to the nearest spot where it can be picked up by trucks. However, there is some small local sale, mostly for operation of producer gas generators for *nixtamal* mills, and a little is carried on burros to such a town as Uruapan. Similarly, planks and beams are mainly sold, either to dealers who pick them up in trucks for export or locally on contract to someone building a house. In towns close to Uruapan, Zamora, or other centers, much of the sale of such products as charcoal, planks, and beams is direct, the maker carrying the goods to town on market day.

The major exception to the marketing methods for forest products described above is tejamanil, or shakes. For the local market, the shake maker usually works on order. For the export market he usually takes his product on burros to some nearby Mestizo town. These expeditions may be combined with other trading operations. Thus, shakes may be taken to Turetan via Nahuatzen, Tingambato, and Ziracuaretiro, a full-day trip with burros from 5

527 624 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates were that the main *castillo* would cost [389] $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 624 533 The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
various volunteers working under the direction
● 389 of the fireworks maker. The commissioners
for the fireworks had kept their promise to
bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties
were encountered in trying to raise it. The
climax of several abortive efforts came when
the pole snapped about halfway up. By some
miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared
to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by
any means. The fireworks maker is always
[686] held responsible for any failures and cases are
known where the maker has been badly mauled.
In any case he is usually jailed and often
heavily fined. In the present instance the
municipal officers were all reasonable men, and
no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks
maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The
527 first band appeared and began to play about
533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with
the moros about an hour later. The moros
dismounted in front of the church and went
into the priest's residence, dancing before him.
Then they went down the street dancing before
the stores again, finally stopping for dinner.
About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls
[541] were about to be brought in. Actually, they were
being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

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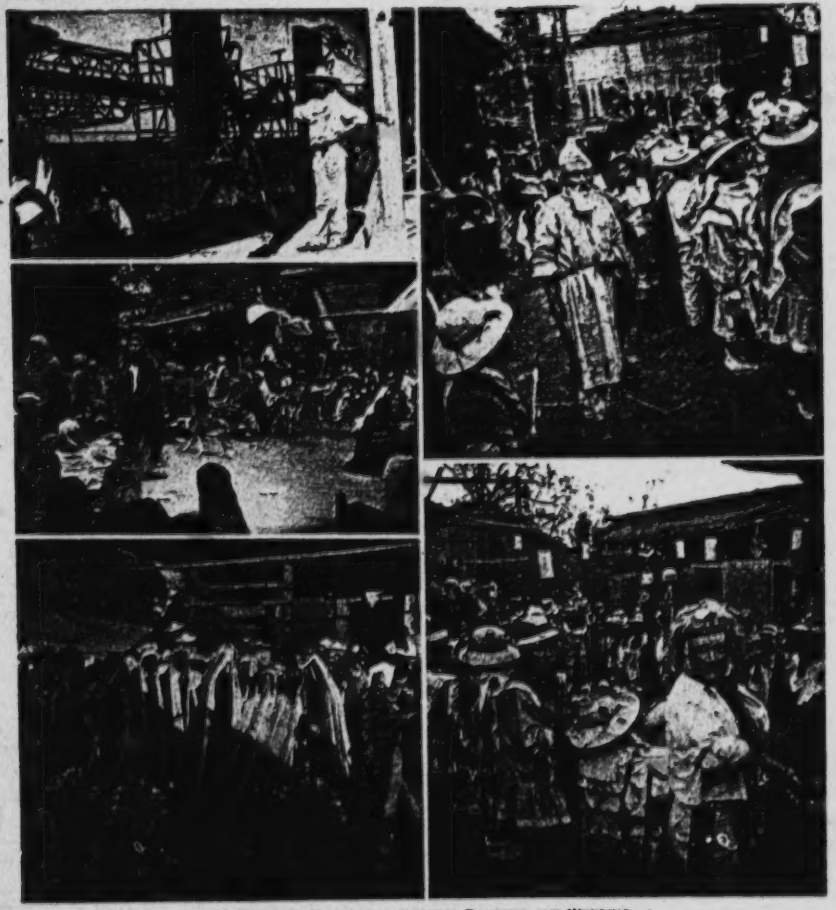

CASTILLO, PASTORELA, NEGRITO DANCERS, AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Portion of the fireworks set (castillo) nearly completed. The fireworks maker is on the right. *Upper (right):* *Pastorela* at Capacuaro; at left is one of the "hermits." *Left (middle):* Large wedding in the patio in front of the house. The kitchen is at left, the temporary cooking shed in the center. The woman at left bears a cloth-covered dish with an offering for one of the godmothers. *Lower (left):* *Negrito* dancers performing at private house. The ribbons hang down to their heels. The "pin cushions" (foreground) are the dancers' head decorations. *Lower (right):* *Pastorela* at Capacuaro, with "*Europa*" in foreground.

[End Plate 6]

245 orchard. In such cases trees are closely spaced
438 and present an unkept appearance.

Many Tarascan pueblos in the lower and warmer areas bordering the Sierra specialize in subtropical fruits, and possibly served prehistorically as fruit supply centers for the Sierra towns. Since the development of modern transportation their produce is taken to many parts of Mexico. San Angel Zurumucapio is the avocado center of the Tarascan *tierra templada*,[98] Tingambato the chirimoya town, and the former Tarascan pueblos, Ziricuritiro and Acahuato, produce bananas, mangoes, mamey, citrus, etc. Tarascan Atapan and mestizo Tingüindín supply the western part of the Sierra with citrus, guayaba, and mangoes. As early as 1581 Atapan had become a citrus-growing center, and probably before the Conquest had produced avocados and chirimoyas for Sierra trade. The La Cañada towns have ever been the northern Tarascan fruit center. Today avocados form the main fruit speciality of Acachuén, Ichán-Tacuro, and Carapan; oranges are the chief export of Tanaquillo.[99] With the possible exception of Ihuatzio, which produces large quantities of avocado, there is no specialized fruit town in the Lake area, although the aggregate subtropical fruit production there is of importance in Sierra trade.

262 Fruits from the *tierra caliente* have long had a special significance among the Sierra Tarascans. Today at least two tropical fruits are eaten especially at religious fiestas, and special effort is made to obtain them for such occasions. Coconuts (kóko) in some Sierra pueblos are rarely eaten except during the Ramos and Easter holidays. [439] Formerly in Charapan 2 weeks before Easter a group composed of 15 men and boys from each barrio traveled down to the Tepalcatepec Basin to fetch coconuts for eating and coconut blossoms for church decorations. The band was ceremo- [389] niously seen off with the firing of rockets.[100] Likewise, the large plantain (*plátano macho*) is eaten

[98] The large avocado trees in the house lots of Zurumucapio completely hide the town. Two types of the fruit are grown, the black and white-skin varieties. Both are irrigated, and the fruit is harvested in April and May. Frequently coffee plants are grown under the shade of the avocado.

[99] Other fruits produced in La Cañada: Limas, guayaba, chirimoyas, figs, apricots, juaquiniquilas (durán), plums, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, apples, zapote blanco, capulín, a few bananas.

[100] This custom has practically disappeared in the Sierra. Most coconuts and other tropical fruit are now obtained at the Ramos (Palm Sunday) fairs at Puríbán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. In the Lake area during Easter festivities churches are often decorated with melons (*sandías*) from the Balsas.

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[p. 43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra
[461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work
[462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.44a]

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather 532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed 326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan* 256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943. 438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán 389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

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Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

294 Some persons make and sell finished garments.
433 Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of
434 material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a
[435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in
[439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 *Candlemaking:*
434 Cost of wax (per kilo) .....
[394] Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax ... $2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment) ..... $0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*
Horsehair $0.50 per kilo $0.37½
Labor ..... 1 day
Sale price $1.50
Gross profit per day $1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 *Shoemaking:*
Equipment:
433 Sewing machine $55.00
434 Lasts ..... ?
Knives ..... ?

Labor:
1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices
[435] Value of product (per pair) $3.00–7.00
Estimated gross income:
Per day 1.50
Per pair of shoes 1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 *Tanning:*
Charge per cowhide ..... $5.00–$10.00
435 Charge per sheepskin ..... .50
434 Average daily return 1.25

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
804 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily
438 in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*,
or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes
6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan
towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani
iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are
sold in Zamora and are sometimes called
Zamorana.

Shake makers usually work from 8 a.m. to
313 6 p.m. A week's work routine is as follows:
On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled.
Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split
into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes
in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional,
the finished product is taken to Uruapan or
Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On
this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

Railroad ties are usually made under contract
313 arrangements. The workers leave town on
439 Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping.
Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in
splitting and shaping the ties with the ax.
Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor,
and the men are paid in time to return home
that night.

A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
313 madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold
322 in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small
wooden objects for which Paracho is famous.
A few people in Cherán also make broom
handles.

A considerable amount of charcoal is pro-
314 duced on the more distant lands of Cherán.
Several men in town make their living entirely
from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost
exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners
usually spend from Monday until Friday in the
woods, and return home over the week end.
Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers,
the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches
by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine
production is an important industry. This has
been true of Cherán in the past, but. for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

[p. 17a]

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[824] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardina"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] [435] [563] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a day (16 *carpas*), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.17b]

313 about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

An important product of Cherán is shakes, [438] *tejamanil* (tasámani). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, [824] as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (péri) with [401] a wedge, *cuña* (injárukua). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (uáⁿgua). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied [804] into bundles of 400 called an irépita (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the [438] length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.[8]

[8] A cuarta equals ¼ of a vara (the standard measure of length, about 32 inches long).

[text continues on p. 19a]

283
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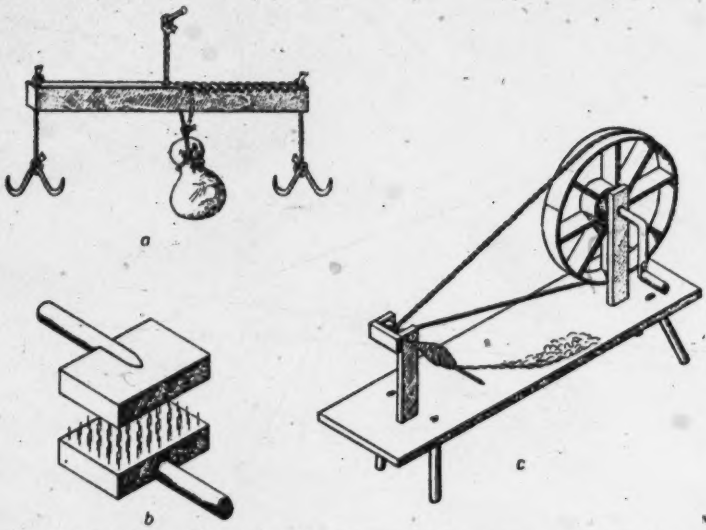

FIGURE 6.—Spinning wheel and associated implements. *a*, Scales for weighing wool; the weight is a 1-pound stone; length of the beam is 14½ inches. *b*, Carders used to prepare wool for spinning, about 9 by 12 inches; the wires are merely indicated schematically and actually are much more numerous. *c*, Home-made spinning wheel; the wheel is turned with the right hand, the wool fed into the thread with the left hand; the spinner stands to operate the apparatus.

[p. 36a]

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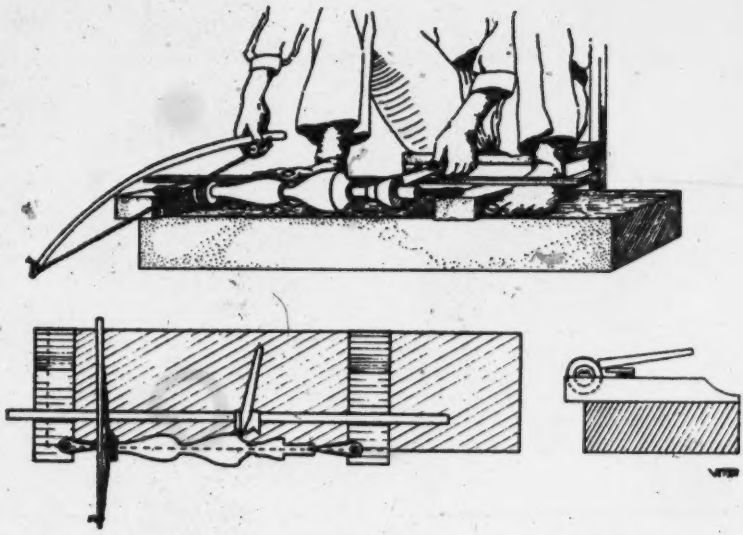

FIGURE 9.—Lathe driven by a bow. A candlestick, about 12 inches long, is in process of manufacture. The two bottom views show the position of the cutting tool.

[p. 43a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 43b]

335 carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

322 402 [824] As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type. They are made of madroño wood and are turned on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

322 438 Broom handles are made by one family, as already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

256 arrangement guarantees an adequate number of customers each day a mill is operating.

The miller must have some mechanical knowl-
256 edge as well as capital and business ability.
402 Most of the mills are driven by an old automobile engine converted to operate on gas produced by a charcoal burner, usually made from an old oil drum. A belt drive transmits power and reduces the speed. Usually the owner (or manager in some cases) supervises the motor and the gas burner and an employee or member of the family feeds the maize into the mill and collects the charge, 1 centavo a kilo. In one case a woman occupied this post, but most of the mill operators are men.

Except for a few very poor families, everyone in Cherán now patronizes the mills. Each mill serves from about 330 to 360 customers a day.

Wheat threshing.—One wood-burning steam-
407 driven threshing machine has operated in Cherán for several years. The machine is stationary (although it could be moved, it is too cumbersome to do so), and the customers bring their wheat to the machine. Two tenders, who feed the wheat into the machine, and a water carrier are required besides the operator. Firewood is purchased. Exclusive of interest on the investment and repairs, the operator nets about 25 pesos a day above operating expenses.

In 1940 a smaller gasoline-driven thresher, which could be moved from house to house, was said to have made considerable inroads on the trade. However, as the bulk of the Cherán wheat is still threshed by hand, there seemed to be ample business for both threshing machines.

Painters and plasterers.—This is a rare occu-
338 pation followed by two or three men on a part-time basis. Only a minority of the houses of adobe or stone are plastered, and few of them are painted. The pay is fairly good, but the best worker probably does not put in more than 90 days' work a year. Brushes and stencils are used in painting.

Masons.—As the house owner normally pro-
333 vides all materials, the mason sells only his services. His equipment is a trowel, hammer, a board frame for holding mud mortar, a shovel for mixing mortar, an ax to cut poles for

243 *Threshing machine:*
407 *Equipment:*
433 Woodburning steam-driven threshing machine. Cost unknown, but probably several thousand pesos.
434

Charges for wheat threshing (a *carga*)	$2.50
Capacity daily	12 *cargas*
Income daily	$30.00

Operating expenses (daily):	
Wood	$2.00
Hired labor	2.00
Water carrier	1.00
Total	$5.00

Operating season (June 20 to Oct. 25, period worked in 1940 estimated):	*Days*
June	8
July	25
August	25
September	20
October	15
Total	93

Total business (1,116 *cargas*, estimated, at $2.50 a *carga*)	$2,790
Net profit annually before deducting repairs, wages for owner, interest and depreciation, approximately	$2,365

Comment: Probably the threshing machine has the largest peso volume of business of any enterprise in Cherán, although one of the *nixtamal* mills probably is a close second. The threshing machine also represents the greatest capital investment except for some individual investments in real estate. High repair costs probably reduce the true net profit considerably, while depreciation in this case cannot be ignored. Add to this the time and skill required of the owner, and it is probable that this is not the most profitable enterprise in town even though it be the largest. Certainly, other families of farmers or combination farmers and storekeepers show more outward signs of prosperity.

402 *Nixtamal mills:*
433 Cost of equipment ..... $300.00–$1200.00
434 Costs daily:
256

Gasoline and oil for gas engines	2.00
Charcoal for producer gas equipped engines	1.20
Labor, 1 man	.80–1.00
Gross income at 1 centavo per kilo of maize ground (daily)	13.00–15.00
Net income (daily)	10.00–12.00

Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

256 402 433 434 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included. Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 434 *Barbers:*

Prices:

Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 434 *Musicians:*

Wages:

For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 434 *Painters, plasterers:*

Daily wage	$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 433 434 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 433 434 *Butchers:*

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	$80–$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

[P. 68 c]

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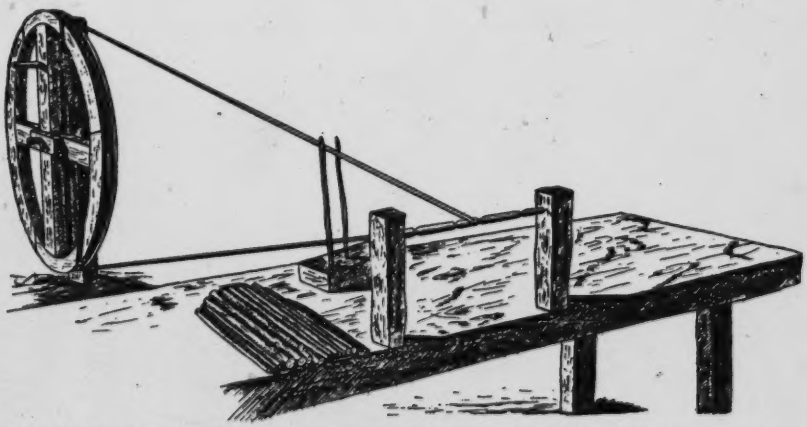

FIGURE 6.—The wheel lathe, used by most Tarascan cabinetmakers for turning wood. The wheel ranges from 2½ to 4 feet in diameter and is usually turned by a small boy.

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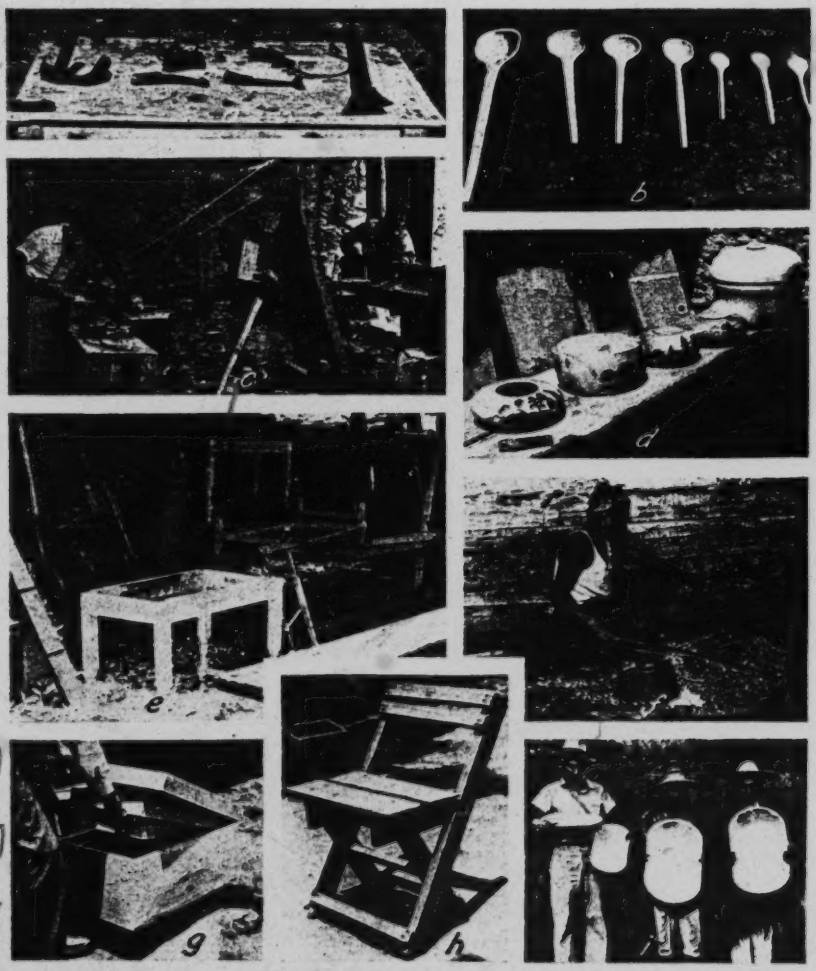

PLATE 13.—Woodwork. a, Grooving tools, Paracho. b, Wooden spoons and ladles, Paracho. c, Modern electrically powered lathe shop, Paracho. d, Turned objects made at Paracho. e, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cocupao. f, Making mandolins with the bow lathe, Paracho. g, Nest of wooden boxes, Cuanajo. h, Small (3 feet high) tilting chair commonly made in Cuanajo. i, Boxes made at Sirio.

[End-plate 13]

343 room, the number depending upon the economic
352 status of the family. They are rarely used except to seat visitors. Tin trunks or wooden chests are usually found for storage of clothing. Clothing may also be hung on a pole extending from front to back wall. A sewing machine is a fairly com-
[404] mon item of equipment. Rather rarely, the room will contain a wooden bedstead; this again is used

[354]

FIGURE 15.—Fire hearth of stones. *a*, Space for pots; *b*, space for *comal*.

only for guests, when mats are spread over the bed. In emergencies, the room may also be used for the storage of harvests. A portion of the veranda may also be boarded for this purpose. The second floor is customarily used to store maize on the cob.

[p. 22a]

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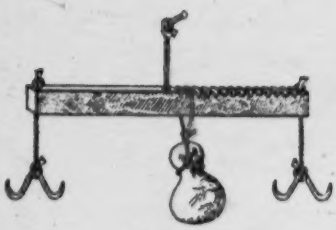

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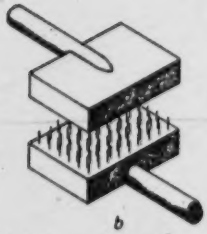

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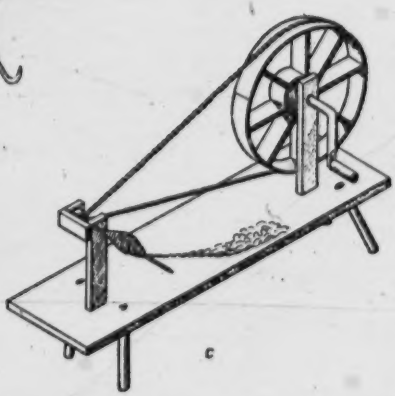

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FIGURE 6.—Spinning wheel and associated implements. *a*, Scales for weighing wool; the weight is a 1-pound stone; length of the beam is 14½ inches. *b*, Carders used to prepare wool for spinning, about 9 by 12 inches; the wires are merely indicated schematically and actually are much more numerous. *c*, Home-made spinning wheel; the wheel is turned with the right hand, the wool fed into the thread with the left hand; the spinner stands to operate the apparatus.

[p. 36a]

262 raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans
[435] were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in
252 the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is
[609] taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such
262 as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

244 **Specialized truck gardening.**—This is a more recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans.
312 They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratarákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden
[406] spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratarákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 25), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratarákua* is used also at Tarejero, in the basin of Zacapu.

[P. 48]

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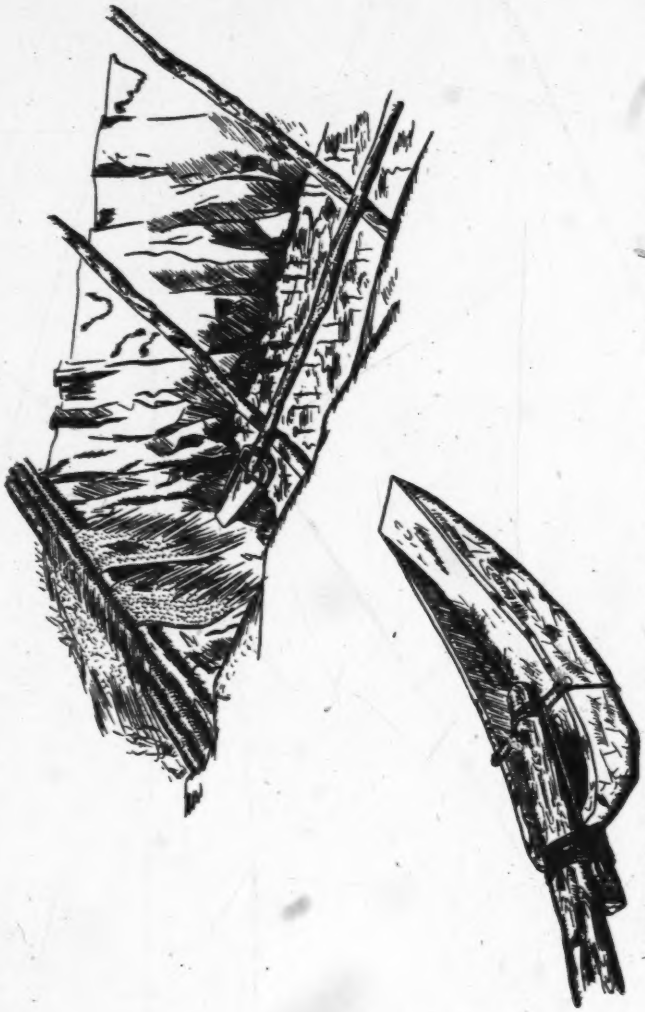

FIGURE 4.—The t'apiréirakua irrigation derice. The pole to which the wooden spoon is attached is approximately 12 feet long.

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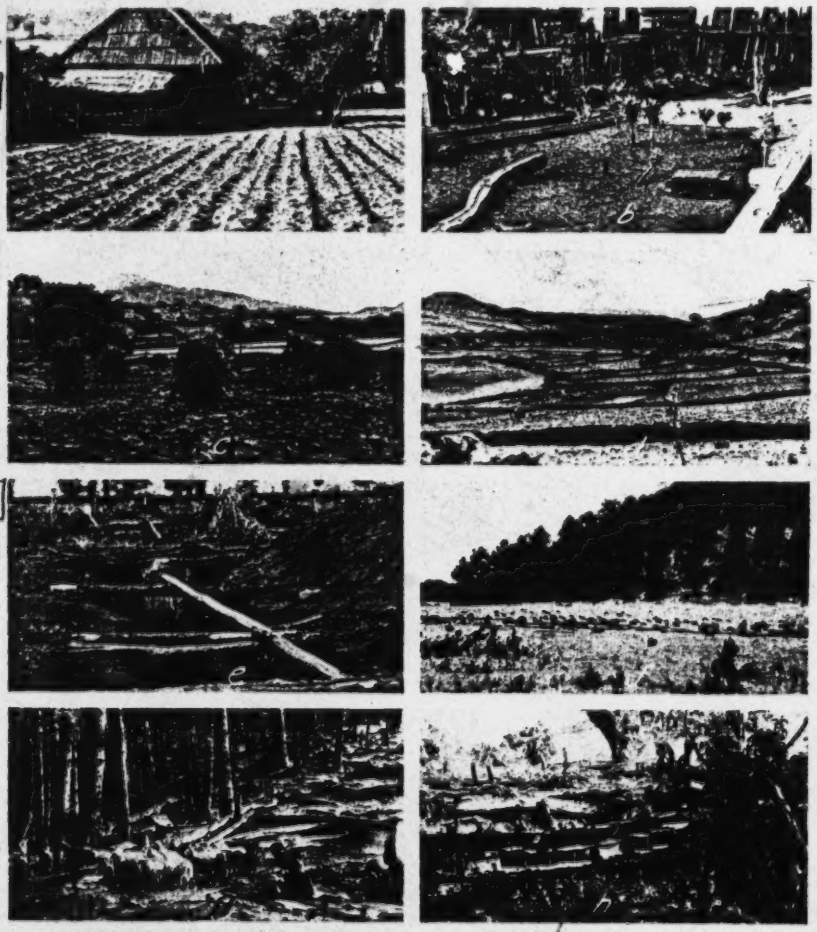

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PLATE 7.—Horticulture and domestic animals. *a*, Large plowed circular, San Felipe. Note animal pen adjoining trajo. *b*, Small patch of cabbage in home lot, San Felipe. *c*, Vines of chayote in circular, Tanaquillo, La Cañada. *d*, Irrigated vegetable plot along waterfront of Lake Pátzcuaro, near Arócutín. *e*, Ditch wall and poles (tepalcatlatenty) used to lift water from ditch to irrigate field. Near Uricho. *f*, Sheep grazing in harvested maize field, near Tanaco. *g*, Herding sheep near summit of Cerro de Pátamban. The flock is from the ranchs of Uringuitiro. *h*, Bee hives in home lot, Ajuju.

[End-plate 7]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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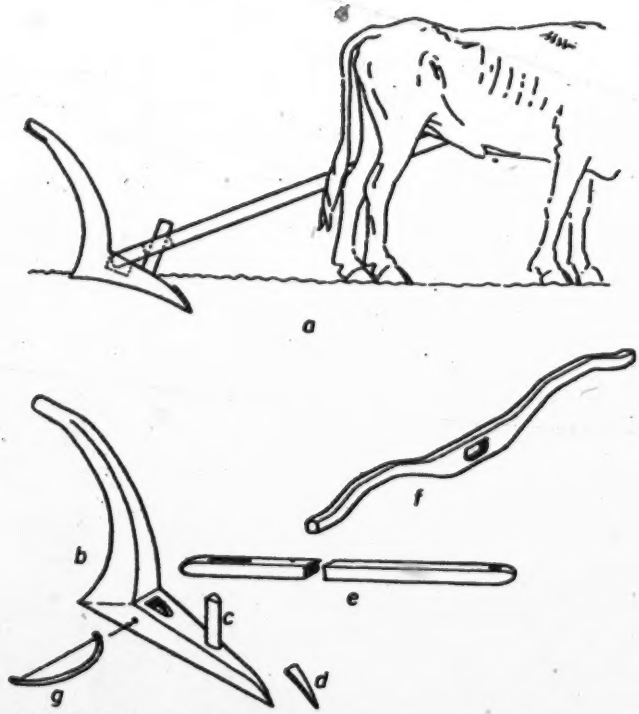

FIGURE 3.—The Cherán plow. *a*, Plow in use with oxen (see also pl. 4, upper left). *b*, Main frame, made from a single piece of wood. *c*, Peg over which the tongue fits. *d*, Steel plowshare fastened on the point of the main frame. *e*, Tongue which goes over peg (*c*), while the end fits in a socket on the main frame. *f*, yoke; the tongue (*e*) passes through the opening in the yoke and is held by a tapered peg (not shown). *g*, Bow used on the plow in planting to spread the dirt into the already planted furrows; the bow is inserted into the indicated hole.

[p. 22 c]

243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. [462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in [407] 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Tarataro, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

Beans.—The soil of Cherán is said not to be 244 good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

256 arrangement guarantees an adequate number of customers each day a mill is operating.

The miller must have some mechanical knowl-
256 edge as well as capital and business ability.
402 Most of the mills are driven by an old automobile engine converted to operate on gas produced by a charcoal burner, usually made from an old oil drum. A belt drive transmits power and reduces the speed. Usually the owner (or manager in some cases) supervises the motor and the gas burner and an employee or member of the family feeds the maize into the mill and collects the charge, 1 centavo a kilo. In one case a woman occupied this post, but most of the mill operators are men.

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.736]

243 *Threshing machine:*
407 *Equipment:*
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434

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434 Costs daily:
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Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

314 negligible. Turpentine is produced at any season of the year. The first cut in trees is made about 20 or 25 cm. (8 or 10 in.) from the ground, with a small ax called gúrbia. The initial cut is one-half cm. vertically and 10 cm. horizontally. At the base of the cut a small copper or pottery cup is fastened. The initial cut is lengthened upward each year until, after about 10 years, the cut is 1.50 to 1.70 m. in height. A cut is then started on the opposite side of the tree. Formerly it was the practice to leave the cup for collecting the resin at the bottom of the cut. This wasted considerable resin, and now the cup is raised as the height of the cut is increased. In order to lead the resin into the cup, a small sheet of metal is driven into the tree just above the cup. The cup is emptied every 3 days and the cut cleaned or enlarged.

The collected resin or *brea* is cooked in special stills. An *olla* of resin is placed above a fire-
[323] box (fig. 2). The cover and "coil" are made of pottery (in the village of Patamban), and the turpentine is caught in another vessel. Before the decline in turpentine prices caused by World War II, a kilo of resin sold at 8 centavos in the woods and a 5-gallon tin of turpentine
[435] sold at 18 pesos. In 1941, prices were 4 or 5 centavos for a kilo of resin with a corresponding drop in turpentine prices.

HUNTING

Probably no one in Cherán derives any con-
224 siderable part of his livelihood from hunting. Some men hunt casually because their farms or lumbering activities take them where game is more plentiful. Others hunt a good deal because they enjoy it. Finally, sometimes people hunt because they are poor and thus can augment their food supply or income.

The most commonly hunted animals are deer, peccary (guákin), squirrels (both ordinary, kuínike, and flying squirrels), rabbits, quail, pigeons, and less commonly, armadillos. Other local wild animals are not eaten. Heavy rifles
[411] are used for large animals, usually .30 or .32 caliber, and .22 caliber rifles for squirrels.

Deer are sometimes trapped in pits in the mountains. Squirrels are caught in snares. Horsehair threads are used to make snares to
223 catch quail and pigeons. Quail snares are hung

222 mestizo towns nearby for the manufacture of scrubbing brushes. This activity is not peculiar to Tarascans, for it is carried on by both mestizos and Indians in high altitudes of the Mesa Central where the grass grows in abundance.

Before the eruption of Parícutin in 1943, honey 263 gathering was an important collecting activity in 222 the Sierra. The heavy fall of volcanic ash killed or drove away all wild bees in the area, terminating the ancient trade of the *panaleros*, or honey gatherers. Formerly there were 15 *panaleros* in Urapicho, and several in Cherán and Tanaco. In the spring of 1946 it was rumored in some pueblos farthest from the volcano that a few swarms of bees were returning. (See Beals, 1946, pp. 13–14, for a description of honey collecting in the Sierra.)

HUNTING ACTIVITIES

In pre-Conquest times hunting formed a signif- 224 icant part of the food quest among the Tarascans. Deer, rabbit, and grouse were hunted in the Sierra, while migratory waterfowl, chiefly ducks, were taken in the Lake area (Relación de Michoacán, p. 15). Today only duck hunting on Lake Pátzcuaro still has economic importance, and there it is limited chiefly to fishers—the islanders and some *rancheros* on the Tarío-k'eri Peninsula. Nine varieties of migratory ducks (principally of the genera *Nyroca*, *Mareca*, and *Nettion*) are recognized by the fishermen. Customarily bird hunting starts on the Día de los Muertos fiestas (October 31 and November 1), when as many as 100 ducks are killed by a single hunter, and continues until the departure of the flocks in late March. The p'atámu, or spear propelled with the 411 throwing stick (ꞓapáki, or the Nahuatl *atlatl*), is still employed by many duck hunters. The spear, with a *carrizo* handle 3 m. long, carries 3 points, called the *fisga* (k'enčéta), each 7 cm. in length (fig. 5). Old flintlocks (*carabinas de chispas*) are also used by the Urandén islanders, but many modern hunters from Janitzio possess modern shotguns. Ducks are eaten in the Lake pueblos and many are sold in Pátzcuaro. Waterfowl are hunted by Tarascans likewise in the Zacapu Basin.

In the Sierra, hunting is looked upon as a 224 pastime by most modern Indians. Men and [517] boys often hunt deer, squirrels, and rabbits with flintlocks and some modern rifles. Game, however, is largely depleted in the Sierra. Beals

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 52b--Analyst]

[P. 52-a]

●411

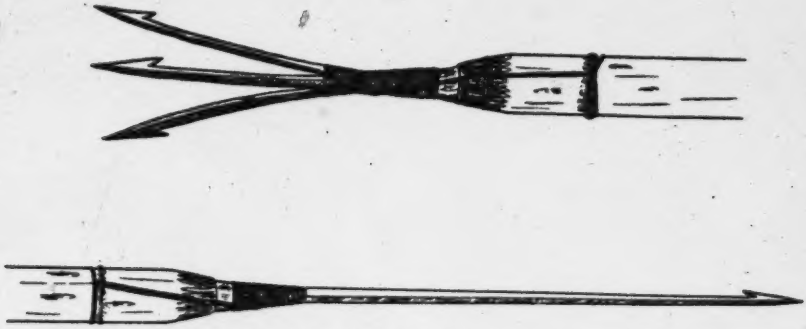

FIGURE 5.—The fish spear (above) and *fiage* (below). Approximately ⅓ natural size.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans
105 appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

In this section are described the techniques of
128 the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the
[263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*silantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo,*
[278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is col-
[252] lected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly
412 of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja,* the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.13b]

105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire
412 family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing wool-
388 ens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting tech-
222 nique still important in Cherán is gathering
237 wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two
[776] groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *baya* (hóugakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1946).

[104]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 149]

222 ing. The combs found here are round and
237 hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravo*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon
[752] juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If
[481] the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk
[412] with a small special-type ax, tying himself with a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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FIGURE 1.—Woodworking implements. *a*, Typical ax head, weighing 6 to 8 pounds. *b*, Same as *a*, with handle; total length about 3½ feet. *c*, Short-handled ado (azapiro). *d*, Saw used for cutting planks (k'ueki erikiteraku), about 6 feet long; the lower handle usually is of metal and slumps over the end of the saw, engaging the saw teeth to hold it in place. *e*, Long-handled ado. *f*, Method of using long-handled ado to draw beams or planks. *g*, Logging saw, "sawhorse," used to cut felled timber into desired lengths.

[p. 16]

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fun-
[262] gus. The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

243 Trespass by domestic animals and theft must
672 be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields
685 are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 Unseasonal frost often damages corn, par-
[132] ticularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated (*"escarda"* also *"trozando"*) by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded *"chaponeado."* This is done by hand with a
[412] short machete, called *"os,"* with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

243 As soon as grain is well formed on the ears,
221 some maize is used for food, usually roasted.
674 At this time, also, guards must be set in the fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

939 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. [438] The mats are made of tules imported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture 439 men's hats of palm straw braid, although production does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

592 Table
352 3 chairs (usually small low style)
Machete
415 ½ dozen spoons
2 table forks (rare)
1 table knife (rare)
1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

412 Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)
592 Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs
Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes
Wooden pitchfork
Wooden hook
Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)
Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)
Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

Clothing must also be secured. The man will
291 own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

313 All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
656 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
[423] most entirely on public lands considered to belong to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort was open to all residents who had paid a small fee to an administrative committee. The fee was used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently, the Department of Forestry of the Federal Government has restricted exploitation of the forests for any purpose other than the collection of firewood to persons having permits. In Cherán this
[474] apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry has refused to give permits to any other group or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks and beams. Shake making is even more specialized, and men who make shakes may do nothing else except look after whatever farm lands they may own. Only a very poor person would attempt to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
137 tinguished, red (iaɪ́ni), the heartwood of large trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or wood from young trees. From these woods are made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over 2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or *tablas*.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-handled saw (k'eréri aɪ́ɪ́kutarakua). Logs destined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the *vara*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *vara* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

313 by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of
412 poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.[2]

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

Several types of shakes are made. In Anga-
313 huan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches
438 wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (tasámbani sapírati), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (tasámbani iórati), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (tasámani tiápiti), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (irépita).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety
412 of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable
339 earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist
333 climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

[2] A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

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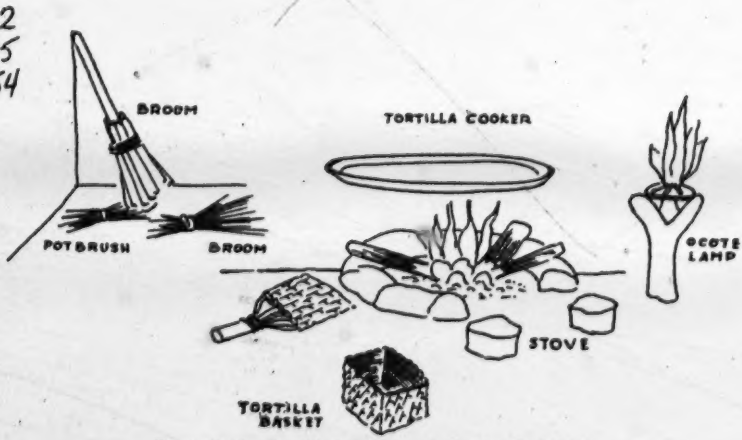

FIGURE 16.—Utensils and furnishings commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

[p. 22c]

243 for most of the Sierra. Here, therefore, only the major processes and regional differences will be highlighted.

Ground preparation and planting.—On the level basin floors and lower hill slopes, land is prepared for maize planting with the plow (*arado*). The ancient Egyptian two-piece affair drawn by [412] a pair of oxen is the most common type of plow [177] used by the Tarascans and by most of the present-day farmers of Mexico. (See Beals, 1946, p. 22, for illustration of this primitive plow.) Introduced into the Tarascan area in the 1520's or 1530's, this instrument was readily taken over by the native farmers. Adaptation to the plow was possibly slow in the Sierra, where most of the aboriginal agriculture was on steep slopes; but at least by 1624 the farmers of Cherán were cultivating the lower slopes near the town with the *arado* (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13).

Prior to the introduction of the plow the flattish basin plains of the Sierra apparently were infrequently cultivated. Early accounts of Tarascan farming emphasize the importance of *desmonte* agriculture on the steep slopes. A report of 1599 describing the pueblo of Corundapan (now nonexistent) in the Sierra near Tingambato, states that the natives had no lands in adjacent basin plains, but, as was customary among Tarascan peoples, planted on the slopes in order to obviate frost hazard.[26] The probable occurrence of a grass sod in the basin plains may also have discouraged their cultivation. A description (1603) of the lands of Capacuaro mentions the large number of *desmontes*, but points out the possibility of cultivating an unused plain nearby, which was relatively free of shrubs and trees.[27] Such areas, though difficult to till with the aboriginal digging stick, were readily adapted to plow culture.

243 The plow now used in Tarasca probably has not
412 changed in form since the early 16th century. For most plowing the straight iron plow tip (8 to 10 in. long, 3 in. wide), called the *reja*, is fastened

[26] AGN Tierras, vol. 64, exped. 2. ". . . *no tienen tierras en las lomas y así siembran en el monte como lo acostumbra toda la nación tarasca en lo que es tierra frío por abrigar sus sementeras de los yelos . . . .*" This statement is from one of the field reports which accompanied recommendations for the village congregations at the end of the 16th century. Obviously, owing to air drainage, frost hazards are less on lower slopes than on the basin flats, a fact keenly recognized by modern Tarascan farmers.

[27] AGN Congregaciones, ff. 14v–15. Fray Diego Medín describes the plain as " . . . *llanada . . . la mayor parte rasa y descombrada, fertil y facil de labrar* [with the plow, of course] . . . *capaz de mucha semilla y cosecha . . .* "

243 to the lower point of the frame. This instrument
412 stirs, rather than turns, the soil to a depth of less than 6 inches. Within the last 50 years many Tarascans have used a small adaptation of the North European moldboard plowshare for breaking new land and for first and second plowings. For planting and cultivating maize the moldboard (which is slipped over the end of the plow frame) is replaced by the *reja*. As mentioned above, in recent years the Mexican government has supplied a number of American steel plows to various
243 Tarascan municipios.

[231] Oxen are used almost exclusively to pull the plow, to which they are hitched by the horn yoke. Mules and horses sometimes supplement oxen during maize cultivation, when the work must be done quickly. Before being planted, maize fields are plowed, this operation being called *barbecho*. In the Sierra the *humedad* maize lands in the plains are plowed twice, once in late summer and again in late winter. Temporal maize fields located outside the Sierra undergo only one plowing—in late May or early June, immediately before the rains. For planting, rows are formed with the plow equipped with the straight *reja*. Usually rows follow the contour on slopes. Two to three seeds are dropped at 1-foot intervals into the furrow by a boy following the plow and driver. Often the boy covers the seed with earth to a depth of 3 or 4 inches with a sweep of his foot. If animals are available, the first plow is followed by a second, which covers the grain by throwing earth from the interfurrow ridge (pl. 5). This plow is often equipped with a horizontal beam (*orejera*), placed back of the *reja*, which rakes earth into the furrow. Maize is normally cultivated (earth thrown toward the plant and weeds eradicated) twice with the plow, once when the plant is about 1½ feet high (*escarda*) and again when the plant begins to tassel (*segunda*). There-
[412] after, fields are weeded by hand or with the hoe. Zacatón (a form of Johnson grass) is cut with the *juds*, a machetelike sickle, similar to the *garabato* of the *tierra caliente*.[a]

412 Several forms of the pre-Columbian planting
243 stick are still used in the maize fields of the Sierra (fig. 3). These instruments, called meiánta-
[Text continues top of P. 38a - Analysis]

[104] [a] The Sierra Tarascans use many terms to describe maize in its various stages of growth. When the plant is about 4 inches high (2 weeks after planting), it is called pirán; at 1½ feet (ready for the *escarda*), kání or tapíta; when in tassel, pípita; when ears are in hair, tusíni or tusípiti.

[P. 37]

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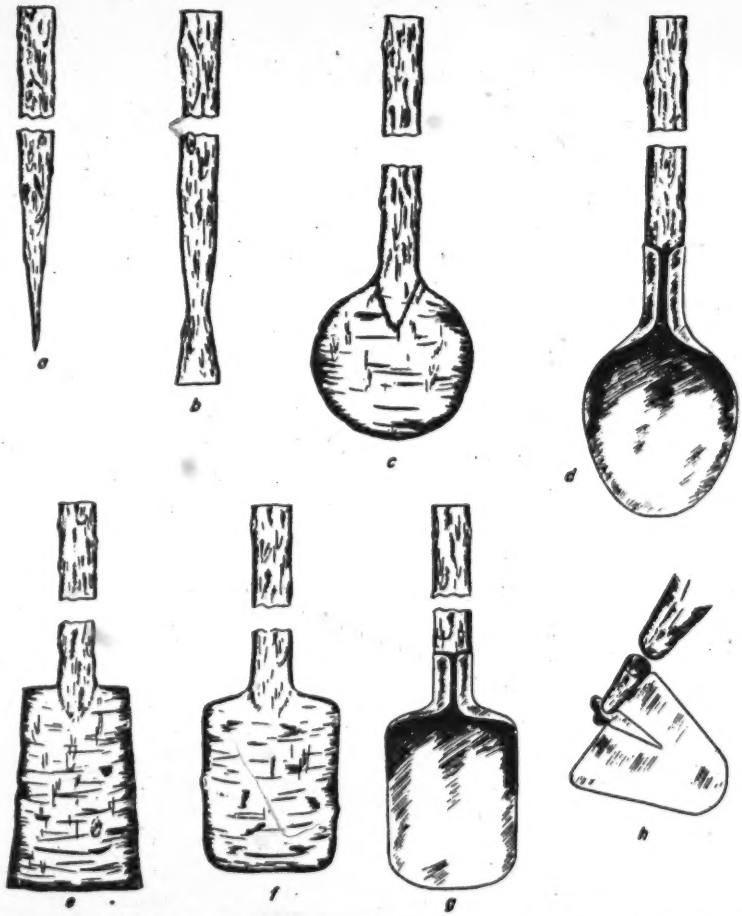

FIGURE 3.—Tarascan planting tools. *a–d*, Meiántatárakuela, or instruments for replanting maize. *a* and *b* are probably the ancient forms of the planting stick. *c* and *d* may have been derived from the triangular *ess*; the round form is also used in the Tarascan paddle, Lake Pátzcuaro. *d* is also called tuifuakua, or instrument for making charcoal; it is often used to break open the kiln after the wood has been reduced to carbon. *e–h*, T'ekaíakuela or tarákuela, sometimes used to plant maize. *e*, Pasaitárakua, instrument for flattening or patting, is more frequently employed to pat down mud and clay on the exterior of the charcoal kiln than to plant maize. *h*, Ordinary form of Tarascan metal hoe, or t'ekáakua. *a–c*, about 1/2 natural size; *d–h*, approximately 1/15.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 38-a] Sierra

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tárakua,[60] are employed chiefly to replant maize which failed to germinate or was killed by frost. The most common form is a pointed, fire-hardened stick of oak or *otate*.[61] Occasionally the stick is tipped with a chisel-shaped iron piece. A less common type of planting stick, which carries a round wooden blade, 6 to 8 inches in diameter, is reminiscent of the ancient *coa*, from which it is probably derived. The blade and handle are ordinarily of oak and of one piece. In Capacuaro a meiántatárakua with a round metal blade attached to a wooden handle was seen.[62] Another wooden instrument, called *pala* or te'kátʌkua (sometimes simply tarákua), is used in the Sierra to plant maize in the house-lot gardens. The blade, carved of oak, is flat with an outline of the modern spade. In the wet lands of the Zacapu Basin Tarascans use this implement to plant maize in the fields.[63] There, blades purely of wood, of wood edged with metal, and wholly of metal were observed.

On the steep slopes and in small patches of soil within lava flows, where the plow is useless, the Tarascans have retained their ancient ways of soil preparation and planting. The hillside fields in the Sierra (*desmontes*) are cleared by cutting underbrush and small saplings with the *judá*, the larger trees with the ax (*hacha*), customarily during December and January. Girdling was not observed. In March the dried brush is burned, the wood ash serving as a much needed fertilizer for the leached yellow-brown soils (pl. 5). Such plots are usually productive for three to five consecutive plantings; thereafter they are abandoned for several years. A type of shifting agriculture is thus practiced on the steeply sloping lands. The small fertile plots within the lava flows, however, are permanent fields. Small permanent maize fields (*cachitos*, uatʌli) also occur on lower slopes near the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Soil retaining walls at the lower edges of such fields give them

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[60] Literally, instrument for replanting maize. The word "tárakua," meaning implement, or apparatus, forms the root of many Tarascan terms for various instruments used in the native economy.

[61] *Otate* is a bamboo with tough, woody stalks.

[62] According to a native of Capacuaro, the present distribution of the round-bladed planting stick includes the towns of Capacuaro, San Lorenzo, Paracho, Quinceo, Arantepacua, Turicuaro, Cumechuán, and (before the volcano) San Juan Parangaricutiro, all located in the southeastern portion of the Sierra near the approaches to the *tierra caliente*. (Information supplied by Sr. Pablo Velásquez G.)

[63] The planter, following the plow, sinks the spade into the bottom of the furrow approximately 8 inches, shoves the instrument forward, prying up a section of earth, under which he casts the seed; he then extracts the spade, permitting the earth to fall back on the seed.

243 the appearance of terraces.[63] Remnants of pre-Columbian terrace agriculture occur in the vicinity of Chilchota in La Cañada.[64]

412 243 In the small plots described above, the large metal hoe (*azada*, *azadón*, with blade perpendicular to handle) is the principal instrument used to prepare the soil. Although called by the native name (t'ekáɢakua or tarákua) by some Tarascans, [177] the *azadón* is European, having been introduced into Tarascan culture early in the 16th century. The aboriginal t'ekáɢakua (with blade parallel to handle) is no longer used to prepare soil for planting, but, as mentioned above, is still sometimes employed to replant. In pre-Conquest times this instrument (at least in the *tierra caliente*) carried a copper alloy blade (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo, 1581); the tarákua with a triangular iron blade is at present employed by the mountain people in the Balsas drainage of Guerrero (Hendrichs, 1945–46, vol. 1, pp. 31–32).

Planting in the *desmontes* and other small maize plots is performed by opening a small hole with the *azadón*, dropping in the seeds, and covering them with earth by a sweep of the foot. The seed holes are spaced 2 to 3 feet apart, but no attempt is made to form straight rows. Maize is cultivated twice (*escarda* and *segunda*) with the *azadón*.

243 *Maize harvest and storage.*—Three maize products are obtained from the field: roasting ears (*elotes*), fodder (*rastrojo*), and mature ears (*mazorcas*, šanini). Roasting ears come mainly from the special colored corns of the house-lot garden, but many are taken from the fields. In the *humedad* lands of the Sierra *elote* is ready by August in the *temporal* lands, in July.[65] At high elevations (e. g. around the *rancho* of Cherato) the development of *elote* from corn planted in March

---

[63] These apparent terraces are best developed along the north and west shores of Tzúu-k'éri Peninsula.

[64] The following account of the terrace agriculture near Chilchota is given in the Relación Geográfica for that town (1579):

" . . . *por ser muy pedregosos y de malpais las piedras eran puestas a mano como gradas dexando entre grada y grada con una vara de medir de ancho limpio donde plantaban el maiz, y es esto tanto y hecho por tal orden que parece cosa que pone espanto*" (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, f. 89v).

[65] In some Tarascan towns a minor celebration occurs when roasting ears begin to mature. The first ears picked in the village are taken through the streets by girls, who invite people to kiss the *elotes*. The ears are then taken to the village church and placed on the altar. Later, when all the fields and house lots are in *elote*, girls make special tamales (sépu) of green corn for friends and the family. The *elote* fiesta is apparently a vestige of a significant aboriginal harvest rite. Other minor festivals occur on the first day of the fall-corn or spring-wheat harvests, but they are usually family days and consist mainly of a "combate," or drinking spree. Often special foods—tamales, eu ípu (meat stew)—are prepared. There are no religious rites involved in the latter fiestas.

[196]

243 December. Being more tolerant of poor soils and frost than either maize or wheat, it is customarily grown on the upper slopes. As it is believed that barley improves the soil, it is frequently rotated with maize. Much barley is sown on the high slopes around Cumachuén and Pichátaro, where yellow-brown soils and a short-growing season prevail. Oats are rarely cultivated; small fields were reported only in Pichátaro and Cumachuén.

244 *Other European field crops.*—Broadbeans, lentils, and chickpeas are cultivated chiefly around Lake Pátzcuaro and in the northern plateau pueblos, where they are often grown with maize. [262] Although small quantities are raised in the Sierra, these crops have little place in the native diet.

HORTICULTURE

The house-lot gardens (ekuárueča).—These have been frequently mentioned above (pl. 7). In contrast to field agriculture, cultivation in the ekuáru is intensive; a large variety of plants (maize, beans, squash, vegetables, and fruits) are raised in each small lot; the soil is replenished by application of refuse from the dwelling and manure from the stable. The ekuáru is cultivated [462] mainly by the women and children of the household; the fields, in contrast, are worked by the men. In the gardens the women, always conservative, have retained the plants that are old in indigenous culture. Moreover, although some of the larger lots are plowed with oxen, most are cultivated with two of the present forms [412] of the tarákua: the wooden *pala* and the metal-bladed *asada*.

The principal garden crop is the *elote* maize, discussed above in connection with corn types. The cultivation of the old beans, such as kokóɣ, small patches of amaranth, and various squashes in the ekuáru, has also been mentioned. The women plant in the garden other indigenous vegetables, such as chayote (apúpu; *Sechium edule*);[28] *tomate* (tóma; *Physalis angulata*), which bears the small green husk-enclosed tomatoes; and, if water is available for irrigation, chiles of various types. The most significant vegetable grown in [262] the Tarascan house gardens, however, is the

[28] The chayote bears annually small squashlike fruits, which are boiled and served with chile. In its third year the plant develops a large tuberous root, which is dug up and boiled (tapáʌa) and is often ground on the metate to a flour, which is served as a gruel (ingú). The plant is reproduced by seed, or rather by planting the entire chayote fruit.

177 aboriginal and European products and techniques.
463 Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern woodwork the adz and the lathe are probably European [412] and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide [281] have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal. [286] Although the ancient belt loom is used for most cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European tech- [325] niques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 67-9]

294 palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are [439] marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an [177] introduced trait.

Broommaking.—This is another minor industry ●412 now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. [171] The result is a common broom found in all parts of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the 322 Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the [177] natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[180a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[180a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1889, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in García Library, Univ. of Texas).

322 industry more than 150 years old; in only five of the present towns do more than 25 percent of the working population engage in woodwork.

Adz work.—This is the simplest of the wood techniques now practiced by Tarascans (and by other Indian groups, as well as by mestizos in many parts of Mexico). Before the Conquest the Indians shaped boats from a single log and carved delicate figures on throwing sticks and tom-toms, possibly using obsidian and copper cutting tools. With the introduction of the [177] European steel adz and gouge early in the 16th century, native wood carving was greatly facilitated. One of the earliest European objects which the Tarascans carved with the adz was the saddle frame (*fuste*), an industry which disappeared 100 years ago. Today wooden spoons 322 and bowls (*bateas*) of softwoods are the principal 438 adz and gouge products, Pamatácuaro and its offspring settlements Sirío and San Benito being the chief producers.[121] These objects are also made in the Tarascan villages of Turícuaro, Cumachuén, Pichátaro, Zirosto (formerly important) and Sevina (where the industry was introduced a few years ago), and in the mestizo towns of Pátzcuaro, Tócuaro, Zirahuén, Uruapan, Quiroga. Spoons and bowls are made from softwoods: *jaboncillo* (šápu), *palo blano* (urápit-úku), and *aile* (pámu). Occasionally *bateas* are made of pine. Tools include the common adz and vari- [412] ously shaped gouges, which are driven with a wooden mallet (pl. 13). The products of Pamatácuaro and surrounding settlements are marketed in all parts of Michoacán and sometimes are taken as far as Guadalajara and Mexico City.

Lathe work.—This represents one of the most characteristic forms of modern Tarascan woodcraft, Paracho being the center of the *torneros*. Formerly the simple bow lathe was employed to make bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters (*molinillos*), chessmen, toys (tops, yoyos), darning eggs, etc. (See Beals, 1946, p. 43, for illustration of bow lathe.) Since 1942, however, when a power line was constructed near the town, most of the bows have been replaced by electrically powered lathes. About six *torneros* in Paracho and five in neighboring Ahuíran still use the bow. Formerly turned objects, chiefly rosaries, choco-

[121] It is doubtful that wooden *bateas* were carved before the Spanish Conquest. Gourds of *Crescentia alata* probably functioned for the modern *bateas*. The "*batea*" employed in early Spanish gold pleasuring in the *tierra caliente* were likely fashioned from *Crescentia* gourds.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 71-a]

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's *"planchas de hierro"* were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

324 Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauári), *manos* (poɪékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andesite (ɢakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkua-k'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 441 The structure of trade among the Tarascans is not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made metates. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly boxes).

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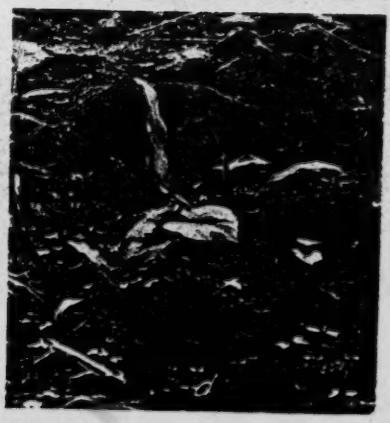
[412]



[343]

PLATE 5.—Mexico, cultures. a, The Egyptian plow, still widely used in Mexico (Warin). Note straight steel rib (rule) which slips over cutaboard of plow [illegible] and good inner end of coulter; leather strap used to fasten yoke to horns of oxen. b, Planting maize near Cuernavaca. The first plow, which opens the furrow, is followed by two small boys, who drop seeds at regular intervals. The second plow covers the seeds. c, Contour plowing near Cuernavaca. Field of young maize. d, Hill of maize and beans in two land near Cuilotepe. Plants are about 1 week old. e, Newly harvested dooryards near Ajo. Note wood rack, which will be mixed with underlying soil. f, Platform on which maize fodder (zacate) is stored, Zacatecas.

[End-plate 5]

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[412]
[415]
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[415]
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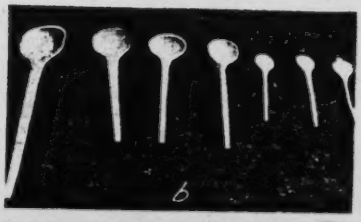
[291]



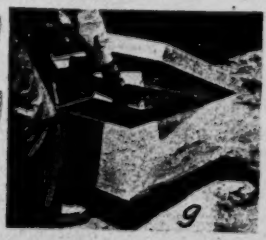


PLATE 12.—Woodwork. a, Gouging tools, Paracúaro. b, Wooden spoons and ladles, Paracúaro. c, Modern electrically powered lathe shop, Paracúaro. d, Turned objects made at Paracúaro. e, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cocupao. f, Making embroidery with the bow lathe, Paracúaro. g, Nest of wooden boxes, Cocupao. h, Small (5 feet high) folding chair commonly made in Cocupao. i, Boxes made at Sirio.

[End-plate 13]

245 Pears and other fruit trees are not pruned, cultivated, or fertilized. Fruit to be shipped, especially pears, is picked with a special implement to prevent bruising. Three narrow pieces of shake are cut to a point at one end. They are then tied with string to one end of a long light pole, forming a triangular funnel. The funnel is placed under the fruit and raised, detaching it gently from the tree (fig. 4).

[413]

FIGURE 4.—Pear picker, made of trimmed shakes, cord, and any convenient long pole. The fruit is caught in the opening, lifted until the stem breaks, and then lowered to the ground. Bruised pears will not stand shipment.

Miscellaneous fruits.—A bitter apple, *manzana agria* or *chata*, is grown in Cherán. A larger, sweet apple is grown in Pichátaro, but only four or five trees exist in Cherán.

Three kinds of peaches are grown in Cherán: *blanco*, a type with red flesh near the pit (name uncollected), a green peach (prísku), and a yellow peach (melókuta). Relatively few [439] peaches or apples are exported.

Two kinds of cherries, black and white, are grown in Cherán. Both are dried in some [251] quantities and are sometimes sold in the market at Paracho.

A few *zapote blanco* are grown in Cherán, but most of this fruit consumed in Cherán is imported. The same is true of plums.

The *tejocote* is said not to be cultivated, but it sometimes is planted deliberately along field borders and its fruit is used. As, with the exception of pears, this is all the attention ever given to other fruits, it is fair to include the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.34a]

128 ties. Neither are descriptions of dress or house use entirely appropriate under the heading of manufacturing processes. Nevertheless, there is a certain cultural or associative logic involved which would be violated by too rigid adherence to the literal meaning of categories.

CERAMICS

339 No native ceramic industry exists in Cherán. Pottery is not made, but in 1940 two men, both [323] non-Tarascans, made roofing tile and brick.

[413]

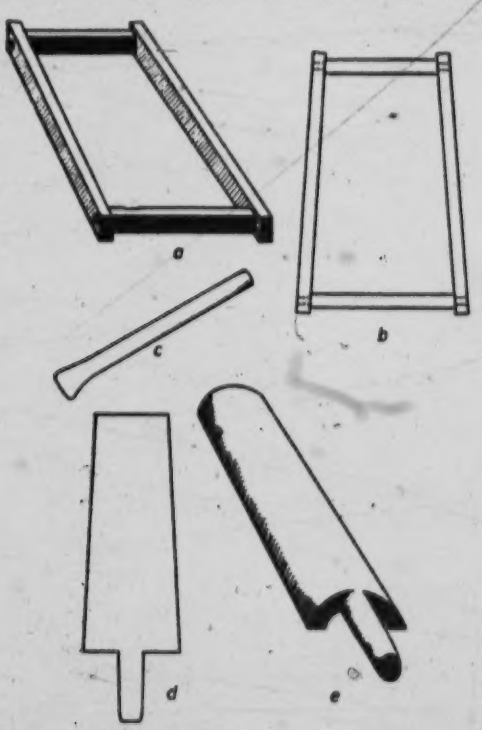


FIGURE 5.—Tilemaker's implements. *a*, Perspective view of the mold. *b*, Direct view of the mold to show proportions and the shape, which is narrower at one end than the other. *c*, Wooden chisel or knife used to loosen clay from mold if necessary (length about 18 inches with other artifacts in proportion). *d*, Outline of the form for tiles. *e*, Perspective view of the form for tiles. The mold is filled with clay and the top smoothed. The mold is then lifted up, leaving the clay on a bench top. The clay is then slid onto the form to receive the curved shape of the tile. After a few minutes drying, the unfired tile is slipped off the form onto the floor to complete the drying process.

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated
with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
[462] or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p1193 b]

Sierra Tarascans

592 Objects found in a house or "*troje*":

352 Sleeping mats
Small table
Chairs, either low chairs, regular size chairs, or stools, one for each man in the household and usually two or three for guests.
Serape, worn by the man during the day and serving as a blanket for man and wife at night. A second *serape* will often be found if there are children.
Chest, box, or trunk for extra clothes
Saint's picture
Candle and candle holder
Flower holder
Ladder for getting to loft
Gun (sometimes)
Cross beam suspended from the ceiling on which are hung clothing, blankets, etc.

Objects found in the kitchen:

592 Wooden hooks for hanging up "anything"
415 Stump and flat stone for burning pitch pine for light
Corn husk mats for holding up pots(at least three)
Large comal
3 "frying pans" of Patamban pottery for cooking meat
1 "frying pan" of Patamban pottery for cooking eggs
Several round and oblong wooden bowls
Grass-root pot brush
Atole strainer
4 cane splint baskets of various sizes
2 pottery jars
Broom for sweeping yard (of brush)
Broom for sweeping house (of broom straw)
Paring knife
Bowls of Quiroga ware or Guanajuato ware for serving broth and meat on special occasions
Charcoal-burning flat iron
Gourd canteens for use at harvest time or in woods
½ dozen china plates
½ dozen china cups
Tea pot
China bowls
½ dozen wooden spoons of various sizes
Tin can for dipper to fill water jars
Chocolate beater
Tortilla baskets
2 water ollas
1 small pitcher
5 large 2-handled pots
8 smaller 1-handled pots
Clay fireplace
Firefan
Small metate for chiles
Large metate for maize

592 Table
352 3 chairs (usually small low style)
Machete
415 ½ dozen spoons
2 table forks (rare)
1 table knife (rare)
1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

412 Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)
592 Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs
Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes
Wooden pitchfork
Wooden hook
Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)
Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)
Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

291 Clothing must also be secured. The man will own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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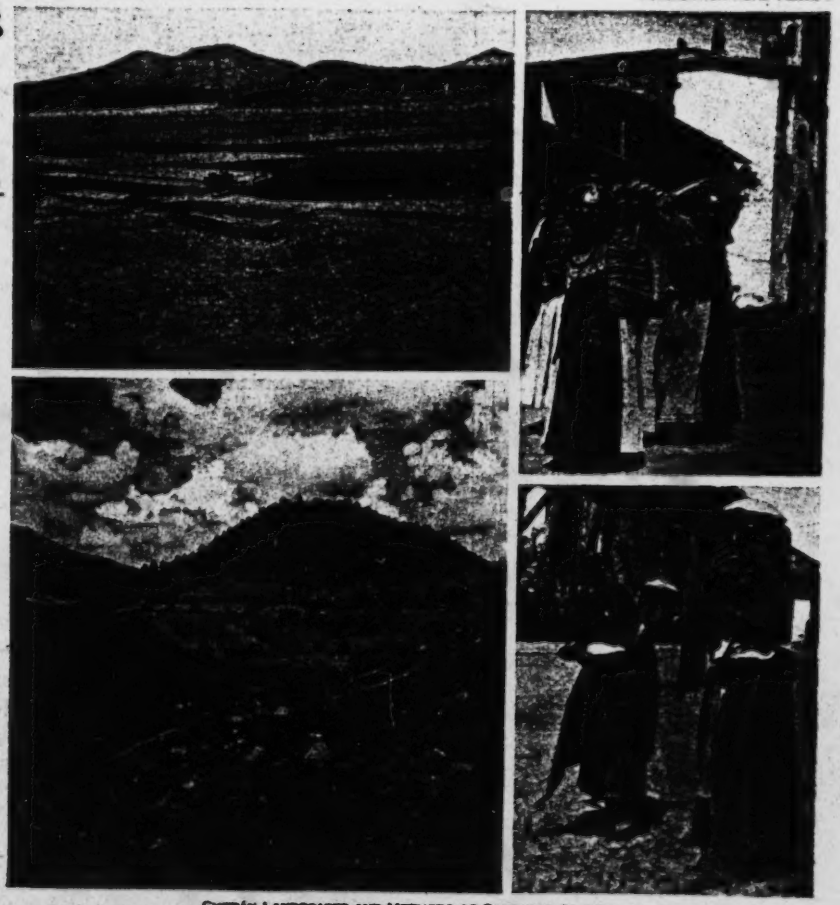

CHERÁN LANDSCAPES AND METHODS OF CARRYING OBJECTS.

Upper (left): The plains below Cherán, the major agricultural area, about 7,000 feet elevation, viewed from the highway, near southeast corner of the town. Darker portions are plowed fields; the remainder not yet plowed. *Upper (right)*: Women carrying water in typical manner, with the usual Cherán water jar. A method of wearing the *rebozo* is shown. The church and priest's residence are in background. *Lower (left)*: The northwest *barrio* of Cherán. The new highway curves along the edge of the barranca. Typical cultivated fields slope gently up to the cinder cone, which rises 1,000 feet above the town. *Lower (right)*: Carrying heads of masa (corn ground for tortillas) from the mill. Carrying on the head is unusual, but the method used by the girl is common for small objects. The woman's skirt has the thick pleat or rollo.

[End Plate 1]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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[415]

ROOFING FIESTA AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Men eating at a house-roofing fiesta; baskets of tortillas, jars of water, and dishes of salt lie on the ground. Remaining photographs, a Chuén wedding. *Upper (right):* Preparing to distribute bread, while one of the godmothers oversees the work. *Lower (left):* Bringing in paper ornaments for distribution. *Right (middle):* The godmothers and close relatives of the groom. *Lower (right):* Tying a ribbon in a godmother's hair.

[End Plate 7]

354 The kitchen always has a hearth on the ground, usually made with six stones (parángua), arranged as in figure 15. Infrequently, the hearth or stove is of clay (fig. 16). Space is provided for three fire places, one (fig. 15, *b*) for the *comal* or tortilla baking dish, and two (*a–a*) for cooking pots. This hearth is usually at one side of the structure.
[973] Near the fire a branched stick (čurígu) is set in the ground; on this stick pitch-pine splinters (k'uerámu) are burned for light at night. At the
● 45 back of the kitchen are one or two shelves, "*tinajera*," (plátu jatákua). On the upper are
352 the old ollas and large vessels. On the bottom are new ollas (pureči), plates (plátu), jars (iɛ́amatarakua), wooden spoons (iojésa), and knives (kučó). Below the shelves on the ground, are the three-legged metates (iauári), *molcajetes* (jiúmatakua), *comales* (eróksa), and large water jugs (k'amúkua), including one set on a fiber ring (uanɛ́ari) containing drinking water. Also on the ground are baskets (ɛ́akiáta), tortilla baskets ("tascal," kuatása), and gourds (uzáni). Either on the floor or on the shelf may be wooden bowls (batieča), other types of baskets (ɛ́akiáta kanímu and šúndi, "*chúndi*"), and fire fans (p'unítatara-
[439] kua). All the manufactured articles are imported.
352 The metate, when in use, is placed on a plank beside the fire. At night, it is removed and mats
[513] are spread out for sleeping.

[p. 22 b]

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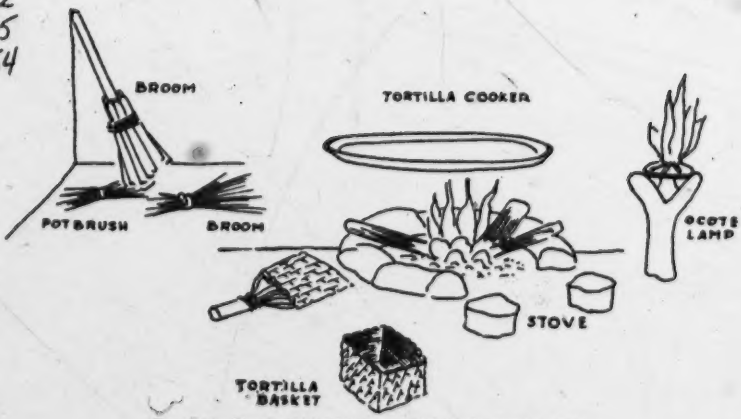

FIGURE 16.—Utensils and furnishings commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

[p. 22c]

415

FIGURE 17.—Utensils commonly found in a Cherán kitchen.

[285]

[p. 23]

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánpakua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tiripatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

● 415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.^{2}) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.:[1]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-sers (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[1] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 3-inch planks, which are adzed.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro

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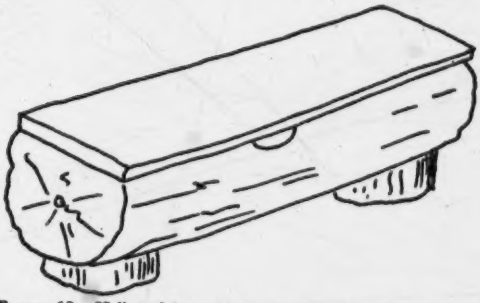

FIGURE 18.—Hollowed log with wooden cover used for storage of water outdoors.

354 "*chimenea*," is more common, and there often is also a special fireplace for the comal, a circular ridge of clay with an opening on one side to feed the fire similar to that shown for Cherán in figure 16.

ECONOMICS OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

	Price in pesos
435 Heavy square beams, each, f. o. b.	1.50–2.50
Delivery charge, each	1.50
342 Veranda pillars, each, f. o. b.	1.25–2.00
Delivery charge, each	1.25–1.50
Shakes, bundle of 400	5.00
Rafter poles, dozen	4.00
Roof stringers, dozen	2.50
Trap door	1.50–3.00
Door	2.00–8.00
Foundation stones, delivered average (2.50 each)	9.00–22.50
Nails, per kilo	1.00

Planks at Paracho were more costly in January 1942. Boards, six *varas* long, cost 0.75 to 1.25 pesos each, depending on width. Heavy planks cost according to length:

Length in *varas*:	Price in pesos
5	1.50
6	1.75
7	2.00
8	2.50
9	3.00

Shakes, 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length; cost, 6 pesos per bundle of 400 (irépeta).

COST OF CONSTRUCTION

Table 3 represents the most accurate account secured of the materials, labor, and costs of a wooden house, or "*troje*." This house was built in July 1940 at Morelos 31. Its outside dimensions were 16 by 14 feet (6 by 5.2 *varas*), and it was raised off the ground about 18 inches (46 cm.)

[p. 24 b]

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PLATE 9.—Cuanajo: Pottery making at Cuanajo. *a*, Vessel being started from a single clump of clay. The vessel is worked on top of the mouth of a broken olla. *b* and *c*, Bottom portion of vessel being shaped. *d*, Piece of clay being rolled out on board. *e* and *f*, Sides of vessel are built up by adding pieces of rolled clay.

[End plate-9]

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PLATE 10.—Cocucho: Pottery making at Cocucho (continued). g and h, Ruffled pieces of clay are worked into sides of vessel. i, Oldest vessel are smoothed with sediment. j and k, Lip of vessel being shaped. l, The finished side. The vessel was made in about 30 minutes.

[End-plate 10]

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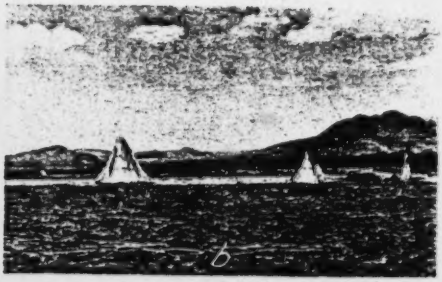

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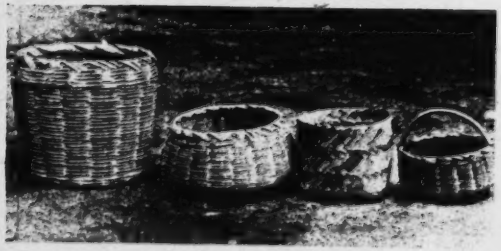

PLATE 12.—Pátzcuaro. *a*, A *ciénega* of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many palatz makers own their own *ciénegas*, but sometimes portions of the broken are leased to tule cutters, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into carrying and stacked in piles. *c*, Weaving petates, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making *caparos*, Aranitzipecua. Work is done inside the kitchen. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the holes of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tzurumutaro. *f*, Baskets woven at Ihuatzio. The large one (left), called *hamo*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The flat round basket is called *d'Akiata* and is used to carry fish and tortillas. The tortilla basket is a thread (the Tzurumutaro call it "basket") for tortillas. The handled basket at the right (simply named "*canasta*") is for carrying eggs, pulquillo, and other fish.

[End-plate 12]

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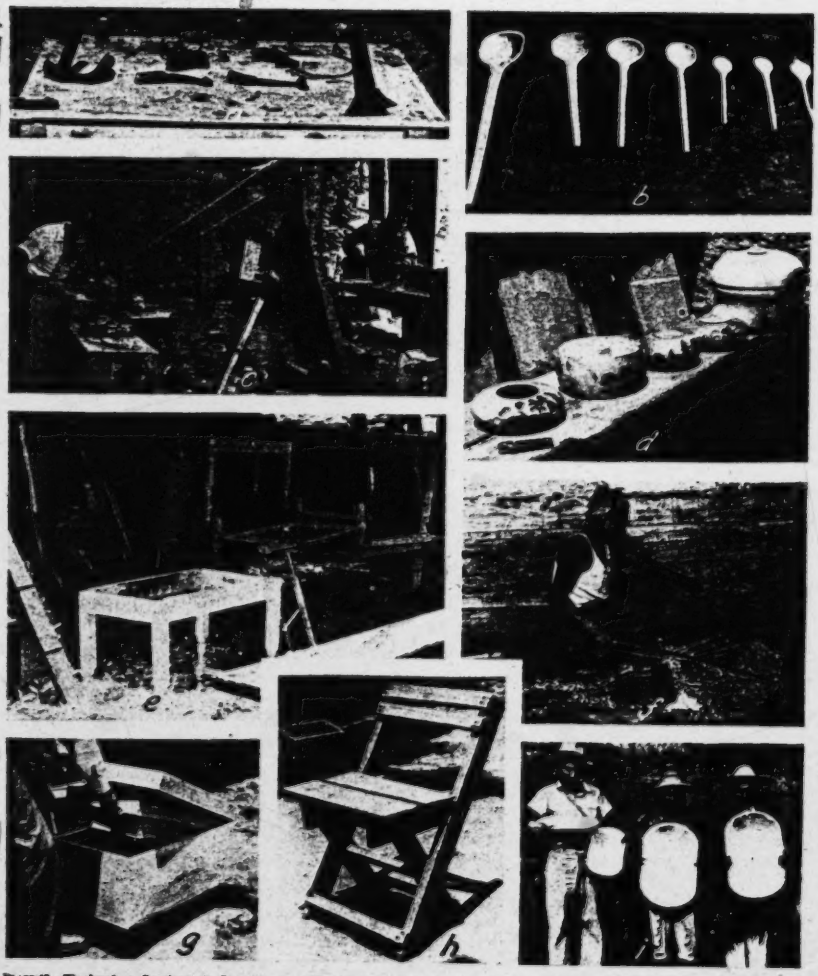

PLATE 13.—Woodwork. a, Gouging tools, Paracho. b, Wooden spoons and ladles, Paracho. c, Modern electrically powered lathe shop, Paracho. d, Turned objects made at Paracho. e, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cocucho. f, Making umbrellas with the bow lathe, Paracho. g, Nest of wooden boxes, Cocucho. h, Small (2 feet high) folding chair commonly made in Cocucho. i, Boxes made at Sirio.

[End-plate 13]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.132L]

527 during September. Each *barrio* piled its logs somewhere in the *barrio* as they were accumulated and took them to the bull ring only when the number was complete.[35]

527 On September 27 lengthy discussions took place concerning the erection of a grandstand
417 for spectators. This is usually done, but there appear to be no set arrangements. In the discussion, it developed that one year the seats had collapsed because the posts were not well set and no cross bracing was employed. One person was hurt; the only reason more were not hurt was that the entire stand went over as a unit instead of one end collapsing. It was agreed that cross bracing should be used (but it was not).

It was finally decided to persuade individuals to take responsibility for putting up the seats. There was some difficulty about this, as the persons approached were suspicious that they would be taxed so heavily that any profits from admission charges would be wiped out. When told that the *municipio* would not tax the concession, the builders at first refused to believe it and kept asking to be told in advance what the tax would be. Moisés Valencia, the town "boss," finally had to persuade them. Intense activity now started on the part of the builder (one man finally undertook the task of erecting all the stands) and his assistants, collecting materials and hauling them to the bull ring behind the church. Boards were borrowed from some dealers in town for making the actual seats, but logs had to be cut and hauled for the framework.

[347] On September 28 carpenters began erecting the first stand or booth on the plaza. Several wooden booths were erected in the following days, mostly for selling soft drinks or ice cream.

527 On October 1 the transportable parts of the *castillo* or fireworks were brought in two lots. Rockets were fired off upon their arrival. The fireworks maker and an assistant set up shop in part of the old chapel used by the tilemakers. Later, when the pole for the big *castillo* or set piece was brought in, part of the operations

[35] About 3 weeks before the fiesta a great deal of activity began in painting, plastering, and furbishing up houses, especially those on the plaza and on nearby streets. This went on right up to the time of the fiesta. The mayor took some part in suggesting improvements, but most of the householders made them on their own initiative.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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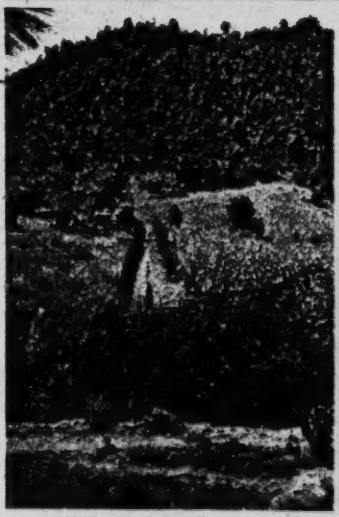

PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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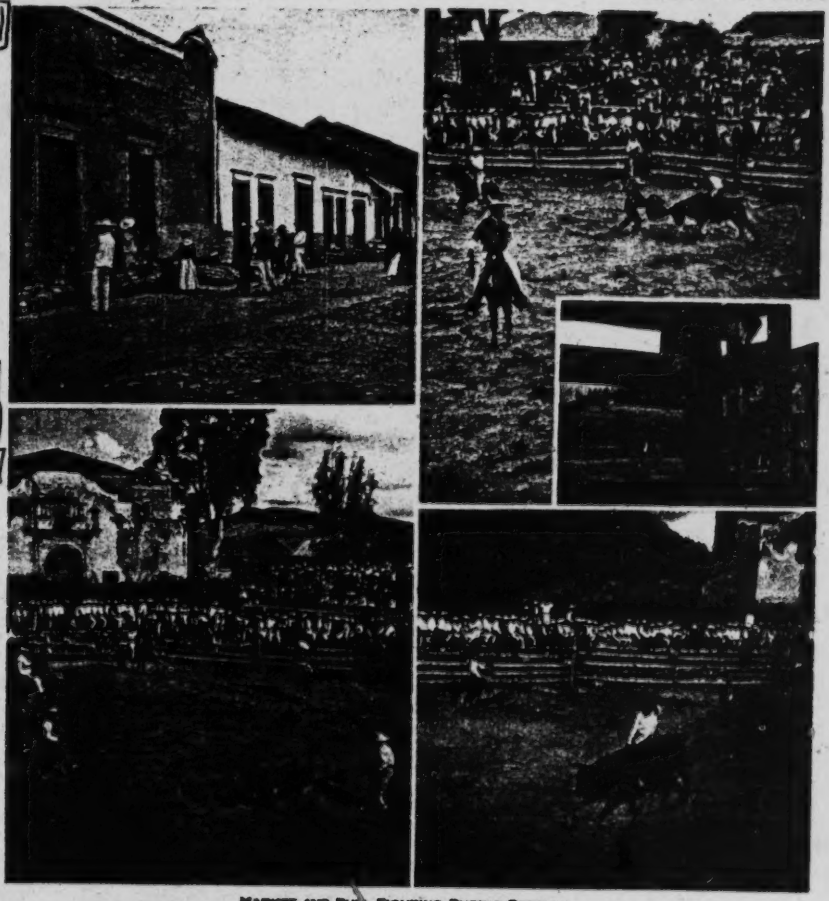

MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

Upper (left): Pottery before being unpacked for the market. *Upper (right):* Riding a bucking bull, the man with cape diverting it from the horses. *Lower (left):* Cowboys (*vaqueros*) throw the bull in the bull ring, then tie a rope around its forequarters. *Lower (right):* Bull riding. *Inset:* Construction of bull ring fence; post on right has holes cut with ax to receive the logs forming the gate.

[End Plate 5]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 2]
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[176] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 84]

556 Other types of incorporeal property possibly
424 are the knowledge of the herb gatherers, mid-
wives, and witches. However, there is no sense of property in Cherán concerning this knowledge, and the idea of buying or selling it was not encountered. Such knowledge seems not to be differently regarded from the knowledge of how to farm or to care for animals or make bread.

A unique type of property right is the owner-
421 ship of certain images of saints and of *mayor-*
778 *domías*. Two cases were encountered. One is
the ownership of the *mayordomía* of the Three
556 Kings (*Los Tres Reyes*), January 6. Several men were instrumental in starting this *mayordomía*, formerly celebrated only by the dance of the Europeans (*danza de los Europeos*). Not only did these men put on the first *mayordomía*, they put up funds, aided by contributions, to secure a fine set of images for the *mayordomía*. In subsequent years they decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year. As one of them said to me, "It looks like this *mayordomía* is going to be a good business." However, he spoke in figurative terms, for, so far as could be learned, the "owners" of the *mayordomía* expected to receive only spiritual rewards and perhaps community approbation.

The second case is the ownership of a miraculous saint. The owners found the saint, erected a chapel, and receive contributions from worshippers. The owners claim that all gifts go to clothe the saint properly and care for the chapel, a statement that is open to doubt although there is no evidence to the contrary.

The distribution of wealth in Cherán appears
556 to be relatively equitable. Certainly there are
no really wealthy men in Cherán and there are relatively few impoverished individuals. So long as wealth is measured in land and most families in Cherán have a reasonable amount of land, this condition will continue. It is true that people in Cherán talk a great deal about *los ricos* (the rich men). In practice, almost no one can readily identify the rich men. Partly, of course, this is because rich men, in order to avoid envy, are careful not to flaunt their wealth. But it also is an indication that really wealthy men are probably scarce, if not absent. One of the regular assistants, Pedro Chávez, talked constantly about

231 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes
232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
[422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[438] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but
[252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A
[364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

Although some persons in Cherán were said
[232] to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 465 The average wages of sheepherders are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent misbehavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or [626] carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep
[262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool
[435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are
[234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese.
[438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat
[262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and
[492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same
[184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing,
[241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor
[435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica-
[556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and
[232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses.
[422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses
[552] are given names similar to those used by
[262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse
[281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im-
[492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the god- [262] father. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.876]

178 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods
435 and products. Although little evidence is yet
494 visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .26
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00–[1]3.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Rais de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

556 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and
423 agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

556 In terms of individual wealth, the basic
422 Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico. Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

556 property may be made up. Even silver is less
422 safe, for someone may find the buried hoard and steal it. In addition, it is not productive. He who harvests from 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is wealthy; while the man who harvests from 8 to 15 *cargas* may regard himself as a typical Cherán citizen.

Houses and buildings are also a form of wealth. The traditional type of house is owned apart from the land and is frequently bought and sold apart from the land. This is not true, of course, of stone or adobe buildings. Except for the somewhat greater difficulty of moving

556 them, houses are essentially portable property
422 like furniture, tools, or cattle.

Little exists in the way of incorporeal prop-
424 erty in Cherán. Perhaps the most important
556 instances are the possession of knowledge of dances or of the texts for the dialogue in such performances as the *pastorela*. Theoretically anyone might pick up this knowledge, but there seems a tacit understanding that this should not be done without the permission of the owner. Such knowledge is valuable, as such persons are paid by the *mayordomos* to teach the performers.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

665 In relation to external politics, most Cherán
666 inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

Some interest is also awakened by the dis-
484 covery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to
666 ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

632 Just as the economy of Cherán in general is
651 partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle
[422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.206]

241

Maguey (agave)	Crab apples
Chayoté	*Zapote blanco*

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but [438] grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

311 The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans all have soils almost exclusively composed of 134 volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

311 Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called "*joyas*," consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

[423] The so-called "plains" consist of several large areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are 241 the principal crops grown. The "plains" are 311 cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

311 The largest "plain," usually referred to simply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.59b]

Cubic measure (used in masonry)

804 1 *barra* = 1 yd. × 1 yd. × 16 in.
1 *metro* = 1 m. × 1 m. × 50 cm.

PRODUCTION

Production in Cherán depends more directly
433 upon the land than it does in most other Taras-
439 can villages. Although the land ultimately is the source of all Tarascan raw materials, some industries require relatively few of such materials. In some cases—for example, the straw hat industry—all the raw materials are imported from outside the Tarascan area. Even more numerous are instances where the raw materials are secured from some other Tarascan town.

While Cherán economy is primarily self-sufficient in character, it is less so than are most Indian economies of Mexico. Cherán does supply most of its own basic food and housing needs, but it does not supply its own clothing. Moreover, many foods every Cherán resident desires are not produced locally. Numerous Cherán families also depend on wages more than upon their own direct exploitation of the land or upon industry. Finally, Cherán produces many goods for export, although to a far less degree than neighboring Paracho.

LAND

Tarascan land is of three main types: farm,
423 forest, and residential. To these might be added public roads, water courses, and mineral deposits. The latter are relatively unimportant. Public roads and trails of course serve communications and do not enter directly into production. Water courses are also mainly in the public domain. Virtually their only use is to supply drinking water for man and beast and for washing purposes. Public lands also supply the small requirements of sand, clay, and building stone.

All permanent farm lands are privately owned. The only exceptions are occasional temporary fields cleared from the forest on lands too steep for cultivation for more than a few years. On the farm lands the major products are white or yellow maize and wheat. Beans, squash, fruits, oats, and barley are produced only in small quantities.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

423 435 The value of farm land is startlingly low, although accurate figures on either the amount of farm land in the *municipio* or the amount owned by any individual were impossible to secure. The tax rolls of the town are an inadequate guide. A very large number of lands are not listed and in many cases the area given is much smaller than actual size. A number of farmers admitted this fact. The tax rolls show only 303 farmers, although most men in town own some land. The total parcels listed number 759 with a total area of 1,943½ hectares (a hectare is 2.47 acres) with a value of $259,620. Community-owned lands are listed as 1,667 hectares valued at $100,000. This would total slightly less than 9,000 acres, or about 14 square miles. This is probably less than half the total area of Cherán.

The average holding according to the tax rolls is 2.5 pieces of land, totaling 6.41 hectares valued at $856.86. This average is misleading, however, possibly through an error on the part of the tax collector's office staff, or perhaps because a few large landowners hold high-priced lands. From $80 to $100 per hectare is the most common valuation. An average of one page of the tax roll listing 58 farmers gave 2.62 plots per person, averaging 5.1 hectares valued at $377.07 or $74 a hectare. The largest holding on this page was 32 hectares, valued at $2,560; the smallest was one-half a hectare, valued at $50. Bearing in mind that these figures represent taxable values, actual values probably average around $150 a hectare.

Data from individuals probably are even more unreliable, yet show surprising uniformity. The average value is $77.08 per hectare, Estimates from six landowners are as follows:

Area (hectares)	*Value*
2	$140
4	350
16	1,280
½	40
14	1,080
8	640
44½	$3,530

The surprising closeness of owner evaluations to the average assessed values suggests that farmers are well aware of the latter. Information from more individuals is desirable but [156] is difficult to obtain. Even good friends nor-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
435 The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of $40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, $400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as $25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as $10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community.
423 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
311 and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

311 The use of forest lands formerly was open to all who paid a small fee to aid the community
656 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

The sex division of labor in Cherán bars
462 women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European —children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [437] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of [423] exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners [556] to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.876]

178 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods
435 and products. Although little evidence is yet
494 visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
Wheat	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .26
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00– [1]3.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Raiz de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

556 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and
423 agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

556 In terms of individual wealth, the basic
422 Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico. Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

428 property, a form of ultimogeniture. Such cases are understood and usually cause no friction. Other instances sometimes give rise to bitter feelings. Cases were recorded where children had broken away from parental authority and had become established through their own efforts. Sometimes the elderly persons were cared for by a niece or nephew, or even by some person not related at all, who received all the property. Resentment is generally felt by the children, even though they may have well deserved such treatment.

If properties are small, the daughters are sometimes slighted. If a lot, for example, is too small to divide and there are a son and daughter, the son will get the lot. On the other hand, if the lot is large, it will be divided between them. Often, however, the brother will take advantage of his sister, who, to avoid a quarrel, will accept an unfair division but will lose no chance of getting even. An example that came to attention was a division of a lot in which the brother took the part containing most of the fruit trees. When the brother went on a 3-day [593] trip during pear season, his sister and her husband cut all the pears and sold them. The brother hesitated to do anything about it because it would have brought out the unfairness of the original transaction.

Frequently, the division of personal and movable property is unfair. Children who are away from home are apt to get nothing. However, their land rights are usually more or less respected. Even so, on their return, they may appeal to the *municipio*, which will force the other heirs to make a proper settlement.

Various adjustments are made to meet special 428 situations. Often an expert in property values 423 is called in to make the division. For example, a man with two children may have left a lot and a piece of farm land too small to divide. The expert decides the value of each and the one receiving the least valuable parcel is recompensed through sale of personal property. Where a lot cannot be divided, a piece of land may be sold from the estate to buy a lot for one of the children.

Conflicts also arise from transactions entered 428 into by the owner before death without inform- 425 ing the heirs. For example, Agustín Rangel's father bought a house from his own father.

632 The general situation of the *municipio* has
634 already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

423 The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
632 daries, although there are usually disputes with neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[42] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000.
[161] Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

361 The layout of the town is undistinguished. A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

596 they have lived thus far. In the few cases
591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

593 More commonly a joint family will not be
591 established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

593 Much the same situation will obtain regard-
423 ing farm lands. A father may give his son
885 some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
352 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but on request one will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagá*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, 621 including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 The Indians of the calpulli, or common- 565 ers, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third [427] social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

After the conquest, the Spaniards re- [563] placed the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 19, 21, 39, 52.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 137.; Zurita, 1891, 186.
3. Zurita, 1891, 168.
4. Relación, 1861, 34.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.13a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 621 fitted into the class system of colonial Mexico.

[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 621 423 The other main type of social unit in rural Mexico was the privately owned estate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 621 423 The colonial village community was the primary economic unit, to some extent self-sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the 175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]

[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of most of these communities. Many house-[463] hold crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they [438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 556 For various reasons differences in wealth came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 863.
7. *Ibid.*, 863.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 69-70; Haring, 1947, 174-8.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, passim; 1943, Chapter 3.

175 holdings.[10] Commerce also must have
[556] caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed
175 within the community, although the prop-
423 erty title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic,
[621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of gov-
624 ernment in Spanish townships.

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 With the Spanish conquest the higher
565 strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The
175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests that the system by which Indian nobles
623 controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-48, passim; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 166-168; 169-189; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422-3.

178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

The Decline of the Village Community

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic poli-
177 cies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest
794 landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the domi-
668 nant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 This fight turned out to be an attack on
423 inalienable landed property in general, in-
668 cluding the Indian communal lands. The purpose was to free those lands thus removed from commerce and throw them to the free play of the market, creating a class
[565] of small farmer-owners with a well developed idea of property which would make for social and economic progress.

175 The abolition of landownership by civil
668 and ecclesiastical corporations was first written into law in 1856 and incorporated
423 into the 1857 constitution during the period of Mexican history known as the *Reforma*.[21] The enforcement of these measures, in so far as they concerned the lands of Indian towns, was usually delayed until the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

175 The Indians' communal lands were al-
423 lotted as private property among the villagers. Once the property title was in individual hands, with the possibility of be-
648 ing sold to anybody, outsiders found the way open to acquire land which, through communal land title, had formerly been reserved for the villagers. The greater economic power of the non-Indians, and frequently unfair practices, allowed them to acquire a great amount of land from Indian villages. The concentration of land in haciendas and the impoverishment of the villages were thus facilitated. This process was accelerated during the Porfirio Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the general economic progress of that period.
[471] The inflow of capital, building of railroads, development of mining and other industries, also led to a rise of land values and an increase of capital seeking to invest in land.[23]

* * *

175 In summary, after the reforms of the end of the nineteenth century, the haciendas
423 grew enormously at the expense of the formerly communal land of the village
668 communities or of land allotted to individual Indians who were not able to keep pos-
648 session. On the other hand, the remaining village communities changed from units of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the expense of the land-holding villages and the change within the villages from communal to private property represented the general national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phippe, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 196.
23. Phippe, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enriquez, 1909, 58-6.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This found its legal expression in the *Reforma* 423 and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing communal property. The change, however, 668 went at a different pace in different re- 648 gions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its territory and population, is characterized by a very unequal development of its various regions, thus allowing different types of society and culture to live together even if connected and coordinated into a single nation. The political and legal changes of the late nineteenth century represent only the turning point at which this general trend of change became the dominant political issue and required expression in the nation's legal system.

In marginal regions, however, the land- 175 holding village, regardless of how many changes in its organization were required, 423 survived and held its own against the haciendas, in the same way as haciendas had been the dominant type of economy in parts of Mexico at the time when communal ownership of villages was recognized and protected by law. Consequently, in discussing the development of a particular region like Michoacan, further inquiry is essential to determine to what extent and in what manner this national trend of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

The villages in the northern and southern 175 areas had to supplement their native econ- 464 omy with work in neighboring haciendas. 177 This seems to have been the main factor leading to the decline and final disappear-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
648 regarding the distribution of the property
656 of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas,* 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados);* that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 484-6.

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] The main reason for the preservation of
Indian communities seems to be that this
[133] area was less desirable for the hacienda
type of exploitation. The mountainous
[132] character, forests, and cold climate did
not make it suitable for the introduction
of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] The changes within the surviving Indian
towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for
conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1918, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1928, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 88-90.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 17a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 others being landless. This condition seems
423 to have been present even at the time when land was owned by the village, wherever private property existed within the community. When private ownership became general at the end of the nineteenth century, the differentiation as to wealth within the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are available for the Tarascan area, the existing information shows that inequality in landed property within the villages was prevalent, although in different degrees, in the various Tarascan villages. It has been reported for the Cañada villages,[30] Urapicho,[31] Cherán,[32] Tzintzuntzan,[33] Paracho, Charapan and Jarácuaro[34] either for pre-revolutionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less in some small Cañada villages, which have preserved as communal holding the agricultural lands of the community.[35] In a large agricultural town like Cherán, where laborers come to work in harvest time from neighboring towns,[36] the differences are considerable. A great number of larger landowners rent part of their lands on a share crop basis to other villagers, and there are some completely landless men.[37]

[609] Many Tarascan villages discourage the selling of land to outsiders, the approval of the town being necessary for such transactions.[38] The increased inequality seems to have been greater in those places where selling to strangers took place. At the advent of the Revolution, this was the case in some Cañada villages where the largest landholders were mestizos from neighboring towns.[39]

[796] The custom by which individuals take care of financing a given religious festival
[426] also led some villagers to sell or pawn and later lose their lands. Such was the case in Urapicho before the Revolution.[40] In La Cañada this was not only a factor in hastening the loss of lands but also the way by which outsiders got hold of them, for the Indians pawned their lands to money-lenders in mestizo towns.[41]

175 In all towns where there are landless
423 people, the latter go out to work in neigh-
464 boring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 201; Sáenz, 1936, 235-6.
31. Beals, 1946, 131.
32. *Ibid.*, 12, 61-2, 68, 98-9.
33. Foster, 1948, 71-2, 173-5.
34. Field notes.
35. West, 1948, 32-3.
36. Beals, 1946, 61.
37. *Ibid.*, 99.
38. West, 1948, 32.
39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 201; Sáenz, 1936, 235-6.
40. Beals, 1946, 131.
41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 201; Sáenz, 1935, 256-6.

175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the
621 villages were responsible for the splitting
578 of the villages into opposite parties in relation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have
[651] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

"The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 23-32.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 23; Beals, 1946, 21, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 176-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
182 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a subsistence economy or a market economy. No
438 doubt, in proportion as production is for
433 consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 30.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-8, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
[323] tery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of
423 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mexican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 86-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.19b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 erature on this subject is adequate,[64] so no
668 extensive background presentation will be
necessary here.

423 The agrarian revolution was an outcome of the concentration of land and the influence of capitalism on the countryside mentioned before in connection with the decay of village communities. It revolved around the fight against the haciendas.

The solution has been the breaking up of the haciendas and the granting of land to the landless under a new type of tenure known as *ejido*.[65] In ejido, lands are given to the community of *ejidatarios* (ejido members), who have the right to use the lands but not to alienate them, ultimate ownership resting in the nation. An agricultural Bank of Ejido Credit was set up
[453] in order to finance the exploitation of ejidos.

This change is the end result of many conflicting interests and opposing tendencies which have produced a very complex development. The more militant peasant groups (Villa and Zapata) were crushed by force of arms, and only afterwards were the land reforms of any sizable importance. These reforms, begun in 1915, were intended to restore to the villages the lands illegally acquired by haciendas. Soon the policy was accepted of appropriating haciendas as outright grants of land (ejido) to the landless. A number of laws were enacted, often changed and more often not applied. For a long period, red tape and other delays were the rule before any ejido was finally given. The workers resident in haciendas *(peones acasillados)* were excluded from distribution of land until 1934, the beginning of the Cárdenas administration (1934-1940), during which the land reforms were speeded up and really enforced.

The outcome today is that the hacienda
423 has been replaced by two types of ejido: the individual ejido in which every ejidatario receives a lot which he works by himself; and collective ejidos which are worked cooperatively. Collective ejidos were attempted in the 'twenties and a case in Michoacan has been described,[66] but the individual ejido has been the rule. Only during Cárdenas' period were collective ejidos set up in those areas where a highly commercial, large-scale exploitation prevailed in the production of foodstuffs or of raw materials for industry.

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64. Tannenbaum, 1929; Simpson, 1937; Whetten, 1948.
65. This ejido is to be distinguished from the commons of colonial villages, also called ejido.
66. Simpson, 1937, Chap. xxv.

423 The individual ejido is a turn back to small exploitation. No technological improvements have been made, no credit is received from the Ejido Bank, and in some cases corn for subsistence is now grown instead of a former commercial crop. Collective ejidos, on the contrary, are financed by the Ejido Bank and are under its ultimate control. This is a good example of the state intervention in production which characterizes the present development of world economy. [453]

* * *

175 As stated when discussing the decline of the Indian village community in Michoacan, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, a number of haciendas were near the Tarascan region. Some villages had lost most of their lands and included great numbers of landless people. However, this is not typical of Tarascan villages. Most of them were and are villages of farmer-owners and craftsmen. Although most Tarascans had not lost lands to haciendas, private ownership of land prevailed and there was within the village noticeable inequality in wealth. Relatively large, medium and small landowners, sharecroppers, and landless laborers were to be found. In some towns outsiders owned a considerable amount of land. Consequently, the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution, *i. e.*, the fight to get land from the haciendas, have been mainly external to most Tarascan villages, and the agrarian conflict caused by inequality within the village assumed here a peculiar form. 423 668

No good information is available as to the extent to which Tarascans participated in the armed conflicts, although some fought with agrarian revolutionists (Zapatistas and Villistas). The land tenure situation is reflected in the extent to which agrarian reforms have been carried out. Villages near haciendas have received ejidos, but the other villages have not, although agrarian conflicts also arose. [669]

All the existing ejidos are of the individual type. In only one case (Tarajero) was collective exploitation attempted for some time. The people of Tarajero petitioned for land in 1915, and finally received it in 1924. It was good fertile land in a drained swamp, and, while part of former haciendas, the land had been used for commercial production. The agraristas decided to exploit it collectively. It seems, however, that the directing committee began to appropriate most of the profits derived from the exploitation, reducing the rest of the [661]

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[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada,
669 Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of
175 farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not
423 been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

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67. *Ibid.*, 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 288-89.
69. *Ibid.*, 283-4.
70. *Ibid.*, 293.
71. *Ibid.*, 281; Sáenz, 1936, 23.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 131.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 In La Cañada the local revolt took place in 1918, led by people from Tanaquillo. The
423 lands which had fallen into the hands of mestizos from Chilchota, Purépero and
669 Tangancícuaro were recovered and distributed among the revolutionists. Only in 1932 was this reform legalized by the State government.[73] In other cases, medium farmers were the rule, and there is not a very great difference in property holdings. Nevertheless, agrarista groups were also organized. Most Sierra towns had groups of this sort.[74] Cherán and Jarácuaro, the two villages for which we have most information, belong to this type.

In these small towns, which legally had no ejidos, the agrarians took lands illegally either from richer villagers or from the communal lands. In all these villages where the majority of the people was not benefited, there was really a privileged group formed. The agraristas made themselves the only beneficiaries of the lands seized, or distributed them without satisfying the needs of other equally needy villagers who had not taken part in their movement.[75] When seizing lands to distribute among
[661] themselves, they sometimes took land belonging to other villagers merely because they had been political enemies.[76] They also seized formerly communal lands for their exclusive use. Hence villagers not belonging to the agrarista group were obliged to pay a fee to the agrarian committee *(Comisario ejidal)* in order to have access to the lands.[77]

423 In Jarácuaro, for instance, the rush grounds were formerly owned by the vil-
660 lagers, who used the proceeds from selling the rushes for buying candlewax for the temple; afterwards the agraristas exploited the grounds for their personal use. A similar case occurred during our stay on the island. A lowering of the lake's water level had left dry some flat land of considerable agricultural value. The agrarista group was trying to get the land from the federal government for distribution among its members, while the rest of the village wanted to distribute it among all the villagers (excepting the eight agraristas). At the time of our leaving (1945), the authorities were persuading the villagers to distribute the land among all people of both groups.

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73. Sáenz, 1936, 23-4; 98, 255-6; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 281-2.
74. All but two, according to Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 282.
75. Sáenz, 1936, 256; also Tarejero, Simpson, 1937, 471-2.
76. Cañada, see Sáenz, 1936, 256; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 281, 291-2.
77. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279, 281.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.21b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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423 661 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio. Here an agrarista group was formed and was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that [798] led many peasants to lose their lands brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

423 668 578 175 Thus, in a small farmer-owner environment a new privileged minority was formed, which seized the lands of political enemies or of the community, assumed control of the town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values related to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

668 *Sinarquismo* is a political movement strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajio region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 175.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 36-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289, 292.

668 of stealing because it distributed the haciendas, it does not propagandize a return to the old order. It is supported by small farmers and even ejidatarios dissatisfied with the course of the land reforms. It promises the ejidatarios to rid them of the new bosses born of the Revolution and to give them as outright private property their ejido plots which now are ultimately owned by the State.

668 465 Since the late 'thirties, the period when land reforms were more or less completed, the real wages in the countryside have been in decline[81] due mainly to wartime inflation. This fact together with the in-
[452] ability of the government to provide agricultural credit indicates the difficult situation of the countryside and explains the rapid growth of a protest movement like sinarquismo.[82]

668 The opposition to the agraristas and to the government which had arisen in many Tarascan towns has lately merged with sinarquismo. Sinarquista units function in many villages and many Tarascans are members of the party.

423 181 In the present situation, with the agrarian revolt receded, the Indian village communities, although greatly impaired, show a persistence of an economic foundation which is the basis for the survival of the

81. Whetten, 1948, 262.
82. Gill, 1944; Padilla, 1943; Whetten, 1948, 494-522.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 22b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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423 folk culture: some remaining communal
181 property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

In spite of this conservatism, however,
182 the decline of the village community goes on. The concentration of land in haciendas,
423 the main process by which the village com-
621 munities tended to disappear, has been checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The government's restrictions on the use of forests or
[656] the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.26b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans
175 may have been influenced by Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He
[743] tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held
[423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hos-
[794] pital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has
[438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 188-194.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 289] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 Besides the cargueros of the hospital
794 there were other religious officers. Sodali-
575 ties other than those of the hospitales with
624 funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes*, *fiesteros*, or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 Financing the cult involved payment of
794 alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep
651 of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua*, custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 In the eighteenth century, many of the
743 hospitales had property devoted to the sup-
423 port of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the
575 village commons. One of the cargueros or
794 a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
erty, this financed not only the cult and
● 423 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
hospital officers, such as caring for the sick
575 and paying for masses of the dead. In addi-
tion, the carguero could use this same
794 source of income to provide food for the
villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One
village had a cofradía in order to pay the
pindecuario and another one to pay for the
sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had
more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] be-
sides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
735 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring
himself out as a muleteer servant [sirvi-
794 ente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very im-
poverished and sometimes almost like a
slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the
mayordomos of different saints bound
(cautivan) themselves for a long time in
order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On
the other hand, in Tangamandapio and
Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer
held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Estado, 1864, passim.
29. Ibid., 676.
30. Ibid., 686.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Estado, 1864, 677, 678.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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624 More detailed information comes from
794 Chilchota. Here a man was first mayordomo of the hospital, then mayordomo of the patron saint; later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

175 At the end of the eighteenth century,
794 then, the heavy cult expenses were causing the impoverishment of the Indians in
735 those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 For the nineteenth century there is no
survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only
794 for the turn of the century is information again available. Since this is the period of
423 further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 218.
38. León, 1904, 427.
39. Beals, 1946, 122 (for Cherán); 218 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 218, 139.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.309] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175
794 duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro was used until a short time ago to buy wax
423 for the church.

Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions
794 from cargueros or the townspeople at large. Indian impoverishment caused by
735 attending to religious festivals is reported again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

624 The period of Mexican Independence up to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *municipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:396.
42. Beals, 1946, 105; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1902, 404, 414-415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:391.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 57b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 178 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 182 178 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic impact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be [794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a [735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

182 178 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it condemns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

342 tiles. The other areas have abundant water, but the forests are distant. An exception is the Sierra town of Tarecuato, where, despite abundant forests and the relative scarcity of water, most of the houses are of adobe. In the Sierra it is also becoming increasingly difficult to secure materials for large houses. This fact, together with Mestizo [177] influence, probably is contributing to the spread of adobe, or stone-and-adobe construction.

OF CHERÁN The Town of Cherán

361 The church, parish residence, school, and the municipal building all front on a central plaza. Except for benches and a fountain, the plaza 363 is bare. Cement sidewalks and a surrounding paved area are contributions from the highway construction.

361 The width of the building lots varies from 10 or 12 feet (3 to 3.6 m.) to almost an entire block. 351 The depth in most cases is half that of the block, but in some cases it may be little more than 20 feet (6 m.). As a general rule, however, except in the center of town, the lot is large enough for a small garden, a few fruit trees, and at least a small area devoted to growing types of corn not ordinarily cultivated in the fields (fig. 2). The size of lots varies appreciably, though, in various sections of town. There is no general rule for placing the house upon the lot except in the center of town, where it usually abuts the street, especially if it is of adobe-and-masonry construction. If the house does not front on the street, a fence, generally of stone, is built along the street line. It usually is designed to keep out all animals including pigs, and customarily is above head height so passers-by may not peer over. The interior boundaries are also fenced, but the fences are often less substantial (pls. 2, lower; 3).

351 The lots are all owned individually. They may be bought or sold freely and may be subdivided in 423 various ways. A man with a large lot may sell a portion, creating two lots. Sometimes a man who may wish to enlarge his holdings will buy a strip from an adjoining lot or even the entire lot and merge the two pieces into a single lot. Heirs may also divide lots.

[p. 76]

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES
WOOD

313 All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
656 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
most entirely on public lands considered to belong
[423] to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort
was open to all residents who had paid a small fee
to an administrative committee. The fee was
used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently,
the Department of Forestry of the Federal Gov-
ernment has restricted exploitation of the forests
for any purpose other than the collection of fire-
wood to persons having permits. In Cherán this
apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut
[474] lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a
local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry
has refused to give permits to any other group
or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activ-
ity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks
and beams. Shake making is even more special-
ized, and men who make shakes may do nothing
else except look after whatever farm lands they
may own. Only a very poor person would attempt
to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if
he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut
poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
137 tinguished, red (iaṅni), the heartwood of large
trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or
wood from young trees. From these woods are
made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over
2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or
tablas.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak
wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in
this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or
adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-
handled saw (k'eréri aṅákutarakua). Logs des-
tined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the vara, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the vara equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

342 occasionally are of brick or cement but ordinarily are of wooden planks. There is also usually a kitchen of wood in addition to the masonry-adobe structure. The latter is more difficult to maintain in order and there is a reluctance to smoke up the interior.

● 423 Certain customs connected with the erection of masonry-adobe walls should be mentioned.
333 Often a division wall is erected between the forward part of two lots which may later be used as a house wall by either or both lot owners. If the cost of such a wall is shared, half the wall rests on the land of each owner. As frequently happens, however, one householder pays all the cost. In this case, the entire width of the wall is on the land of the person not contributing money. The latter, however, may use the wall as part of a house wall at any later time.

In the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions,
342 house walls are almost always of adobe on a low
333 stone-masonry foundation. Usually the houses
335 have a veranda or corridor. The walls are erected as described. Five heavy planks then serve as plates, "*planchas*," one on top of each wall and one supported by pillars at the outside of the veranda. Sometimes there are capitals, *zapatas*, between the pillars and the plate. The plates at the two sides extend from the wall to the pillars, or the side walls are extended to the edge of the corridor. In this case, no corner pillars are needed (pl. 7, lower, right).

Upon the plates on the two shortest walls is erected a triangular adobe structure, "*capisayo*" (kenzéjtakua). Across the other plates are laid joists, in the more elaborate structures extending well beyond the rear wall and edge of the corridor, and carved at the ends. If the joists do not extend beyond the wall and corridor, the plates on the short sides may go only from the outer edge of the corridor to a point part way to the opposite side of the house. In this case, the "*capisayo*" may be partially an upward extension of the house wall.

If the loft space is not used, shakes may be
342 laid on the joists to form a ceiling; often this is
335 done only over the veranda. Alternatively, a plank floor may be laid.

Should the house lack eaves, two heavy planks, "*pisos*," are placed on the ends of the joists. Upon these rest the rafters. If the eaves pro-

[p. 19a]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32 a]

342 within or near pine forests. By 1789 most of the
177 buildings in Tarascan towns in the Lake and Sierra regions were roofed with shakes (map 18). Today in the towns bordering the Sierra the red Castilian tile has completely replaced *tejamanil* and is slowly penetrating into the Sierra towns.[43]

THE LAND SYSTEM AND THE PUEBLO

621 Tarascan settlements are fundamentally agri-
423 cultural villages. They include not only dwellings arranged along streets and in house lots, but also the surrounding farm land. The land is the body of the pueblo, whose political and economic life revolves around land ownership and boundaries, crop planting and harvesting.

423 Few records exist on the ancient Tarascan land
311 system; most lands, however, were probably held in common. Each community owned surrounding lands, the limits of which were determined by metes and bounds; the record and adjudication of pueblo boundaries were in the hands of the village chief, who apportioned agricultural plots to his subjects.[44] As in many modern Indian areas of Mexico, the aboriginal concept of village lands and their established boundaries is indurated in the present political and economic structure of the Tarascan pueblos.[45] Such holdings in the Sierra include various types of land: *monte*, or woodland pasture on steep mountain slopes and on lava flows; cropland in basin floors (*planes*, t'pákua), on lower mountain slopes (*laderas*, uanáten), and in craters of cinder cones (*joyas*, t'pákua-supíču). In La Cañada often the following lands are held by a given pueblo: irrigable alluvium on the valley floor, *temporal* lands and *monte* on the adjacent slopes, and *humedad* lands in the Sierra. In the Lake area types of land vary from pueblo to pueblo. Often small strips of irrigable vegetable plots are held along the lake shore; most towns hold *temporal* land on the lower slopes; those on

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[43] Although used in most Spanish towns (except mining centers) in New Spain since the late 16th century, tiles began to appear in the Lake Pátzcuaro district only in the late 18th century. In 1789 Pátzcuaro was the only town in the vicinity with tile roofs (approximately 50 percent of the houses were roofed with tile, the remainder, with shakes). In the same year one house in Naranja boasted of a tile roof. (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 203, 218.)

[44] A copy of an aboriginal land title (1519) of Cherumétzicurin is extant in AGN Tierras, vol. 967, exped. 5.

[45] In many respects the native land system in central Mexico paralleled that of 16th century Spain. Particularly was this true in regard to the concept of village holdings.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32-b]

423 the western and southern shore often have fields
[311] in the Sierra.

Two systems of land ownership—communal and private—prevail in most of modern Tarasca. Since the land reforms of 1915, the *ejido*, a third type of holding, has displaced most of the haciendas around the margins of the Sierra.

Since Spanish contact most of the Tarascan agricultural land has become private property of family heads. Even in the few remaining pueblos which claim complete communal ownership of their lands, a strong individualization of property has developed. The historical process of the shift from communal to private ownership is not clear. Late 18th-century documents on land disputes among the Tarascan pueblos indicate that at that time the communal system prevailed at least in the Sierra. The issuance of individual land titles may not have occurred until after the reforms of 1857. In the Sierra private landholders (*propietarios*) often possess one or more plots in the *plan*, and still others on the less fertile *laderas*. Size of individual holdings varies greatly, since land is purchasable. Normal holdings average 2 to 3 hectares per family. Traces of the communal concept exist in the minds of the modern proprietors. Although legally possible, there is little desire to sell land to nonmembers of the community. If such a transaction should arise, it usually must be approved by the town council.[46] Consequently, pueblo lands are kept intact. Moreover, individual holdings, especially those in the *plan*, are rarely enclosed, for after harvest the fields are used as communal pasture.[47] Accordingly, the final date for removal of crops and the first date for planting in unenclosed lands of each pueblo is communally regulated.

Vestiges of the ancient land system are retained in the special communal holdings found in most modern Tarascan villages. Five pueblos in La Cañada—Tanaquillo, Acachuén, Ichán, Tacuro, and Carapan—retain communal ownership of all lands, at least in name. Family heads are allotted one plot of *temporal* near the pueblo and another of *humedad* in the Sierra to the south and east. The individual allotments vary from 2 to 4

[46] The Tarascan town council is normally composed of the *representante del pueblo* and his committee of six. The *representante* deals with most internal affairs of the pueblo.
[623]

[47] Fences and ditches are used most frequently to divide cultivated lands from pasture and to separate individual holdings on the *laderas*, or slope land.
[351]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-a]

● 423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[Text Continues Top of P. 33b]

[804]

[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands 224 within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 222 gathering, although now of small importance, is still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[Text Continues bottom P. 33b]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-b]

423 311 [656] Before the promulgation of the Federal forest laws (1930's), all members of the pueblo reserved the right to cut wood and lumber in the *monte* with permission of the *representante*. Today a Federal tax must be paid (but is often evaded) by each pueblo for lumber rights. Small plots of land (*desmontes*) may be cleared and planted in any part of the forest, but the farmer must first gain permission of the *representante* and his committee. In addition to the *monte* many pueblos possess certain croplands, called *tierras de la comunidad*, which are not assigned permanently to individuals, but are worked communally, usually by landless farmers, who receive a portion of the harvest as remuneration. The remainder of the crop is often stored in the pueblo as communal property to be sold by the *representante* for the town treasury or to be used as food in time of shortage.

TARASCAN
ECONOMY

241 177 still forms the leading crop complex, but the European grains—wheat, barley, the broadbean and lentil—have become intimately associated with Tarascan agriculture. European fruits are grown with native types; Old World vegetables, mainly cabbage, have become an integral part of native food habits. But the modern Tarascan considers such crops, most of which were introduced over 400 years ago, as part of his aboriginal culture. Furthermore, although Tarascans still practice pre-Columbian shifting agriculture on steep slopes, the Old World plow has transformed indigenous cultivation on level and gently sloping lands.

Agricultural acculturation continues constantly. Tarascan *braceros* returning from the United States have brought in apple cuttings from the Yakima Valley, grapevines from California, corn from Iowa. Within the last three decades a South American *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*) has been introduced in the Sierra south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Again, alfalfa cultivation is slowly penetrating into many parts of the Sierra. Recently [654] the Federal Government introduced a few steel plows in some Tarascan villages, and here and there one sees engine-powered threshing machines slowly replacing the ancient European threshing floor and flail.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 556] Sierra

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, [439] shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Woodcutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[128] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[128] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and ranchos, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the caci-
[101] cazgo in a village, here called Durasno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Mich-
[105] oacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durasno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-
●[423] clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations
128 that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durasno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

594 The principal structural units of Durasno culture have definite and often discrete political functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin
66 active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durasno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and
612 these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.

423 A second structural block in Durasno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or
66

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic, plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or
66 simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Durazno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 8a]

556 Other types of incorporeal property possibly
424 are the knowledge of the herb gatherers, mid-
wives, and witches. However, there is no sense of property in Cherán concerning this knowledge, and the idea of buying or selling it was not encountered. Such knowledge seems not to be differently regarded from the knowledge of how to farm or to care for animals or make bread.

A unique type of property right is the owner-
421 ship of certain images of saints and of *mayor-*
778 *domías*. Two cases were encountered. One is the ownership of the *mayordomía* of the Three
556 Kings (*Los Tres Reyes*), January 6. Several men were instrumental in starting this *mayordomía*, formerly celebrated only by the dance of the Europeans (*danza de los Europeos*). Not only did these men put on the first *mayordomía*, they put up funds, aided by contributions, to secure a fine set of images for the *mayordomía*. In subsequent years they decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year. As one of them said to me, "It looks like this *mayordomía* is going to be a good business." However, he spoke in figurative terms, for, so far as could be learned, the "owners" of the *mayordomía* expected to receive only spiritual rewards and perhaps community approbation.

The second case is the ownership of a miraculous saint. The owners found the saint, erected a chapel, and receive contributions from worshippers. The owners claim that all gifts go to clothe the saint properly and care for the chapel, a statement that is open to doubt although there is no evidence to the contrary.

The distribution of wealth in Cherán appears
556 to be relatively equitable. Certainly there are no really wealthy men in Cherán and there are relatively few impoverished individuals. So long as wealth is measured in land and most families in Cherán have a reasonable amount of land, this condition will continue. It is true that people in Cherán talk a great deal about *los ricos* (the rich men). In practice, almost no one can readily identify the rich men. Partly, of course, this is because rich men, in order to avoid envy, are careful not to flaunt their wealth. But it also is an indication that really wealthy men are probably scarce, if not absent. One of the regular assistants, Pedro Chávez, talked constantly about

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

556 them, houses are essentially portable property
422 like furniture, tools, or cattle.

Little exists in the way of incorporeal prop-
424 erty in Cherán. Perhaps the most important
556 instances are the possession of knowledge of dances or of the texts for the dialogue in such performances as the *pastorela*. Theoretically anyone might pick up this knowledge, but there seems a tacit understanding that this should not be done without the permission of the owner. Such knowledge is valuable, as such persons are paid by the *mayordomos* to teach the performers.

428 property, a form of ultimogeniture. Such cases are understood and usually cause no friction. Other instances sometimes give rise to bitter feelings. Cases were recorded where children had broken away from parental authority and had become established through their own efforts. Sometimes the elderly persons were cared for by a niece or nephew, or even by some person not related at all, who received all the property. Resentment is generally felt by the children, even though they may have well deserved such treatment.

If properties are small, the daughters are sometimes slighted. If a lot, for example, is too small to divide and there are a son and daughter, the son will get the lot. On the other hand, if the lot is large, it will be divided between them. Often, however, the brother will take advantage of his sister, who, to avoid a quarrel, will accept an unfair division but will lose no chance of getting even. An example that came to attention was a division of a lot in which the brother took the part containing most of the fruit trees. When the brother went on a 3-day [593] trip during pear season, his sister and her husband cut all the pears and sold them. The brother hesitated to do anything about it because it would have brought out the unfairness of the original transaction.

Frequently, the division of personal and movable property is unfair. Children who are away from home are apt to get nothing. However, their land rights are usually more or less respected. Even so, on their return, they may appeal to the *municipio*, which will force the other heirs to make a proper settlement.

Various adjustments are made to meet special 428 situations. Often an expert in property values 423 is called in to make the division. For example, a man with two children may have left a lot and a piece of farm land too small to divide. The expert decides the value of each and the one receiving the least valuable parcel is recompensed through sale of personal property. Where a lot cannot be divided, a piece of land may be sold from the estate to buy a lot for one of the children.

Conflicts also arise from transactions entered 428 into by the owner before death without inform- 425 ing the heirs. For example, Agustín Rangel's father bought a house from his own father.

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425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
428 sons remain in the family group and which
593 function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

All inheritances are supposed to be registered
428 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

Even though many details of the economic
181 system of Cherán are still not known in detail,
556 some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

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[p.63b]

471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [431] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of [423] exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners [556] to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [175] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

Some further insight into production prob- 433 lems may be gained by detailed studies of 434 specific activities. These data throw light 128 upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi- 433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so 124

175 others being landless. This condition seems
423 to have been present even at the time when land was owned by the village, wherever private property existed within the community. When private ownership became general at the end of the nineteenth century, the differentiation as to wealth within the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are available for the Tarascan area, the existing information shows that inequality in landed property within the villages was prevalent, although in different degrees, in the various Tarascan villages. It has been reported for the Cañada villages,[30] Urapicho,[31] Cherán,[32] Tzintzuntzan,[33] Paracho, Charapan and Jarácuaro[34] either for pre-revolutionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less in some small Cañada villages, which have preserved as communal holding the agricultural lands of the community.[35] In a large agricultural town like Cherán, where laborers come to work in harvest time from neighboring towns,[36] the differences are considerable. A great number of larger landowners rent part of their lands on a share crop basis to other villagers, and there are some completely landless men.[37]

Many Tarascan villages discourage the
[609] selling of land to outsiders, the approval of the town being necessary for such transactions.[38] The increased inequality seems to have been greater in those places where selling to strangers took place. At the advent of the Revolution, this was the case in some Cañada villages where the largest landholders were mestizos from neighboring towns.[39]

The custom by which individuals take
[796] care of financing a given religious festival also led some villagers to sell or pawn and
[426] later lose their lands. Such was the case in Urapicho before the Revolution.[40] In La Cañada this was not only a factor in hastening the loss of lands but also the way by which outsiders got hold of them, for the Indians pawned their lands to moneylenders in mestizo towns.[41]

175 In all towns where there are landless
423 people, the latter go out to work in neigh-
464 boring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
31. Beals, 1946, 131.
32. *Ibid.*, 12, 61-2, 66, 98-9.
33. Foster, 1948, 71-3, 173-5.
34. Field notes.
35. West, 1948, 32-3.
36. Beals, 1946, 61.
37. *Ibid.*, 99.
38. West, 1948, 32.
39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
40. Beals, 1946, 131.
41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.

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THE FARMING CYCLE

221 A clearer picture of the agricultural cycle
241 may be given by a monthly summary.

January: Little to do; second plowing of maize lands may begin.

February: Second plowing of maize lands.

March: Maize planting begins.

April: Maize planting; first cultivation of early maize at end of month; planting of vegetables and maize in *solares*.

May: Wheat harvest; second cultivation of maize.

June: Second cultivation of maize; some wheat threshing (continued in dry weather throughout rest of year).

July: Fairly free month; weeding of maize begins; second cultivation of maize continues.

August: Plowing for wheat.

September: Planting wheat; cutting maize fodder.

October: Plowing for maize; rains usually end; cutting maize fodder; wheat threshing nearly finished.

November: Maize harvest (if lower lands planted); plowing.

December: Maize harvest on higher lands; plowing.

SOIL PREPARATION

Land is prepared for field and garden crops
241 (except for small kitchen gardens of cabbage and herbs) by plowing one or more times (pl. 4, upper left). The plow used is usually a wooden type (fig. 3). The Government has given some 30 steel plows to the *municipio*, which lends them to farmers; although these are all in use, they care for only a small part of the plowing.

Regardless of the type of plow, it is almost
231 always drawn by oxen. Mules, and perhaps
241 horses, undoubtedly are used sometimes, but
492 not as frequently as in adjoining Aranza; in the entire season of 1940–41 no single instance was observed on Cherán lands. If the wooden plow is used, the long plow beam is attached to the ox yoke directly. Steel plows are attached to the ox yoke by a chain. An ox goad of wood, often with a chisellike metal butt (for sticking in the ground), is employed.

A great many farmers own oxen; if they do
● [427] not, they must rent them at 75 centavos to 1 peso a day, depending on the demand. If drivers are hired, 50 centavos a day is usual. On the other hand, if a man has rented his land on shares, he must make sure his tenants plow at the right time. Usually land is plowed twice before planting, but the depth rarely exceeds 6 inches.

243 492 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize [427] or money equal to the rent is usually made. Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

243 632 The time of the harvest varies in different places. If the "plain" west of town is planted, the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

243 527 692 273 As the harvest is a time of joint work, even though not communal in character, it also is a rather festive and social occasion. Moreover, many workmen have more money than at any other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

243 In 1940 the following schedule of harvests was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

251 243 White maize and yellow maize are stored unshelled in the lofts of *"trojes."* Little effort is taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

939 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [438] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture men's hats of palm straw braid, although pro- 439 duction does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

252 262 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These [438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale [443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not [427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own- [443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at [435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

243 In the case of the farmer who slaves at pro-
433 ducing a scanty crop on submarginal land,
461 similar considerations are important. The farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

243 Even in the case of the average or somewhat
433 better than average case cited in detail, the
153 calculations made on the basis of our economic viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

184 In case maize is raised for sale on any scale,
433 however, the farmer encounters new market-
243 ing problems. The local market prefers yellow maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

243 From the statements given above it should
433 not be concluded that the idea of a return for
427 land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

243 cropping basis. The number of sharecroppers
433 in Cherán is unknown, but probably is con-
427 siderable. Small landowners often farm additional lands on this basis, and some fairly prosperous families are sharecroppers.

The rental paid by sharecroppers is usually one-half the crop. In the case of our average hectare this would mean the owner received 7½ to 10 *fanegas* of maize worth from $37.50 to $60.00. This might well be equal to more than a 50 percent return on the investment in land. As even the most exorbitant interest rates on cash loans from banks would not exceed 15 percent, it would appear to be a very good business to borrow money to buy land for rental on a sharecropping basis. Yet such a procedure, so far as could be discovered, is seldom if ever followed. Moreover, persons with money will lend on land as a security, receiving only interest, instead of buying land which would appear to offer a relatively larger return. (But short-term loans are at a much higher rate of interest. See p. 63.)

A number of factors still have not been
231 treated in the foregoing discussion. It should
243 be observed that the hypothetical farmer could
427 still further decrease his cash outlay if he
434 owned his own ox team. Such a team would be worth from $100 to $120, depending on size. Ownership of a team would save about $30 a year in rental in cultivating a hectare. In addition, there might be opportunities to rent the team at $1 a day for perhaps 30 days to work on maize lands and perhaps for another 30 days during the wheat season. As there is less demand in the latter time, the rental probably would be only 75 centavos a day. The returns from rentals, however, would possibly be $52.50 a year. If the saving of $30 for rentals on the farmer's own land were included the investment in an ox team obviously would be a very good one.

Ownership of livestock, however, involves the problem of feed. Mostly the feed is secured by cutting the *rastrojo* or corn fodder. Wheat straw is also fed. Part of the year animals may be grazed on the common pastures. Rarely, however, is enough feed produced, and in a bad year there is always danger of losing animals during the latter part of the dry season. Ownership of oxen also increases the

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231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or
3 days while in pasture.

427 The question may be raised why horses or
434 mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:		*Days*
First plowing		10
Second plowing		10
Sowing and harrowing		2 (or less)
Harvesting		4½
Total labor		26½
Costs:		
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92	
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00	
Taxes	1.00	
Seed	1.00	
Total production costs	$28.92	
Interest on capital investment	11.00	
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92	

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
231 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433

WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

295 *Hats:*

433 Cost of materials:

434 Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at $0.30 to $0.40 ..... $0.90–$1.60

Thread, per hat ..... .15

Sizing materials for white hats ..... Unknown

Total ..... 1.05–1.75 (?)

Labor, per hat ..... 3–9 hours (approximately)

[435] Selling price, per hat $1.25–4.00

Gross profit, per hat $0.20–2.10

Return for labor, per hour ... $0.06⅔–0.23 plus (?)

Return for labor, per day $0.60–2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs [427] $40 to $50 second-hand, or rents at $10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the $1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:

286 Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated) $1.00

433 Labor (part time) ..... 1–3 weeks

434 Selling price ..... $4.00–$12.00

[435] Gross profit ..... $3.00–$11.00

Return for labor, per week $3.00

Return for labor, per day ..... $0.40–$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:[1]

Cards, life 3 years $8.00

Spinning wheel, life indefinite 12.00

Loom, life indefinite ..... ?

[1] Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

322 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

256 433 434 *Bakers (commercial):*

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

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527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta
541 begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not,
[427] it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In
[534] 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

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535 796 Usually the dancer picks one of his existing godmothers whom he likes. The godmother dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:

[435] [427]

Mask (rent)	$0.50
Ribbons (rent)	8.50
Suit (rent)	6.00
Shirt (purchase)	5.00
Shoes (purchase)	9.50
Necktie (rent)	.50
Total	$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 53.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 166.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1861, 34.

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

354 In some house yards there are large domed ovens, used primarily for making bread. They
[427] are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND
DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [175] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

433 Some further insight into production prob-
434 lems may be gained by detailed studies of
128 specific activities. These data throw light upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi-
433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so
124

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[p.89b]

556 the rich. Repeated efforts to pin him down resulted in the identification of not a single individual as a *rico* and the assertion that anyone who harvested 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is a rich man. As this means a cash income from this source of around $300 to $600 or $700 a year, the standard is not high, although probably wheat, cattle, and other sources add to such income. It is worth observing that almost no storekeepers are classed as wealthy—they usually do not have much land.

428 The inheritance of property in Cherán is normally from parent to children. Should an individual die without formal disposition of his property, the municipal officials would endeavor (subject to whatever influences might be brought to bear on them) to divide the property equally among children without regard to sex. Normally, however, the heirs would make the division, and it would merely be submitted to the *municipio* for approval. In this way inequalities often creep in through domination of one heir by another and the desire to avoid a fight.

It is quite common in Cherán for the property to be disposed of by the owner before death by making a will or, more commonly, by making a statement of intention to a reliable and trusted friend before witnesses. Such decisions will be respected and enforced by the *municipio*.

Property owned by women will ordinarily go to their children. However, should a couple be childless, the spouse does not inherit. There are numerous cases in Cherán of well-to-do couples where the bulk of the property is owned by the wife. Although the husband uses and administers the property, he has no rights in it unless it is formally made over to him by his wife during her life time. Similarly, a widow does not inherit except in special cases. This, again, involves a will or making over of the property during the life of the owner. Usually such an act is taken by a man only when his sons are rebellious and unfilial.

There are frequent cases where men do not leave property equally to all children or where they leave it to some other relative. In rare cases, there may have been some assignment of property to children before death. Then the child, usually the youngest, who has cared for the parent in old age, receives all the remaining

428 property, a form of ultimogeniture. Such cases are understood and usually cause no friction. Other instances sometimes give rise to bitter feelings. Cases were recorded where children had broken away from parental authority and had become established through their own efforts. Sometimes the elderly persons were cared for by a niece or nephew, or even by some person not related at all, who received all the property. Resentment is generally felt by the children, even though they may have well deserved such treatment.

If properties are small, the daughters are sometimes slighted. If a lot, for example, is too small to divide and there are a son and daughter, the son will get the lot. On the other hand, if the lot is large, it will be divided between them. Often, however, the brother will take advantage of his sister, who, to avoid a quarrel, will accept an unfair division but will lose no chance of getting even. An example that came to attention was a division of a lot in which the brother took the part containing most of the fruit trees. When the brother went on a 3-day [593] trip during pear season, his sister and her husband cut all the pears and sold them. The brother hesitated to do anything about it because it would have brought out the unfairness of the original transaction.

Frequently, the division of personal and movable property is unfair. Children who are away from home are apt to get nothing. However, their land rights are usually more or less respected. Even so, on their return, they may appeal to the *municipio*, which will force the other heirs to make a proper settlement.

Various adjustments are made to meet special 428 situations. Often an expert in property values 423 is called in to make the division. For example, a man with two children may have left a lot and a piece of farm land too small to divide. The expert decides the value of each and the one receiving the least valuable parcel is recompensed through sale of personal property. Where a lot cannot be divided, a piece of land may be sold from the estate to buy a lot for one of the children.

Conflicts also arise from transactions entered 428 into by the owner before death without inform- 425 ing the heirs. For example, Agustín Rangel's father bought a house from his own father.

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425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house (*"troje"*) to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

773 still alive in town, and one particular man
775 who had been drowned in the lake was there wrapped in a blanket and dead drunk.

In the experiences of revived people, we also find the theme of coming back to the world in order to correct or help correct bad behavior:

[539] "A woman was dead for three hours. She was ordered to come back to this world in order to go to her son who had abandoned his wife and was living with another woman. She was ordered to tell her son that he should take his wife again and only then would he be forgiven and would he be able to reach purgatory. When the woman saw them living together again, she then died."

In another case the dead person has to come back to life in order to have the mass said which he had promised to Saint Francis.

Besides coming back to life, the dead appear to living persons in dreams or otherwise in order to ask them to correct their bad behavior. In one case a dead man appears to his friend and says:

[539] "Doroteo, Doroteo, don't be afraid. It's me, your friend Refugio. Come with me where I have my money. Hidden as it is, nobody profits from it and God does not want to forgive me because of that money which I have like that and nobody finds it. Come so that you can tell my wife and then you can take as much as you want."

The man (Doroteo) had almost decided to go but suddenly he was scared and ran away.

In another case, a married couple had
[428] adopted a boy. The man had promised to give him the kitchen as inheritance, but when the man died the woman did not give the kitchen to the boy:

[539] "She dreamed of her husband; she dreamed he was in hell and was taken to be burned. He told her it was her fault, that because she didn't give the kitchen to the boy they were taking him to be burned and that she should give it to him. Then an angel came and arranged the whole thing so he didn't go to the burning because he had repented. 'That's what I dreamed,' the woman says, 'and I think it's true.'"

A similar case is that of the dead bandit who had buried his money. His ghost keeps calling people to take the money and have some mass said for him.

423 hectares in size,[45] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[46]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33b]

[804]

[45] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[46] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 224 gathering, although now of small importance, is 222 still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 33b]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539
The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
579

28 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season) $11.25
434 Labor: Days
[435] Purchase of wool 1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time) 1
Carding 2
Spinning 2
Weaving 2
Total 8

[435] Asking price $25.00
Average sales price 20.00
Gross profit 8.75
Return for labor per day ..... 1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis ..... .58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wool and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:
Materials, thread and yarn ..... ?
Labor, part time ..... 2 days
Asking price $1.25
[435] Actual selling price 1.00
Gross profit, estimated ..... .80–.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours) ..... .40–.45

Clothing manufacture:
294 Capital investment:
433 Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
434 Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based on steady work on low-priced garments.
[585]
Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to
[435] 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to those who do serve. There is no obligation, [431] nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

Comisionados may also be named if funds
632 are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

There are many *comisionados* in connection
786 with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro [535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

854 regarded as necessary for any other reason,
304 nor are there any beliefs about the operation.

The infant is ordinarily baptized between 10
851 days and 2 months after birth. The tendency
608 in recent years is for the period to lengthen. Selecting godparents is important, for the care of the child in the event of death of the parents may devolve on the godparents, and intimate relations will exist in any event. For this reason people will often refuse to accept the responsibility or do so only after repeated invitations. Normally a married couple are sought to act as godparents but sometimes an unmarried man serves as godfather. In this case, when he marries, his wife will automatically become godmother. More rarely an unmarried man and unmarried woman are asked to serve as godparents. Agustín R. acted as godparent one time and had never met the woman who served as godmother.

Most commonly the godfather takes the child to church for baptism unaccompanied by the godmother, but sometimes the godmother goes along and carries the child. The godfather pays the priest the fee for baptism, $2.50. In the case of Agustín R., mentioned above, he was accompanied by his mother who supplied the information the priest needed to enter the baptism in the parochial register.

When the godfather returns the child to its parents, the godmother goes to the house of the parents for food. She takes with her 2 to
[431] 5 cakes of chocolate, 2 bars of soap to wash the child, and 3 to 5 pieces of bread worth 10 centavos each. If the godfather is unmarried, he gives money to some woman to buy these things and take them to the child's parents.

The parents of the child prepare beef cooked in broth (čurípo), tamales, tortillas, and sometimes other things. The godmother eats at the parents' house, and sometimes they invite others. The godfather cannot eat at the parents' house, but they send food to him at his own house, which he eats by himself or he may invite a few of his friends in to help him. In the case of Agustín, he was sent 2 chickens cooked in mole sauce, a big pan of rice, a large basket of tortillas and some tamales. He ate most of the food by himself, his parents refusing to partake of it.

1:Beah E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.216a]

La Cañada

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important being that of the čičiua. A *fiscal* looks after cattle belonging to the Virgin of the hospital and acts as a sacristan. A topil (a Maya word) rings the church bells and does errands for the *mayordomo* of the hospital. The *regidores* each have two messengers, the *mayor* or petajpi and the katapi. One of the duties of the latter is to chase dogs away during the fiestas, for which reason he is known as the "dog frightener," ulčariri.

A person wishing to take a ceremonial office makes his petition to the *regidor* (of his *barrio?*), taking bread, chocolate, and liquor. The *regidor* consults with the *cabildo* regarding the matter, but he cannot accept the gifts unless the person receives the office. Apparently the *regidores* function primarily as the administrative officials of the *cabildo*. They are said also to have functions with respect to the Indian population in La Cañada. Indians visiting Chilchota on business often consult with the *regidores* and, if the matter is one involving the court or *juzgado*, the *regidor* acts as intermediary and advocate of the Indian's cause.

[431]

Decision regarding the offices is reached by the *cabildo* before December 12. On this day the new *cargueros* assemble at the hospital where the wife of the mayordomo places a crown on each one; this ceremony installs them in office, although some apparently do not take up their duties until later.

The most important meeting of the *cabildo* is on the day of Candelaria (February 2). The principals and the *cargueros*, old and new, who have passed the office of *mayordomo* of Santiago, meet about 10 o'clock in the morning in the patio outside the chapel of the hospital. Men and women (wives of the men?) form two groups. The men are seated on chairs along the sides of a table covered with mats of tule. The *regidores* take seats at each end. The women are arranged in similar fashion but kneeling on mats on each side of a row of tule mats placed on the ground. The *regidores* evidently take their places first. As each person arrives, he kisses a cross placed in a little shelter before the chapel. He then goes to the *regidores*, crosses himself, and kisses the staffs of the *regidores*. He then takes his place.

Each of the *roseras* must bring two sugarcanes for each person and a bottle of liquor for

796 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in
624 Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *carguerox* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in
[524] advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents
● [431] of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them čapatas. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual
796 bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

362 could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

362 184 Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

[continued on p. 30b]

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

CEREMONIES

342 Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "*combate*," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

342 431 476 On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing.

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is com-
476 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

The master builder meanwhile leaves the house
342 and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated
[531] with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 199b]

576 When one meets friends of the same sex, one says "Good day," "Good afternoon," or "With God" (*Buenos días, buenos tardes, adiós*). If persons stop to talk, they touch hands in greeting and on farewell. A person of opposite sex, if well known, will be greeted in the same way verbally, but the hands will not be touched and, unless the persons are relatives or *compadres*, they will not stop and talk.

If a man visits a friend in his field or his *solar* when he is working, he always helps a bit. A woman calling at the house will help a little with any work going on. If one sees a stray animal and knows the owner, it is good manners to take it to him; if the owner is unknown, the animal should be taken to the municipal building. If one is in a group and people become angry, efforts should be made to dissuade them from fighting unless they are drunk. It is all right to drive another person's dog away (although usually people just give strange dogs a wide berth), but a pig should never be molested unless it is trespassing. It is not proper to punish another person's child, but if he throws a rock, for example, it is all right to throw rocks back.

576 If you hear a piece of land is for sale and do not know the owner, you get all the information you can about the land and then send the
432 person giving the information to talk to the owner. If you know the owner you go yourself. Most commonly the owner will come to you. It is proper to stand and talk about other things for a while and then make an appointment to go to see the land. On the trip, the final arrangements about the price are usually thrashed out if you decide to buy the land. Then you go together to the municipal building and have a bill of sale made out, for which you pay.

576 At meals the oldest man present is served first, unless there is a male guest present.
264 Then the other men are served and then the women and children. Of course, there are always the small children who come about pestering their mothers for a tortilla and, as Agustín remarked, "Of course you want to get rid of those guys first." When water is passed around and one drinks out of a common pitcher. it is polite to pour a little water on the ground,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.596]

Cubic measure (used in masonry)

804 1 *barra* = 1 yd. × 1 yd. × 16 in.
1 *metro* = 1 m. × 1 m. × 50 cm.

PRODUCTION

433 439 Production in Cherán depends more directly upon the land than it does in most other Tarascan villages. Although the land ultimately is the source of all Tarascan raw materials, some industries require relatively few of such materials. In some cases—for example, the straw hat industry—all the raw materials are imported from outside the Tarascan area. Even more numerous are instances where the raw materials are secured from some other Tarascan town.

While Cherán economy is primarily self-sufficient in character, it is less so than are most Indian economies of Mexico. Cherán does supply most of its own basic food and housing needs, but it does not supply its own clothing. Moreover, many foods every Cherán resident desires are not produced locally. Numerous Cherán families also depend on wages more than upon their own direct exploitation of the land or upon industry. Finally, Cherán produces many goods for export, although to a far less degree than neighboring Paracho.

LAND

423 Tarascan land is of three main types: farm, forest, and residential. To these might be added public roads, water courses, and mineral deposits. The latter are relatively unimportant. Public roads and trails of course serve communications and do not enter directly into production. Water courses are also mainly in the public domain. Virtually their only use is to supply drinking water for man and beast and for washing purposes. Public lands also supply the small requirements of sand, clay, and building stone.

All permanent farm lands are privately owned. The only exceptions are occasional temporary fields cleared from the forest on lands too steep for cultivation for more than a few years. On the farm lands the major products are white or yellow maize and wheat. Beans, squash, fruits, oats, and barley are produced only in small quantities.

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [775] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

Some further insight into production prob- 433 lems may be gained by detailed studies of 434 specific activities. These data throw light 128 upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi- 433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so 124

124 much secrecy or misleading information given.
243 Three sources of information were used: (1)
433 Data from farmers about their own activities. All this information is suspect, even after eliminating obviously false answers. (2) Data from Agustín Rangel, who was interested in establishing himself as a farmer and probably was a good and relatively unbiased observer. (3) Observation of farm practices and participation in harvests on roughly measured fields. Actual measurement of fields was undesirable and would have caused trouble.

243 In table 1 are given the various data collected on farm yields. The average of figures given
433 by farmers is about the top figure given by Rangel for average land in a poor year. It is slightly above the figure for the yield of average land in a poor year as secured by participation in the harvest. The cross checks suggest the figures given by farmers are on the whole plausible although probably low. The figures given by any individual farmer, however, may be quite incorrect. This should be borne in mind throughout the discussion.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*

ESTIMATE BY OWNERS

Number of hectares cultivated	Yield (per hectare) in—		Value of crop
	Cargas	*Fanegas*	
2½	40	30	.....
10½[1]	180	135	.....
½	7	5¼	.....
½[2]	20	15	100-110
½[2]	10	7½	60- 70
½[2]	5	3¾	25
½[2]	10	7½	65
¼[3] (early-frost area)	3	2¼	15
4	90	70	350-400
1	10	7½	40
1½	10	7½	40
½	12	9	55
½	12	9	55
Average	...	14¾	.....

ESTIMATE BY AGUSTIN RANGEL

Type of land and year	Average yield per hectare	
	Cargas	*Fanegas*
Best land:		
Average year	40	30
Bad year	15-25	11¼-18¾
Average land:		
Average year	30	22½
Bad year	5-20	3¾-15
Poor land	.....	1½

[1] An exceptionally rich "joya," a fertile depression in the mountains fertilized by drainage from surrounding slopes.

[2] This is a stupendous yield, if true, but the land is said to be exceptionally located, with fertilization from adjoining slopes.

[124] [3] Data in this line are typical of information from owners. One area given as ½ hectare yields a crop to be expected of a full hectare; on inspection, it proved to be nearly 3 hectares.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.165a]

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TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*—Continued

ESTIMATE BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AT HARVEST

Type of land	Yield in *fanegas* per hectare	Remarks
Poor to average land	3	Maize badly damaged by early frost.
Average land	12	Maize slightly damaged by frost.

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433
461

In addition to securing data on yield, i.e., income, for maize, an effort was made to secure data on production costs. General statements as to the amount of time put in on farm work proved worthless. Usually the time given would scarcely provide for a single weeding. The best figures were secured by breaking down the different steps and getting experienced farmers to estimate the time necessary for cultivating 1 hectare. A summary of such data gives the following:

	Days
Labor of owner:	
First plowing	10
Second plowing (at right angles)	10
Sowing	3
First cultivation (with plow)	4
Second cultivation (with plow)	3
First weeding (with sickle or machete)	3
Second weeding (often omitted)	3
Harvest	1
Carrying maize to house (estimated average)	5
Total	42
Hired labor:	
Sowing (2 peons)	3
Harvesting (3 peons)	1

Costs:

[465]

Owner's labor (42 days valued at $0.45 a day outside of planting and harvesting time)	$18.90
2 peons for 3 days	3.00
3 peons for 1 day	1.50
Total	$23.40

On the assumption that a man will own sufficient land to require hired labor, the summary given above includes 9 man days of hired labor at a cost of $4.50 or a total of 51 man days of labor worth $23.40. To this must be added $30 for hire of an ox team if one is not owned, probably $1 in taxes, and $2.50 for the value of the seed corn (one-half *fanega*), or a total of $56.90. If this is about an average piece of land, the yield will be 15 to 20 *fanegas* of shelled

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.65b]

243 maize, for which the farmer should receive from
433 $75 to $120, or a profit of $22.10 to $63.10.
461 From this, in theory, should be deducted interest on the investment in land and equipment as well as a depreciation allowance on the equipment. If the land is worth $90 (above average), it would seem fair to allow at least $11 for these charges, which still leaves a profit of $11.10 to $52.10.[23]

As will be seen in later discussions, this makes maize farming on average or better land probably one of the most worth-while businesses in Cherán. Obviously there are elements of risk. Farmers on poor land, moreover, probably get no profits at all on this basis, for labor and expenses would be reduced very little relative to reductions in yield. The second weeding and part of the harvesting expenses might be eliminated. But if the yield is as low as 1½ *fanegas* (as has been reported) a man would get virtually no return at all. If he had his own ox team and did all his own work (with the help of sons or his wife), he might get $4 to $5 worth of maize for his effort after deducting the costs of seed and taxes. From the standpoint of our economy, there is obviously a very considerable net loss.

To view the agricultural situation in Cherán only from the standpoint of our economy, however, would be grossly misleading, for to do so does not take into account numerous cultural factors. The Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits, and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage house. I have already mentioned that harvest workers refused an increase in wages from 50 centavos to $1 if the right to glean were rescinded. Most observers agree that the amount of maize obtained from gleaning in a day is less than can be bought for 50 centavos. At $1 the workman could therefore buy more corn than his wife could obtain by gleaning. The large farmers would get a more thorough harvest and would not have to employ supervisors. On a bookkeeping basis, everyone would benefit. But the harvest hand would not have a load of maize, small though it might be, to carry home from a day's work; he would have only an inedible silver peso in his pocket.

[23] Charges for animals to carry the crop and for watchmen and storage facilities are not included.

243 In the case of the farmer who slaves at pro-
433 ducing a scanty crop on submarginal land,
461 similar considerations are important. The farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

243 Even in the case of the average or somewhat
433 better than average case cited in detail, the
153 calculations made on the basis of our economic viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

184 In case maize is raised for sale on any scale,
433 however, the farmer encounters new market-
243 ing problems. The local market prefers yellow maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

243 From the statements given above it should
433 not be concluded that the idea of a return for
427 land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

243 433 427 cropping basis. The number of sharecroppers in Cherán is unknown, but probably is considerable. Small landowners often farm additional lands on this basis, and some fairly prosperous families are sharecroppers.

The rental paid by sharecroppers is usually one-half the crop. In the case of our average hectare this would mean the owner received 7½ to 10 *fanegas* of maize worth from $37.50 to $60.00. This might well be equal to more than a 50 percent return on the investment in land. As even the most exorbitant interest rates on cash loans from banks would not exceed 15 percent, it would appear to be a very good business to borrow money to buy land for rental on a sharecropping basis. Yet such a procedure, so far as could be discovered, is seldom if ever followed. Moreover, persons with money will lend on land as a security, receiving only interest, instead of buying land which would appear to offer a relatively larger return. (But short-term loans are at a much higher rate of interest. See p. 63.)

231 243 427 434 A number of factors still have not been treated in the foregoing discussion. It should be observed that the hypothetical farmer could still further decrease his cash outlay if he owned his own ox team. Such a team would be worth from $100 to $120, depending on size. Ownership of a team would save about $30 a year in rental in cultivating a hectare. In addition, there might be opportunities to rent the team at $1 a day for perhaps 30 days to work on maize lands and perhaps for another 30 days during the wheat season. As there is less demand in the latter time, the rental probably would be only 75 centavos a day. The returns from rentals, however, would possibly be $52.50 a year. If the saving of $30 for rentals on the farmer's own land were included the investment in an ox team obviously would be a very good one.

Ownership of livestock, however, involves the problem of feed. Mostly the feed is secured by cutting the *rastrojo* or corn fodder. Wheat straw is also fed. Part of the year animals may be grazed on the common pastures. Rarely, however, is enough feed produced, and in a bad year there is always danger of losing animals during the latter part of the dry season. Ownership of oxen also increases the

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231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or 3 days while in pasture.

427 The question may be raised why horses or
434 mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:		*Days*
First plowing		10
Second plowing		10
Sowing and harrowing		2 (or less)
Harvesting		4½
Total labor		26½
Costs:		
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92	
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00	
Taxes	1.00	
Seed	1.00	
Total production costs	$28.92	
Interest on capital investment	11.00	
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92	

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
434 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga*
438 above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

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433
434
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TABLE 2.—*Data on farm income*

[Data for 1940, claimed; for 1941, estimated.]

Case No.	Land cultivated			Yield			Value of crops[1]		Total income for year		Combined income for 1940-41
	Number of parcels	Number of hectares	Value	Crop	1940	1941	1940	1941	1940	1941	
1[2]	2 1	2	$140	Maize do	20 fanegas	..... 10-15 fanegas	$100-140	 50-100	$100-140	 50-100	$150-340
2[2]	1 1	4 Town lot	350	Maize Pears	35 fanegas 10-100's	..... 5-100's	175-200	....	175-200	....	175-200
3	1 1 1 1 1	8 1 1½ Town lot[4] 3½	1,250	Wheat Maize do Peaches Maize	17½ cargas 7½ fanegas 7½ fanegas 25-100's	.... 25-100's 55-110 fanegas	$355-571 40 40 10	.... 10 275-660	449-561	....	733-1,231
4	1 1 1	½ ½ ½	120	Wheat Maize do	1 carga 9 fanegas	.... 9 fanegas	25 55	 55	80	 55	135

[1] Values of fodder or wheat straw not included.
[2] Land rented; crop values represent owner's share (one-half).
[3] Cost of threshing deducted.
[4] Value not included in $1,250.

[p. 68c]

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
231 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433 WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

313 *Plank making:*

Tools:

433 Oak mallet
Oak wedges
434 Ax
Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)
Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

Charcoal burning:

314 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day
433 week, no economic data were secured. The little char-
434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

Carpentry:

335 *Tools:*

433 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30
434

Products, labor, value:

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house
[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

322 *Wood turning:*

433 434 *Equipment:*

Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen ..... $1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

339 *Brickmaking and tilemaking:*

433 434 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (*in kind*):

Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

Masonry:

333 433 434 *Equipment:*

Trowel ("*cuchara*")
Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

Production:

333 Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

433 *Price:*

434 From 80 centavos a meter to $1.25; about $1 a meter seemed most common

[435] *Average return:*

From 80 centavos to $1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

324 *Tools:*

433 2-pound iron mallet

434 Chisels

Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair)	3 days
Door bases (pair)	1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

[435]

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair)	$9
Door bases and sills (each)	10

Comment: The figures suggest a $3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

Tule mats:

285 *Costs:*

433 Tules at Erongaricuaro, per bundle ... $0.25

434 Rent of burro, 3 days ... 1.00

Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load) ... 3.50

Labor:

	Days
Getting tules	3
Weaving 13 mats	6½
Selling mats	2½–3
Average total time	12

[435]

Sales price at 60 centavos each	$7.80
Gross profit	4.30
Daily profit per worker	.35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

Hats:

295 Cost of materials:

433 Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at $0.30 to $0.40 ..... $0.90–$1.60

434 Thread, per hat ..... .15

Sizing materials for white hats ..... Unknown

Total ..... 1.05–1.75 (?)

Labor, per hat ..... 3–9 hours (approximately)

[435] Selling price, per hat $1.25–4.00

Gross profit, per hat $0.20–2.10

Return for labor, per hour ... $0.06⅔–0.23 plus (?)

Return for labor, per day $0.60–2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs [427] $40 to $50 second-hand, or rents at $10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the $1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:

286 Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated) $1.00

433 Labor (part time) ..... 1–3 weeks

434 Selling price ..... $4.00–$12.00

[435] Gross profit ..... $3.00–$11.00

Return for labor, per week $3.00

Return for labor, per day ..... $0.40–$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:[2]

Cards, life 3 years $3.00

Spinning wheel, life indefinite 12.00

Loom, life indefinite ..... ?

[2] Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

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28 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season) $11.25
434 Labor: Days
[435] Purchase of wool 1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time) 1
Carding 2
Spinning 2
Weaving 2
Total 8

[435] Asking price $25.00
Average sales price 20.00
Gross profit 8.75
Return for labor per day ..... 1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time [illegible] ..... .58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:
Materials, thread and yarn ..... ?
Labor, part time ..... 2 days
Asking price $1.25
[435] Actual selling price 1.00
Gross profit, estimated ..... .80–.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours) ..... .40–.45

Clothing manufacture:
294 Capital investment:
433 Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
434 Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based on steady work on low-priced garments.

[585] Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to
[435] 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

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294 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of
433 material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a
434 meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a
[435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in
[439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 *Candlemaking:*
434 Cost of wax (per kilo) .....
[394] Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax ... $2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment) ..... $0.50–$1.00

Rope making (horsehair):
[283] Horsehair $0.50 per kilo $0.37½
Labor ..... 1 day
Sale price $1.50
Gross profit per day $1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 *Shoemaking:*
433 Equipment:
434 Sewing machine $55.00
Lasts ..... ?
Knives ..... ?

Labor:
1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices
[435] Value of product (per pair) $3.00–7.00
Estimated gross income:
Per day 1.50
Per pair of shoes 1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 *Tanning:*
Charge per cowhide ..... $5.00–$10.00
435 Charge per sheepskin ..... .50
434 Average daily return 1.25

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

322 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

256 433 434 *Bakers (commercial):*

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

243 *Threshing machine:*
407 *Equipment:*
433 Woodburning steam-driven threshing machine. Cost unknown, but probably several thousand pesos.
434

Charges for wheat threshing (a *carga*)	$2.50
Capacity daily	12 *cargas*
Income daily	$30.00

Operating expenses (daily):	
Wood	$2.00
Hired labor	2.00
Water carrier	1.00
Total	$5.00

Operating season (June 20 to Oct. 25, period worked in 1940 estimated):	Days
June	8
July	25
August	25
September	20
October	15
Total	93

Total business (1,116 *cargas*, estimated, at $2.50 a *carga*)	$2,790
Net profit annually before deducting repairs, wages for owner, interest and depreciation, approximately	$2,365

Comment: Probably the threshing machine has the largest peso volume of business of any enterprise in Cherán, although one of the *nixtamal* mills probably is a close second. The threshing machine also represents the greatest capital investment except for some individual investments in real estate. High repair costs probably reduce the true net profit considerably, while depreciation in this case cannot be ignored. Add to this the time and skill required of the owner, and it is probable that this is not the most profitable enterprise in town even though it be the largest. Certainly, other families of farmers or combination farmers and storekeepers show more outward signs of prosperity.

402 *Nixtamal mills:*

Cost of equipment	$300.00–$1200.00
Costs daily:	
Gasoline and oil for gas engines	2.00
Charcoal for producer gas equipped engines	1.20
Labor, 1 man	.80–1.00
Gross income at 1 centavo per kilo of maize ground (daily)	13.00–15.00
Net income (daily)	10.00–12.00

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Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

256 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included.
402 Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not
433 driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for
434 splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 *Barbers:*
434

Prices:	
Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 *Musicians:*
434

Wages:	
For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 *Painters, plasterers:*
434

Daily wage	$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 *Billiard parlors:*
433
434

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 *Butchers:*
433
434

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	$80–$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

253 15 *arrobas* (375 pounds) $90
433 14 *arrobas* (350 pounds) 65
434 16 *arrobas* (400 pounds) 92
Retail price (per kilo) ..... .70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo) ..... .40–.45
Price of pigs ..... 30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week 7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig 3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

Field watchers:
241 Wages:
434 In maize ..... 1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize) ..... $60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

Water carrying:
312 Charge for two 25-liter cans $0.06
434

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

Beekeeping:
231 12 hives produced:
433 15 liters of honey at $0.60 ..... $ 9.00
434 3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50 6.70–10.00
Wax:
1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth 3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth 9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles 18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

Fireworks making:
389 Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán
433 proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts
434 seem reasonable.

389 433 434

Materials and prices:	Per kilo
Nitrate	$1.70
Chlorate	5.00
Sulfur	.80
Fiber string	1.00
Shakes, cane, etc.	Nominal

(Shakes are $5 a bundle of 400, but the number used is small; 3 or 4 per dozen *cohetes*, for example.)

Comment: Cohetes are made to order and sell at $3.00 to $4.00 per dozen. *Castillos* or set pieces are done on contract. Gross income from this source was at least $400 in 1940. Between times *cohetes* were made fairly steadily. Probably the fireworks maker's income is above average.

DISTRIBUTION

439 The problem of distribution affects primarily those goods which are exported from Cherán and those things which are imported. Only a small fraction of the materials produced locally are sold locally; in the main each family produces the local products it consumes and sells its surplus for export.

The export goods of Cherán consist almost wholly of forest products and farm products. The first are usually sold on contract or are transported by the producer to market. Railroad ties, for example, are always cut on contract. Charcoal is mostly sold to dealers from Zacapu and is delivered to the nearest spot where it can be picked up by trucks. However, there is some small local sale, mostly for operation of producer gas generators for *nixtamal* mills, and a little is carried on burros to such a town as Uruapan. Similarly, planks and beams are mainly sold, either to dealers who pick them up in trucks for export or locally on contract to someone building a house. In towns close to Uruapan, Zamora, or other centers, much of the sale of such products as charcoal, planks, and beams is direct, the maker carrying the goods to town on market day.

The major exception to the marketing methods for forest products described above is tejamanil, or shakes. For the local market, the shake maker usually works on order. For the export market he usually takes his product on burros to some nearby Mestizo town. These expeditions may be combined with other trading operations. Thus, shakes may be taken to Turetan via Nahuatzen, Tingambato, and Ziracuaretiro, a full-day trip with burros from 5

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.18a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
812 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier
433 it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 39.
49. Beals, 1946, 59-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 229-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the
438 economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 227.
54. Beals, 1946, 66.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 66.

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [175] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

433 Some further insight into production prob-
434 lems may be gained by detailed studies of
128 specific activities. These data throw light upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi-
433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so
124

243 cropping basis. The number of sharecroppers
433 in Cherán is unknown, but probably is con-
427 siderable. Small landowners often farm additional lands on this basis, and some fairly prosperous families are sharecroppers.

The rental paid by sharecroppers is usually one-half the crop. In the case of our average hectare this would mean the owner received 7½ to 10 *fanegas* of maize worth from $37.50 to $60.00. This might well be equal to more than a 50 percent return on the investment in land. As even the most exorbitant interest rates on cash loans from banks would not exceed 15 percent, it would appear to be a very good business to borrow money to buy land for rental on a sharecropping basis. Yet such a procedure, so far as could be discovered, is seldom if ever followed. Moreover, persons with money will lend on land as a security, receiving only interest, instead of buying land which would appear to offer a relatively larger return. (But short-term loans are at a much higher rate of interest. See p. 63.)

231 A number of factors still have not been
243 treated in the foregoing discussion. It should
427 be observed that the hypothetical farmer could still further decrease his cash outlay if he
434 owned his own ox team. Such a team would be worth from $100 to $120, depending on size. Ownership of a team would save about $30 a year in rental in cultivating a hectare. In addition, there might be opportunities to rent the team at $1 a day for perhaps 30 days to work on maize lands and perhaps for another 30 days during the wheat season. As there is less demand in the latter time, the rental probably would be only 75 centavos a day. The returns from rentals, however, would possibly be $52.50 a year. If the saving of $30 for rentals on the farmer's own land were included the investment in an ox team obviously would be a very good one.

Ownership of livestock, however, involves the problem of feed. Mostly the feed is secured by cutting the *rastrojo* or corn fodder. Wheat straw is also fed. Part of the year animals may be grazed on the common pastures. Rarely, however, is enough feed produced, and in a bad year there is always danger of losing animals during the latter part of the dry season. Ownership of oxen also increases the

231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or
3 days while in pasture.

427 The question may be raised why horses or
434 mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:	*Days*	
First plowing	10	
Second plowing	10	
Sowing and harrowing	2	(or less)
Harvesting	4½	
Total labor	26½	
Costs:		
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92	
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00	
Taxes	1.00	
Seed	1.00	
Total production costs	$28.92	
Interest on capital investment	11.00	
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92	

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 68a]

256 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* pro-
243 duces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds
434 of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or
438 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 One agricultural activity for which few data
438 were obtained is fruit growing. No informa-
434 tion was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

434 Another view of farming activity may be
241 gained by examining the income of individual farmers. These data are probably somewhat
511 unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

241 maize. Case 3 owns a store run by his chil-
434 dren, but he regards himself as a farmer by
511 preference. Even without his store, he would be well off by Cherán standards, although not a "rich man." In 1940 he produced nearly enough maize for his family and sold over $300 worth of wheat. In 1941 he probably was able to sell not less than 35 *fanegas* of maize above his family's food needs (less if he raised pigs or fattened beef for butchering). Case 4 is a widow. Her land is cultivated by a nephew, but under what circumstances is not known. If the nephew lives with her, the amount of maize is a little inadequate; on the other hand, if she lives alone, the quantity is more than enough for one person.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 It is virtually impossible to secure useful
434 data on labor costs or profits in relation to animals. Under agriculture I have mentioned some of the facts about oxen. No data were collected on chicken raising; probably no one in Cherán knows how much grain he feeds chickens or how many eggs a year he gets.
[435] Prices vary from 2 to 6 centavos per egg. The situation about pigs is little better.

Virtually everyone keeps pigs; no one has any idea of the total amount of grain fed except during the fattening period. Shoats have little value and are frequently given away. Data on labor are lacking, yet the labor cost cannot be negligible when the animal is being fattened and its pen is cleaned frequently. A

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TABLE 2.—*Data on farm income*

[Data for 1940, claimed; for 1941, estimated.]

Case No.	Land cultivated			Yield			Value of crop[1]		Total income for year		Combined income for 1940-41
	Number of parcels	Number of hectares	Value	Crop	1940	1941	1940	1941	1940	1941	
1[2]	2	2	$140	Maize	20 fanegas		$100-140		$100-140		$150-240
	1			do		10-15 fanegas		50-100		50-100	
2[2]	1	4	350	Maize	35 fanegas		175-200		175-200		175-200
	1	Town lot		Pears	10-100's	8-100's					
3	1	8	1,250	Wheat	17 ½ cargas		[3]355-571		445-561		733-1,231
	1	1		Maize	7 ½ fanegas		40				
	1	1 ½		do	7 ½ fanegas		40				
	1	Town lot[4]		Peaches	25-100's	25-100's	10	10		255-670	
	1	5 ½		Maize		55-110 fanegas		275-660			
4	1	½	120	Wheat	1 carga		25		80		135
	1	½		Maize	9 fanegas		55				
	1	½		do		9 fanegas		55		55	

[1] Values of fodder or wheat straw not included.

[2] Land rented; crop values represent owner's share (one-half).

[3] Cost of threshing deducted.

[4] Value not included in $1,250.

[p. 68c]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

231 pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to
434 fatten, valued at from $5 to $7. According to
[435] size, the animal may bring from $30 to $75, a gross profit on the fattening process of from $12.50 to $70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos less if the pig was bought. If an adequate market were developed, or if sales and transport facilities at a distance were to be developed, pig raising might be a more important activity, although an increase in the number of pigs would decrease the amount of foraging possible and would require more feeding.

236 Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few.
434 The reliability of the major informants is suspect, but the evidence suggests that sheep raising is profitable. The major expense is the initial cost of the flock and the wages of a shepherd. Sheep are worth $2.50 to $5.00
[435] apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of the flock, but probably rarely exceed $20 a
[465] month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep for food; most shepherds receive considerably less, often only $5 a month without food. Often several small owners merge their flocks and hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and payments to have the flocks bedded on farm land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year (this seems low but the sheep are of poor
[435] quality), which sells for $1 to $1.25. A fair-size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for
[262] meat outside the village; almost no lamb or mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were secured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high, but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an investment of $750 in theory although it probably was built up by natural increase from a smaller flock. The shepherd receives $20 a month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least $5, and a sheep worth, on an average, $3.75, or a total of $28.75 a month ($345 a year). Wool would produce $200 to $250 a year. Bedding on farm lands would produce probably 50 centavos a night for this flock for 110 days (estimated) or $55. Total income from these sources would be $255 to $305 a year. The natural increase may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at $2.50 apiece, they would bring in $187.50 a

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
231 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433 **WOODWORKING**

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

313 *Plank making:*

433 *Tools:*

434 Oak mallet
Oak wedges
Ax
Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)
Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.35 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seems unreliable and are omitted.

314 *Charcoal burning:*

433 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day week, no economic data were secured. The little char-
434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

Carpentry:

335 *Tools:*

433 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30

434 *Products, labor, value:*

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house
[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

322 *Wood turning:*

433 *Equipment:*

434 Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen ..... $1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

339 *Brickmaking and tilemaking:*

433 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):

434

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):

Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

Masonry:

333 *Equipment:*

433 Trowel ("*cuchara*")

434 Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

Production:

333 Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

433 *Price:*

434 From 80 centavos a meter to $1.25; about $1 a meter seemed most common

[435] *Average return:*

From 80 centavos to $1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

324 *Tools:*

433 2-pound iron mallet

434 Chisels

Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair) ....3 days

Door bases (pair) .....1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

[435] *Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) $9

Door bases and sills (each) 10

Comment: The figures suggest a $3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

285 *Tule mats:*

433 *Costs:*

434 Tules at Erongaricuaro, per bundle....$0.25

Rent of burro, 3 days..... 1.00

Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load)..... 3.50

Labor: *Days*

Getting tules 3

Weaving 13 mats.....6½

Selling mats 2½–3

Average total time.....12

[435] Sales price at 60 centavos each.....$7.80

Gross profit 4.30

Daily profit per worker..... .35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

295 *Hats:*

433 Cost of materials:

434 Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at $0.30 to $0.40 ..... $0.90–$1.60

Thread, per hat ..... .15

Sizing materials for white hats ..... Unknown

Total ..... 1.05–1.75 (?)

Labor, per hat ..... 3–9 hours (approximately)

[435] Selling price, per hat $1.25–4.00

Gross profit, per hat $0.20–2.10

Return for labor, per hour ... $0.06⅔–0.23 plus (?)

Return for labor, per day $0.60–2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs [427] $40 to $50 second-hand, or rents at $10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the $1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:

286 Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated) $1.00

433 Labor (part time) ..... 1–3 weeks

434 Selling price ..... $4.00–$12.00

[435] Gross profit ..... $3.00–$11.00

Return for labor, per week $3.00

Return for labor, per day ..... $0.40–$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:[3]

Cards, life 3 years $3.00

Spinning wheel, life indefinite 12.00

Loom, life indefinite ..... ?

[3] Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

28 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season) $11.25
434 Labor: Days
[435] Purchase of wool 1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time) 1
Carding 2
Spinning 2
Weaving 2
Total 8

[435]

Asking price	$25.00
Average sales price	20.00
Gross profit	8.75
Return for labor per day	1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis	.58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:

Materials, thread and yarn	?
Labor, part time	2 days
Asking price	$1.25
[435] Actual selling price	1.00
Gross profit, estimated	.80–.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours)	.40–.45

Clothing manufacture:

294
433
434

Capital investment:
Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based
[585] on steady work on low-priced garments.
Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to
[435] 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

294 433 434 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a [435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in [439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 434 [394] *Candlemaking:*

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	$2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	$0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*

Horsehair $0.50 per kilo	$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	$1.50
Gross profit per day	$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 433 434 *Shoemaking:*

Equipment:

Sewing machine	$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?

Labor:

1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices

[435] Value of product (per pair)	$3.00–7.00

Estimated gross income:

Per day	1.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 435 434 *Tanning:*

Charge per cowhide	$5.00–$10.00
Charge per sheepskin	.50
Average daily return	1.25

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

322 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

Bakers (commercial):

256 433 434 *Cost of materials (per week):*

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

243 *Threshing machine:*
407 *Equipment:*
433 Woodburning steam-driven threshing machine. Cost unknown, but probably several thousand pesos.
434

Charges for wheat threshing (a *carga*)	$2.50
Capacity daily	12 *cargas*
Income daily	$30.00

Operating expenses (daily):	
Wood	$2.00
Hired labor	2.00
Water carrier	1.00
Total	$5.00

Operating season (June 20 to Oct. 25, period worked in 1940 estimated):	Days
June	8
July	25
August	25
September	20
October	15
Total	93

Total business (1,116 *cargas*, estimated, at $2.50 a *carga*)	$2,790
Net profit annually before deducting repairs, wages for owner, interest and depreciation, approximately	$2,365

Comment: Probably the threshing machine has the largest peso volume of business of any enterprise in Cherán, although one of the *nixtamal* mills probably is a close second. The threshing machine also represents the greatest capital investment except for some individual investments in real estate. High repair costs probably reduce the true net profit considerably, while depreciation in this case cannot be ignored. Add to this the time and skill required of the owner, and it is probable that this is not the most profitable enterprise in town even though it be the largest. Certainly, other families of farmers or combination farmers and storekeepers show more outward signs of prosperity.

402 *Nixtamal mills:*

Cost of equipment	$300.00–$1200.00
Costs daily:	
434 Gasoline and oil for gas engines	2.00
256 Charcoal for producer gas equipped engines	1.20
Labor, 1 man	.80–1.00
Gross income at 1 centavo per kilo of maize ground (daily)	13.00–15.00
Net income (daily)	10.00–12.00

Comment: Mills work only half time; i.e., by agreement only half the mills operate any one day, so net income should be halved. Even so, this gives a sizable income, but probably the life of the equipment is short. Cost of repairs and the replacement of grinding stones

256 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included.
402 Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not
433 driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for
434 splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 *Barbers:*
434 Prices:

Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 *Musicians:*
434 Wages:

For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 *Painters, plasterers:*
434 Daily wage $1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

433
434

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 *Butchers:*
433 Prices paid for beeves on hoof ..... $80–$150
434 Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:

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253 433 434

15 *arrobas* (375 pounds)	$90
14 *arrobas* (350 pounds)	65
16 *arrobas* (400 pounds)	92
Retail price (per kilo)	.70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo)	.40–.45
Price of pigs	30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week	7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig	3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 434

Field watchers:

Wages:

In maize	1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize)	$60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 434

Water carrying:

Charge for two 25-liter cans	$0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 433 434

Beekeeping:

12 hives produced:

15 liters of honey at $0.60	$ 9.00
3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50	6.70–10.00
Wax:	
1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth	3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth	9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles	18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 433 434

Fireworks making:

Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts seem reasonable.

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389 433 434

Materials and prices:	Per kilo
Nitrate	$1.70
Chlorate	5.00
Sulfur	.80
Fiber string	1.00
Shakes, cane, etc.	Nominal

(Shakes are $5 a bundle of 400, but the number used is small; 3 or 4 per dozen *cohetes*, for example.)

Comment: Cohetes are made to order and sell at $3.00 to $4.00 per dozen. *Castillos* or set pieces are done on contract. Gross income from this source was at least $400 in 1940. Between times *cohetes* were made fairly steadily. Probably the fireworks maker's income is above average.

DISTRIBUTION

439 The problem of distribution affects primarily those goods which are exported from Cherán and those things which are imported. Only a small fraction of the materials produced locally are sold locally; in the main each family produces the local products it consumes and sells its surplus for export.

The export goods of Cherán consist almost wholly of forest products and farm products. The first are usually sold on contract or are transported by the producer to market. Railroad ties, for example, are always cut on contract. Charcoal is mostly sold to dealers from Zacapu and is delivered to the nearest spot where it can be picked up by trucks. However, there is some small local sale, mostly for operation of producer gas generators for *nixtamal* mills, and a little is carried on burros to such a town as Uruapan. Similarly, planks and beams are mainly sold, either to dealers who pick them up in trucks for export or locally on contract to someone building a house. In towns close to Uruapan, Zamora, or other centers, much of the sale of such products as charcoal, planks, and beams is direct, the maker carrying the goods to town on market day.

The major exception to the marketing methods for forest products described above is tejamanil, or shakes. For the local market, the shake maker usually works on order. For the export market he usually takes his product on burros to some nearby Mestizo town. These expeditions may be combined with other trading operations. Thus, shakes may be taken to Turetan via Nahuatzen, Tingambato, and Ziracuaretiro, a full-day trip with burros from 5

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

[7] This is general even in such Mesticized towns as Chilchota. [438] In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a *carga* [435] (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

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313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[824] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardina"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] [435] [563] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a day (16 *cargas*), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

314 negligible. Turpentine is produced at any season of the year. The first cut in trees is made about 20 or 25 cm. (8 or 10 in.) from the ground, with a small ax called gúrbia. The initial cut is one-half cm. vertically and 10 cm. horizontally. At the base of the cut a small copper or pottery cup is fastened. The initial cut is lengthened upward each year until, after about 10 years, the cut is 1.50 to 1.70 m. in height. A cut is then started on the opposite side of the tree. Formerly it was the practice to leave the cup for collecting the resin at the bottom of the cut. This wasted considerable resin, and now the cup is raised as the height of the cut is increased. In order to lead the resin into the cup, a small sheet of metal is driven into the tree just above the cup. The cup is emptied every 3 days and the cut cleaned or enlarged.

The collected resin or *brea* is cooked in special stills. An *olla* of resin is placed above a fire-
[323] box (fig. 2). The cover and "coil" are made of pottery (in the village of Patamban), and the turpentine is caught in another vessel. Before the decline in turpentine prices caused by World War II, a kilo of resin sold at 8 centavos in the woods and a 5-gallon tin of turpentine
[435] sold at 18 pesos. In 1941, prices were 4 or 5 centavos for a kilo of resin with a corresponding drop in turpentine prices.

HUNTING

Probably no one in Cherán derives any con-
224 siderable part of his livelihood from hunting. Some men hunt casually because their farms or lumbering activities take them where game is more plentiful. Others hunt a good deal because they enjoy it. Finally, sometimes people hunt because they are poor and thus can augment their food supply or income.

The most commonly hunted animals are deer, peccary (guákin), squirrels (both ordinary, kuínike, and flying squirrels), rabbits, quail, pigeons, and less commonly, armadillos. Other local wild animals are not eaten. Heavy rifles
[411] are used for large animals, usually .30 or .32 caliber, and .22 caliber rifles for squirrels.

Deer are sometimes trapped in pits in the mountains. Squirrels are caught in snares. Horsehair threads are used to make snares to
223 catch quail and pigeons. Quail snares are hung

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223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price of beef. It is said not to be liked very well. 438 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons 262 at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village. Many Tarascan towns have industrial special- [463] ties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

244 brownish, and various spotted beans with much variation in size and shape were observed, and, in many cases, were named by informants. Until reports are received from botanists, the details of variation seem of little interest. All seem to be of climbing types.

Some people plant a few beans between the corn rows, usually in the garden. Mixing of corn and bean seed is said not to give good results. Separate planting of beans is rare, if it occurs at all. Beans are threshed by driving burros over the straw, or children may trample out small quantities.

Squashes and pumpkins.—A few pumpkins are grown in gardens for home use. The most common type is a squash known as chilacayote, although it is not grown abundantly.

The chilacayote must be planted 15 to 20 feet apart, for the plant spreads widely. Uusally it is planted in gardens. The fruit is large and green, resembling a watermelon in shape and color. The flesh is white and watery.

251 Some chilacayote is eaten fresh, cooked with
[252] brown sugar. Usually, though, it is cured by leaving it in the sun on roofs or wall tops for 2 or 3 weeks. Sometimes the squashes are coated with ashes mixed with water. This is believed to harden the exterior. After curing, they are stored in the *"troje"* or in the storage loft and saved until spring. Planting time is the traditional season for eating chilacayote, for this is a period when there are almost no fresh fruits or vegetables. The squashes sell
[435] for 25 to 50 centavos.

Broadbeans or habas.—Broadbeans (*Vicia*
244 *faba*), a coarse variety of European vetch, are usually planted in gardens or, more rarely, in the field. They are planted in furrows, like maize, and are cultivated similarly. Broadbeans yield well in Cherán but relatively few are grown, as they are not liked as well as ordinary beans.

Potatoes.—Planting of potatoes began in Cherán only 2 or 3 years ago. Apparently
[439] they do well but only a few are planted as yet, principally for sale in Mexican communities, for they have little place in Tarascan cookery. They are planted in April and harvested in November or December.

Chayote.—The chayote is not grown abundantly. Plants are found only in gardens,

234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

231 492 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

231 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán [184] but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in [435] adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

[232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other [241] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero.* Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the god- [262] father. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

296 of petticoats are made by one woman, although
531 this technique is primarily found in Nahuatzen. The proportion of women doing this work seems significantly smaller in the third *cuartel* or *barrio* when compared with the other *cuartels*.

The crochet may be replaced by embroidery or drawn work, especially on finer materials such as linen or rayon. Designs either come "from one's head" or patterns may be bought in market. Usually the poorest designs come from the market, but no evidence was found either to indicate preservation of traditional patterns on the part of those not using commercial patterns, or to indicate creativeness in designs. Blouses decorated with crochet involve 1 week's part-time work, and embroidered or drawn-work blouses, from 1 to 3 weeks.

286 *Blanket weaving.*—About four men in Cherán weave blankets. These men buy raw wool, and wash, clean, card, and spin the wool, and do the weaving. White, brown, and black colors are usually natural wool colors. For blue, the
[386] only other common color, the weaver dyes white wool with indigo. A urine mordant is used. To produce a gray thread, white, black, and blue wool are mixed together before carding. Raw wool is washed and cleaned, losing about one-third its weight in the process.

283 Carding is done with commercial steel cards which cost $8.00 a set and last about 3 years.
[435] A handful of wool is placed on one card and the other is drawn across it several times. The wool is then folded on one of the cards and the process repeated. If wool of two or more colors is being mixed, the rectangles of carded wool are torn into pieces, mixed together, and carded a second time in order to give a more uniform color.

Spinning is done with a wheel (fig. 6). The edges of a rectangle of carded wool are folded along the long side. The rectangle is then pulled apart down the middle except at one end, giving a strip of carded wool about 1½ inches wide. One end is thrown over the left arm and the other end fed into the yarn with the left hand while the wheel is turned with the right. When 6 to 8 inches are lightly twisted, the yarn is stretched to from 24 to 30 inches, given a tighter twist, and then wound on the spindle (fig. 6). [Text continued on page 36 b]

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[p. 36b]

286 294 Weaving is done on a wooden European type loom with heddles and treddle. A blanket is always woven in two strips, and then sewed together with an opening left in the center so it may be worn as a poncho. Further details are omitted pending a study of the handicraft in a town specializing in weaving.

286 *Lace weaving.*—It is probable that this technique is misnamed. In any case it is not properly a Cherán technique, the only weaver being a woman from Aranza. So far as is known, only six or eight women in the latter village know the technique.

A broadloom frame is used, about 8 feet by 4 feet. It is warped with white cotton thread. The weft, also of cotton thread, is placed with the fingers. Designs are set off by open work and consist of human and animal figures. [435] A bedspread or tablecloth takes 2 months or more to make and sells at $75.00 and up (asking price). Often the design is

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[p. 36c]

286 arranged to be cut up in small pieces. A 2-
435 foot square piece in coarse thread (which weaves faster than fine thread) with figures of a man, a burro, and two deer, was purchased for $2.00.

Belt weaving.—Perhaps five or six women
286 in Cherán weave narrow belts for women. A small belt loom is used. One end is tied to a house post or tree, and the weaver kneels on a mat. A circular warp slips freely about the yarn beams. Two heddles, a spreader, two or more shed dividers, and a batten are employed (fig. 7). The belts always have a central design with plain border. The main warp is cotton, but the central design area has a double warp, one being of wool. Sheds for intricate parts of the design are picked up with a small stick, not with the heddle. There is no shuttle; the weft threads are wound in small balls or on a piece of paper. No patterns are used for designs. Belts take about 2 days of fairly in-

[Text continued on page 38 a]

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the [854] back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 For special occasions, women who can afford them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton [438] *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may [435] cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children [492] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the rebozo. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

301 Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs
● [435] about $35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

335 Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán
322 except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

The differences in the economic well-being of
511 towns situated only a few miles apart are
465 sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive $1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually
335 consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

[text continues on p. 436]

262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*
252 more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed
[751] with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they
[576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with čurípo but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the
[265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets
[435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

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252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These
[438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale
[443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not
[427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-
[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at
● [435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

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252 Peanuts are often on sale on the streets.
262 They and cooked squash are the only refreshments accessible to the very poor. Generally
[435] about a handful may be purchased for 1 centavo.

Chilacayote is a member of the squash family with watery white flesh. It probably is closest to what we call pie melons in the United States. It is much liked. The young, immature fruits are boiled with a little milk and, if it can be afforded, a little cheese.

As mentioned previously, mature chilacayotes are eaten all year but mainly in the spring.
[251] If placed in the sun daily for some time during dry weather, they will keep for some months in storage. They are sometimes coated with ashes mixed in water before storage. To serve, they are cut in pieces and boiled. Usually,
[435] cooked pieces may be bought on the street for a centavo.

Atapákua is made of squash blossoms and sliced immature squash, cooked with chile and a little flour or maize dough for thickening.

Nopal (prickly pear) is used as a vegetable. The tender leaves are skinned, cut in small squares, boiled, and then usually fried very lightly in lard.

Squash greens (the tender tips of the runners on the vines), which are commonly eaten in many parts of Mexico, are rarely eaten in Cherán. An informant had "heard" that those people who did eat them boiled the greens, then cooked them lightly with lard.

Green beans are not eaten. Informants did not even know a name for them. Dried beans are boiled, usually with a very little salt. They are often not very well done because of the altitude. They are watery and tasteless to an outsider, although relished by the residents.
[134] They are scarce, as there are few suitable soils near Cherán and most beans are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

Fruits are eaten rather sparingly in season
262 in accordance with the economic status of the family. Locally grown fruits are eaten rather more than imported fruits. Children and young people appear to eat rather more fruit than do adults. Nearly every Cherán lot will have at least a pear, peach, apple, or cherry tree. Tunas, the fruit of the prickly pear, are also eaten as fruit.

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[p160a]

423 435 The value of farm land is startlingly low, although accurate figures on either the amount of farm land in the *municipio* or the amount owned by any individual were impossible to secure. The tax rolls of the town are an inadequate guide. A very large number of lands are not listed and in many cases the area given is much smaller than actual size. A number of farmers admitted this fact. The tax rolls show only 303 farmers, although most men in town own some land. The total parcels listed number 759 with a total area of 1,943½ hectares (a hectare is 2.47 acres) with a value of $259,620. Community-owned lands are listed as 1,667 hectares valued at $100,000. This would total slightly less than 9,000 acres, or about 14 square miles. This is probably less than half the total area of Cherán.

The average holding according to the tax rolls is 2.5 pieces of land, totaling 6.41 hectares valued at $856.86. This average is misleading, however, possibly through an error on the part of the tax collector's office staff, or perhaps because a few large landowners hold high-priced lands. From $80 to $100 per hectare is the most common valuation. An average of one page of the tax roll listing 58 farmers gave 2.62 plots per person, averaging 5.1 hectares valued at $377.07 or $74 a hectare. The largest holding on this page was 32 hectares, valued at $2,560; the smallest was one-half a hectare, valued at $50. Bearing in mind that these figures represent taxable values, actual values probably average around $150 a hectare.

Data from individuals probably are even more unreliable, yet show surprising uniformity. The average value is $77.08 per hectare. Estimates from six landowners are as follows:

Area (hectares)	*Value*
2	$140
4	350
16	1,280
½	40
14	1,080
8	640
44½	$3,530

The surprising closeness of owner evaluations to the average assessed values suggests that farmers are well aware of the latter. Information from more individuals is desirable but [156] is difficult to obtain. Even good friends nor-

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
435 The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of $40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, $400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as $25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as $10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community.
423 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
311 and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

311 The use of forest lands formerly was open to all who paid a small fee to aid the community
656 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

462 The sex division of labor in Cherán bars women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European —children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

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463 Ritual dancing[1]
462 Sorcery

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole
464 was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensitive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a
465 return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

Unemployment for laborers usually comes
464 about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angahuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three medidas of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two medidas of maize and meals.

241 maize. Case 3 owns a store run by his chil-
434 dren, but he regards himself as a farmer by
511 preference. Even without his store, he would be well off by Cherán standards, although not a "rich man." In 1940 he produced nearly enough maize for his family and sold over $300 worth of wheat. In 1941 he probably was able to sell not less than 35 *fanegas* of maize above his family's food needs (less if he raised pigs or fattened beef for butchering). Case 4 is a widow. Her land is cultivated by a nephew, but under what circumstances is not known. If the nephew lives with her, the amount of maize is a little inadequate; on the other hand, if she lives alone, the quantity is more than enough for one person.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 It is virtually impossible to secure useful
434 data on labor costs or profits in relation to animals. Under agriculture I have mentioned some of the facts about oxen. No data were collected on chicken raising; probably no one in Cherán knows how much grain he feeds chickens or how many eggs a year he gets.
[435] Prices vary from 2 to 6 centavos per egg. The situation about pigs is little better.

Virtually everyone keeps pigs; no one has any idea of the total amount of grain fed except during the fattening period. Shoats have little value and are frequently given away. Data on labor are lacking, yet the labor cost cannot be negligible when the animal is being fattened and its pen is cleaned frequently. A

231 pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to
434 fatten, valued at from $5 to $7. According to
size, the animal may bring from $30 to $75, a
[435] gross profit on the fattening process of from
$12.50 to $70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos
less if the pig was bought. If an adequate
market were developed, or if sales and transport facilities at a distance were to be developed, pig raising might be a more important activity, although an increase in the number of pigs would decrease the amount of foraging possible and would require more feeding.

236 Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few.
434 The reliability of the major informants is suspect, but the evidence suggests that sheep raising is profitable. The major expense is the initial cost of the flock and the wages of a shepherd. Sheep are worth $2.50 to $5.00
[435] apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of the flock, but probably rarely exceed $20 a
[465] month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep for food; most shepherds receive considerably less, often only $5 a month without food. Often several small owners merge their flocks and hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and payments to have the flocks bedded on farm land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year (this seems low but the sheep are of poor
[435] quality), which sells for $1 to $1.25. A fair-size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for
[262] meat outside the village; almost no lamb or mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were secured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high, but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an investment of $750 in theory although it probably was built up by natural increase from a smaller flock. The shepherd receives $20 a month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least $5, and a sheep worth, on an average, $3.75, or a total of $28.75 a month ($345 a year). Wool would produce $200 to $250 a year. Bedding on farm lands would produce probably 50 centavos a night for this flock for 110 days (estimated) or $55. Total income from these sources would be $255 to $305 a year. The natural increase may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at $2.50 apiece, they would bring in $187.50 a

236 year, or a total of $442.50 to $492.50 a year.
434 Deducting expenses of $345 leaves a return on the investment of $107.50 to $147.50. As indicated before, these figures are suspect. The owner of this flock is not believed to be
[124] very truthful on financial matters. For example, he claimed to own 20 sheep; Augustín Rangel said he had over 200. He is, though, a hard-headed storekeeper and farmer who would not keep sheep if they were not profitable. The most suspect item in the calculations is the amount of wool per sheep.

The evaluation of the role of the burro is as
231 difficult as in the case of oxen. Burros reduce
434 the cost of numerous operations by saving the rental of animals, they facilitate such tasks as bringing in wood (which otherwise would be carried in by the woodcutter rather than on rented animals), and they may be rented. Burros involve little investment—$30 to $40—but they do require attention while in pasture and the provision of feed when kept at home. Although burros not in use are often lent, they
[427] sometimes are rented. Information on rentals is contradictory; at the harvest season, when demand is highest, rentals are probably about 50 centavos a day plus feed for the animals.

The ensuing topics are dealt with in summary
313 form to bring out the essential factors of
434 capital, labor costs, cost of materials, and income.

433 WOODWORKING

Shake making:

Tools:

Ax, wedges, machete, splitting tool

Product:

[435] ½ irepita (an irepita, or bundle, is 400) a day at $5.00

Profits (return on labor, less interest on capital, etc.) $2.50

Comment: Shake making is a well-paying occupation, but profits are less than the data above suggest. Shakes are made either only to order or are sold in Uruapan or some other Mestizo center. In the latter case the man may work regularly, but must spend 1 or 2 days a week taking his product to market. Neither does the estimated result for a day's labor include the time spent searching for a suitable tree. Usually only a 5-day week or less is worked and the season is confined to the rainy period. As a result, shake makers must shift to other work, such as plank making, tie cutting, farming, etc. The term "profits" is loosely used throughout, as wages are often included.

313 *Plank making:*

433 *Tools:*

434 Oak mallet
Oak wedges
Ax
Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)
Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

Charcoal burning:

314 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day
433 week, no economic data were secured. The little char-
434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

Carpentry:

395 *Tools:*

433 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30

434 *Products, labor, value:*

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house
[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

322 *Wood turning:*

433 *Equipment:*

434 Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen ..... $1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

339 *Brickmaking and tilemaking:*

433 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):

434

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):

Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

Masonry:

333 *Equipment:*

433 Trowel ("*cuchara*")

434 Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

Production:

333 Less than 1 meter to nearly 2 meters a day

433 *Price:*

434 From 80 centavos a meter to $1.25; about $1 a meter seemed most common

[435] *Average return:*

From 80 centavos to $1.50 seems common

Comment: Essentially the mason's wage is clear profit. Replacement of tools is undoubtedly a minor factor. Attractive as the wage is, a mason is idle much of the time. It is doubtful if masons earn enough to live on without also farming or working as laborers. Some masons are also butchers, plasterers, or *tejamanil* makers.

Stonecutting:

324 *Tools:*

433 2-pound iron mallet

434 Chisels

Calipers (value unknown)

Labor:

Nixtamal grinding stones (pair) .... 3 days

Door bases (pair) ..... 1 week

Sales price (gross profit):

[435] *Nixtamal* grinding stones (pair) $9

Door bases and sills (each) 10

Comment: The figures suggest a $3 a day gross income, but stonecutters work only to order and do not work regularly.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE

285 *Tule mats:*

433 *Costs:*

434

Tules at Erongaricuaro, per bundle	$0.25
Rent of burro, 3 days	1.00
Total cost of 10 bundles of tules (1 burro load)	3.50

Labor:

	Days
Getting tules	3
Weaving 13 mats	6½
Selling mats	2½–3
Average total time	12

[435]

Sales price at 60 centavos each	$7.80
Gross profit	4.30
Daily profit per worker	.35 plus

Comment: Except for one woman, mat making is a side line and only one a day is woven. The figures given above represent the single case where a woman spends all her time at mat weaving. Actually, this woman has a slightly higher income, as her mother buys the tules. On the other hand, two people are supported by the work, for the weaver has to rely on the mother to perform most of the household duties.

295 433 434 *Hats:*

Cost of materials:

Braid, 3 to 4 bundles at $0.30 to $0.40	$0.90–$1.60
Thread, per hat	.15
Sizing materials for white hats	Unknown
Total	1.05–1.75 (?)

Labor, per hat	3–9 hours (approximately)
[435] Selling price, per hat	$1.25–4.00
Gross profit, per hat	$0.20–2.10
Return for labor, per hour	$0.06⅔–0.23 plus (?)
Return for labor, per day	$0.60–2.10

Comment: The apparently wide range of returns for labor is misleading. Few men could work 9 hours a day every day, owing to the need of getting firewood, repairing the house, caring for farm lands, etc. The more expensive hats, giving a much larger return, require much more skill and are in very slight demand. Ordinarily they are made only on order.

In addition, hatmaking requires a large capital investment. A sewing machine of the type required costs [427] $40 to $50 second-hand, or rents at $10 a month. Hat blocks last indefinitely, but do involve initial outlay. Metal eyelets also must be provided for the ventilating holes. If depreciation, interest on investment, and minor expenses not calculated were taken into account, the income of the average hatmaker would shrink still more.

When it is considered that two skillful hatmakers claim only 1 dozen hats apiece a week, obviously the returns must not greatly exceed those for ordinary field labor. Only men who consistently produce and sell hats above the $1.25 price gain real economic advantage from their trade as compared with other activities. On the other hand, if the trade is a supplement to farming and is followed at times when similarly situated farmers are at leisure, then they realize a very positive economic gain.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work:

286 Materials, thread from stores, cloth (estimated)	$1.00
433 Labor (part time)	1–3 weeks
434 Selling price	$4.00–$12.00
[435] Gross profit	$3.00–$11.00
Return for labor, per week	$3.00
Return for labor, per day	$0.40–$ 0.50

Comment: For part-time work, the daily return seems, and probably is, high. In most cases the cost of materials is probably higher than the estimate.

Blanket weaving:

Equipment:[2]

Cards, life 3 years	$8.00
Spinning wheel, life indefinite	12.00
Loom, life indefinite	?

[2] Spinning wheel and loom might be made by almost any man with moderate skill in woodworking. Weavers usually make their own looms.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.72e]

286 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season) $11.25
434 Labor: Days
[435] Purchase of wool 1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time) 1
Carding 2
Spinning 2
Weaving 2
Total 8

[435] Asking price $25.00
Average sales price 20.00
Gross profit 8.75
Return for labor per day ..... 1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis ..... .58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:
Materials, thread and yarn ..... ?
Labor, part time ..... 2 days
Asking price $1.25
[435] Actual selling price 1.00
Gross profit, estimated ..... .80–.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours) ..... .40–.45

Clothing manufacture:
294 Capital investment:
433 Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
434 Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based on steady work on low-priced garments.

[585] Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
[435] Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.72 b]

294 433 434 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a [435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in [439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 434 [394] *Candlemaking:*

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	$2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	$0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*

Horsehair $0.50 per kilo	$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	$1.50
Gross profit per day	$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 433 434 *Shoemaking:*

Equipment:	
Sewing machine	$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?
Labor:	
1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices	
[435] Value of product (per pair)	$3.00–7.00
Estimated gross income:	
Per day	1.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 435 434 *Tanning:*

Charge per cowhide	$5.00–$10.00
Charge per sheepskin	.50
Average daily return	1.25

281 434 *Comment:* The average daily return is an estimate, based on the assumption the tanner is busy all the time. The only full-time tanner buys hides, tans them on his own account, and sells them outside the village when he is not occupied with commissions. Consequently, his income is probably fairly steady.

322 434 *Lacquer:*

Weekly income about $5

Comment: Only one woman lacquer worker is found in Cherán. Her entire output is sold locally. The figure given is her estimate of her weekly income. Some of the lacquer materials are fairly expensive and the wooden trays used as a base must be purchased. Probably net income is much less than $5 weekly. The main lacquer industry is in Uruapan and is mostly in the hands of Mestizos.

256 433 434 *Bakers (commercial):*

Cost of materials (per week):

Flour, 1 *arroba* (25 pounds)	$3.50–$3.62
Lard, 1 kilo	1.50
Sugar, 3 kilos	1.08
Total	$6.08–$6.20

Labor:

No precise data; bakings per week, usually	3

Sales:

Gross returns per week, estimated	$10.00–$12.00

Profits:

(Estimated after deducting any rental costs for use of oven)	$3.80–$5.92

Comment: Sustained sales at the reported levels would produce slightly better than average wages. Despite the lack of definite data on hours of labor, a baker certainly works fewer hours and less strenuously than a laborer. Much time is probably consumed in selling; this may be done by a wife in the case of professional male bakers. Selling time is not included in the estimates. It should be remembered that a number of women bake occasionally; some bake regularly for the Sunday market in Paracho.

Bakers (home):

Aside from the professional baker of *pan dulce* recently established in the village and from whom no satisfactory information could be secured, there are a number of women who bake bread. Salt rising bread [435] (*pan de sal*) is sold at two for 5 and one for 5 centavos, depending on size. If *pan dulce* is made, it sells at 1 centavo or at three for 5 centavos, depending on size. In most cases the baker owns her oven, but in some cases an oven is rented. The rental is usually one [427] bread for each "board" (on which the bread is placed to rise).

556 Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more
511 violent revolutionary days are close enough
[669] that people conceal their wealth rather than display it. That this was not always the case is evidenced by the considerable number of ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy before the revolution. Today wealthy men live modestly. Their table differs primarily in quantity rather than in quality from that of the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule, than do other women, and on special occasions they display more and better jewelry. There
[357] are few servants in Cherán, and their place is taken by dependent relatives or orphans who are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a moro dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

435 The values of the major commodities and services in Cherán are expressed in monetary terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

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435 exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure [177] of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Puruándiro, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have [465] paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.[26] The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

435 In general, the coming of the highway is
178 bringing higher prices for local products.
494

[26] It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.876]

178 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods
435 and products. Although little evidence is yet
494 visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .26
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00– 3.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Raiz de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

556 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and
423 agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

In terms of individual wealth, the basic
556 Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico.
422 Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

[p.88c]

435

TABLE 9.—*Prices in Cherán stores in winter of 1940*

Commodity	Amount spent or quantity usually purchased	Unit upon which price is based	Price of commodity in store			
			A	B	C	D
Salt	1¢; kilo	Kilo	$0.15	$0.14	$0.14	$0.14
Mezcal	1-10 liters	Liter	.08	.06	.05½	.08
Pomade	½-1 liter	do	.15-.20	.23	.23	
Rice	1¢; kilo	½ kilo	.24	.24	.24	.24
Chocolate	Cake	Cake	.03			
Flour	5¢-6¢	Kilo	.30	.36	.32-.36	.33
Lard	2¢; ½ kilo	do	1.80	1.60	1.65	1.65
Onions	1¢-4¢			[1].01-.05		
Cheese	1¢-4¢	Kilo	2.00			
Coffee (milled)	1¢-4¢	Ounce	.01			
Soap	Cake-4¢		.05-.20	.03-.20	.05-.15	
Brown sugar	1¢; ½ kilo	Kilo	.30	.33	.36	
Baguettes	2¢-4¢	do	.60			
Chocolate	Package	Package	.07-.12	.07-.10	.07-.14	
Lime	[2]¢-4¢					
Candles	5¢-6¢	Each	.01-.15	.05-.10	.05-.10	
Paraffin lights	1		.03	.03	.03	
Chile	[3]¢-6¢					
Canned chile	[2]¢-5¢					
Vegetable oil	[2]¢-4¢					
Olive oil	[2]¢-3¢					
Cigarettes	[2]¢-5¢					
Wax matches	3¢; box	Box	.01-.05		.03-.05	
Small dried fish	[2]¢-5¢					
Garlic pep		Bottle	.05	.05	.05	
Orange drink		do	.10	.10	.10	
"Bread" (bread):						
White			.05	.05	.05	
Colored			.05			
Small fine, colored				.05		
Roll (bread)				[4].01-.05	[4].01-.05	
Cords (measure)				.05-.08	.03-.10	
Rice		Kilo		.90		
Hats:						
Children's				.30	.35	
Men's				1.00	1.35	
Milk	5¢-6¢	Kilo		.70		
Table ink		2 ounces		.05		
Kerosene	Glass	Glass				.05-.10
Bourbon				12.00	12.00-20.00	
Wine					5.50	
Brooms				.10		
Bikini:						
1-cloth		Piece			1.00	
2-cloth		do			2.00	
Cloth (unbleached muslin):						
No. 40		Meter		.20	.25	
No. 50		do		.25	.30	
No. 60		do		.40	.35	
No. 70		do		.45	.40	
No. 80		do		.55	.45	
No. 90		do		.60	.50	
No. 100		do		.65	.60	
Italian Bread				.10		
Barrels:				.15		
Azucar				.70-.80		
Gualal (for shirts)				.30		
Tulas				.50		
Tulas (for shirts)				.15		
Flat silk				1.40		

[1] Depending on type and quantity.
[2] Price per weight not ascertained.
[3] Quantity not ascertained.
[4] Quantity not ascertained; probably 1 per centavo from spread sum.
[5] Depending on size.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 141 b]

796 honey gatherers determine the list of candidates for the *mayordomía* at a meeting before Corpus. For the upper two *barrios*, only one principal was mentioned. In this case the principal was interviewed and asserted that all candidates for the *mayordomía* applied to him. The real *carguero* in the lower *barrios* in 1940 was the 4-year-old son of the household, according to his father. The *mayordomía* was sought [755] because the boy was not growing normally.

On some occasions the principals of the lower *barrios* have some expenses. For example, one year the box in which the saint's image is taken to the mountains was partly burned through an accident. The principals ordered a new box at their expense.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE THREE KINGS

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings, Los Treyes Reyes, is celebrated on January 6, the new *carguero* taking the images the following day. The *mayordomía* is relatively new, and the present images were secured in 1940. The previous images were small and provisional. The *carguero* in 1940 had held the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child the previous year. In both [755] cases the *mayordomía* was sought to aid the health of a sickly child. In addition, the parents had vowed the child to perform in the dance of the *viejos* every year.

It is obvious that the *carguero* in 1940 was well-to-do to be able to take two *mayordomías* on 2 successive years. Moreover, he introduced an innovation by taking over all the expenses of the dancers who perform in connection with the Day of the Kings. Previously the dance group had been entirely independent of the *mayordomía*, raising their own money for expenses and music.

796 435 The expenses of the *carguero* in 1940 were secured in some detail. They are as follows:

Musicians	$ 70.00
1 pig butchered (estimate)	25.00
1 ox butchered (estimate)	60.00
22 *fanegas* of maize at 3.75 to 4.00	80.00
40 sugar canes and 40 oranges for dancers	2.00
Bread for all (about 200 guests) at end of dance; three breakfasts for dancers	10.00

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 1422]

796
[435]

3 liters milk daily 25 tablets chocolate daily 3 or 4 centavos of bread each daily Three breakfasts for musicians	15.00
2 kilos of sugar	.70
3 bottles alcohol (estimate)	3.00
Coffee for musicians (estimate)	1.00
Total	$266.70

Ordinarily the new *carguero* seeks the *mayordomía* from the principals. The *carguero* in 1940 had some doubts as to what would be done because of the insistence of their priest that *mayordomías* should in future be asked of him. On the other hand, the principals had no doubt that the *mayordomía* was their special property.

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings was definitely a new departure in Cherán. The dance group apparently had performed for many years.

According to the three principals, whom by good luck it was possible to interview together, until a few years ago only a group of dancers performed on the Day of Kings. The dancers were not organized but each year a group of volunteer performers got together informally. There were images of the Three Kings in church, but none were taken to private houses. One time the three principals were talking about the dance when "God sent them the idea" of creating a *mayordomía*. From some 15 or 18 others they collected some money. The principals, however, put in a good deal more than the others. Then they started with the three small images which one of them had in his house, in the meantime ordering the new images. One of the principals received the *mayordomía* first. The *carguero* in 1940 was the third and those for the following 2 years had already been appointed.

With regard to the position of the priest, the principals remarked that the saints belonged to them and neither the *cabildo* nor the priest nor anyone else had anything to say about the images. However, the priest, according to the principals, accepted this situation, for he had no cause to be angry with them.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA CECILIA

Very few data were collected concerning this *mayordomía* which was not discovered until

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 796 Usually the dancer picks one of his existing godmothers whom he likes. The godmother dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:

[435] [427]

Mask (rent)	$0.50
Ribbons (rent)	8.50
Suit (rent)	6.00
Shirt (purchase)	5.00
Shoes (purchase)	9.50
Necktie (rent)	.50
Total	$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

535 were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be
716 politic to ask five different families.) The *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men participated in this dance. They wore *vestido de catrín*, "city dress," including a long black overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden
[532] mask with black or golden beard, the features being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white, one rose-colored, and one black (one of the images of the Three Kings is also black). They also wore a long white wig surmounted by a crown, each one different; a long, intentionally ragged cape of colored material (really a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The kings merely sit or stand and do not dance. The shepherdesses are dressed in the same fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes. The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

[435]

Mask ($1.50 to 2.50, rent; $5, purchase)	$ 2.50
Hat	2.00
Overcoat	3.00
Pants and vest	2.50
Muffler	1.50
Incarche (hat band?)	.50
Flowers	1.50
Shoes	$6.00–$10.00
Shirt	5.00
Necktie	.50
Total (with shoes, $25–$29)	$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

The local masks are expensive and are re-
[532] garded as inferior. Those from Sevina and Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better. The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior local products; good masks had been ordered from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recitation. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a shepherdess at each end (two at one end in 1940), with the three kings facing the files at

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

585 Antonio Sánchez (whose son's wedding is the first described) and his brother. The *posole* was provided by the cousins of the groom.

At 10 o'clock the following morning, water for dish washing was carried through the streets accompanied by a band. At 11:30 additional maize was taken to the mill, again accompanied by a band. On both occasions numerous people were dancing with the procession. Several other processions occurred during this and the following day when the wedding finally terminated.

Doña Feliciana estimated the expenses for the wedding to be about $100 for food and bread, paid for by the relatives. Doña Feliciana supplied 9 *fanegas* of maize, worth [435] $36, and paid $25 to one of the bands, and she still owed $20. She also killed a cow with an estimated value of $60. The second band, which did not stay the entire time, was paid $20 by the relatives. This makes a total expense of $261, not counting the fees for the civil registry and the priest. Neither does it include the very considerable quantities of liquor consumed. Doña Feliciana collected $21 in gifts given by her female relatives.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez mentioned above cost his father $150. In addition, Don Antonio's brothers spent at least $50. Don Antonio also killed a beef, and 7½ *fanegas* of maize was consumed. The civil registry cost $6 and the Mass $13, a total expenditure of approximately $309 exclusive of the liquor.

Alfredo Romero, pointing out that even poor families had to make every effort to give a proper wedding so the parents of the girl would be satisfied, reported that his wedding cost $135, 5½ *fanegas* of maize, and some beans, "and it did not last more than 3 days" (but his group of relatives is smaller and there were fewer guests than at some of the other weddings). He had to buy a beef "which hardly lasted" and there was expense for musicians, bread, lard, salt, onions "and who knows what else." Romero was forced to sell a lot in Paricutin and two small pieces of land, despite aid given him by his relatives.

In general, the attitude of disapproval voiced in the previous paragraph is not shared in Cherán. Although accounts of expense were given with a good deal of headshaking, obviously

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
quently, everyone tries to have land in at least
621 two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
182 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No
433 doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Taráscan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depend-
433 ing on crafts, to the national and world markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.

423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 30.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 148-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánčakua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *sarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tiripatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.²) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.[2]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-*varas* (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[2] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 3-inch planks, which are adzed.

415

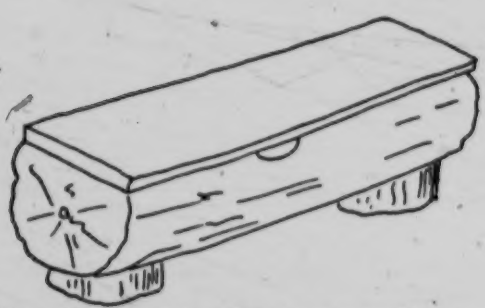

FIGURE 18.—Hollowed log with wooden cover used for storage of water outdoors.

954 "*chimenea*," is more common, and there often is also a special fireplace for the comal, a circular ridge of clay with an opening on one side to feed the fire similar to that shown for Cherán in figure 16.

ECONOMICS OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

	Price in pesos
435 Heavy square beams, each, f. o. b.	1.50–2.50
Delivery charge, each	1.50
342 Veranda pillars, each, f. o. b.	1.25–2.00
Delivery charge, each	1.25–1.50
Shakes, bundle of 400	5.00
Rafter poles, dozen	4.00
Roof stringers, dozen	2.50
Trap door	1.50–3.00
Door	2.00–8.00
Foundation stones, delivered average (2.50 each)	9.00–22.50
Nails, per kilo	1.00

Planks at Paracho were more costly in January 1942. Boards, six *varas* long, cost 0.75 to 1.25 pesos each, depending on width. Heavy planks cost according to length:

Length in *varas*:	Price in pesos
5	1.50
6	1.75
7	2.00
8	2.50
9	3.00

Shakes, 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length; cost, 6 pesos per bundle of 400 (irépeta).

COST OF CONSTRUCTION

Table 3 represents the most accurate account secured of the materials, labor, and costs of a wooden house, or "*troje*." This house was built in July 1940 at Morelos 31. Its outside dimensions were 16 by 14 feet (6 by 5.2 *varas*), and it was raised off the ground about 18 inches (46 cm.)

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435
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on nine large stones of hard gray rock brought from the barranca north of town. The porch was not floored. Other materials used were pine beams and planks, fir shingles, and nails. Doors were purchased ready-made.

TABLE 3.—*Materials, labor, and cost of constructing a wooden house, or "troje," at Morelos 31 in June 1940*

House parts	Materials used	Labor		Cost in pesos	
		In days	Description	Labor	Materials
Foundation	9 big stones [1]	½	Ox team and driver to haul.	[2] (2.50)	2.50
Foundation frame.	5 beams, 10×10 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.25×4.9m.).				2.50
Roof base	4 beams, 8×8 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.20×5.5 m.).				2.00
Floor	20 planks, 8×3 in.×16 ft. (0.20×0.067×4.9m.).	15	Straightening planks.	[2] 22.50	10.00
Walls	44 planks, 10×3 in.×16 ft. (0.25×0.067×4.9m.).				20.00
Ceiling	24 planks, 8×3 in.×18 ft. (0.20×0.067×5.5m.).				12.00
Door	1 wooden				3.00
Trap door	1 wooden				3.00
Porch-roof supports.	4 pillars, 9×9 in.×8 ft. (0.226×0.226×2.45m.).				8.00
Roof	15 poles				1.50
	18 stringers, 4–16 ft. long.				3.50
	2,400 shakes, (6 irépitas).				30.00
Labor					
Carpenters		35	Contract	60.00	
Total		50½		72.50	103.00
Grand total		50½		175.50	

[1] Presumably quarried by builder.
[2] Included under cost of materials. *See* rocks for foundation.
[3] At rate of 3 pesos per dozen.

As in all other cases, informants did not include the cost of nails for fastening the roof shakes, the only place nails are employed. In this case, the builder made some of the planks, charging the value of his product into the estimates above. However, no costs were included for haulage, except possibly in the case of the pillars. If this was the case, the pillars were secured rather cheaply. We may, therefore, add the following items omitted in the above statement:

Additional costs:	*Price in pesos*
Nails, 3 kilos (probably a little generous)	3.00
Hauling beams and planks	60.00
Fiesta for roof raising	25.00
	88.00
Builder's estimate	175.50
Probable total if all labor paid for	263.50

In this case, probably the haulage was all done

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435
342

by the builder, and there may have been no fiesta for the roof completion. The builder sold the structure for 200 pesos and estimated he had made a profit of 25 pesos, plus payment for his work as a plank maker.

To gain a clearer idea of the cost of a house, a summary of all detailed estimates is given below. Unfortunately, these may cover different-sized structures, but they are said to be for average-sized buildings. Items the owner may have provided are indicated, in which case in some estimates the low entry might be considered zero; however, as we are anxious to get an average cost, this point is omitted for the present.

TABLE 4.—*Summary of detailed estimates of cost (in pesos) of a house, Morelos 51, June 1940*

Item	Estimates	
	Lowest	Highest
Foundation stones	[1] 9.00	22.50
7 dozen planks	42.00	63.00
9-10 beams	4.50	15.00
1 door	2.00	8.00
1 trapdoor	1.50	3.00
4 pillars	4.00	6.00
13-15 poles (rafters)	[1] 1.50	4.00
18-42 roof stringers	[1] 3.50	15.00
5 to 6 trépitas (bundles) of shakes, best-quality fir	25.00	30.00
2-3 kilos of nails	2.00	3.00
Haulage of planks	[1] 49.00	49.00
Haulage of beams	[1] 15.00	15.00
Haulage of pillars	[1] 4.00	6.00
Straightening planks	21.00	30.00
Carpenter's fee	50.00	50.00
Roof raising fiesta	[2] 20.00	[3] 50.00
Total	254.00	369.50

[1] Items owner might provide himself.
[2] Without music.
[3] If relatives do not help.

The lowest figure given here may be further reduced, as suggested, by the owner doing part of the work. If we reduce the lowest figure by deducting all the items which the normal Cherán man might do himself (if he owns oxen to do the haulage or may borrow them from friends or relatives) and eliminate the fiesta, we get the figure of 152 pesos. This is the least for which it would appear a Cherán resident may secure an averaged-size wooden house, or "*troje*," approximately 14 by 16 feet (4.27 by 4.88 meters).

This estimate of 152 pesos may be compared with gross estimates secured by McCorkle and Beals. These ranged from 180 to 300 pesos. Carrasco secured estimates of from 250 to 300 pesos. However, in every case where a gross

[p.25b]

435 342 estimate was obtained and then an itemized statement secured from the same informant, the total of the itemized statement ran well below the original gross figure given. A careful check of material costs indicates that the lower estimates probably are more nearly correct.

Detailed estimates on kitchens were not secured. A home-made affair could probably be made by any man by the purchase of two bundles (irépitas) of shakes for about 11 pesos (shakes 10 pesos, nails 1 peso).

One of several approaches used in getting costs was to secure estimates on a given section of wall for different types of construction. These estimates indicated that a 16½- by 16½- foot (5- by 5-m.) house, exclusive of roof, would cost 138 pesos; and a well-built kitchen the same size, 75 pesos, exclusive of the roof.

Carrasco secured estimates of 20 to 25 pesos for a poorly-made kitchen of the "*torito*" type in Cherán. The materials probably were second-hand. Even without any delivery charges, new materials would cost over 20 pesos, exclusive of labor. However, a "*torito*" could be built by most men without hiring a carpenter. A well-built "round house" kitchen, Carrasco was told, would cost about 100 pesos. This seems reasonable in terms of material and labor costs.

Carrasco secured comparative prices for Paracho which, considering the slightly higher cost of materials, probably are above the prices in Cherán. The figures also were obtained from a master carpenter, who obviously would have an interest in establishing higher prices.

Size of "*troje*" in *varas:*	*Labor cost*	*Total cost in pesos*
5	$60.00	250.00
6	90.00	300.00
7	110.00	400.00
8	130.00	500.00
9	150.00	600.00
Size of trója kosina in *varas:*		
4	30.00	60.00
5	45.00	85.00
6	70.00	125.00
7	100.00	182.00
Size of "*torito*" in *varas:*		
4	25.00	50.00
5	30.00	72.00

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3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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Sierra Tarascans

MASONRY-ADOBE STRUCTURES

435
842

The costs of materials and labor in building masonry-adobe structures are as follows:

	Total cost in pesos
Adobes:	
Small size (2½ spans long) per 100 [1]	2.50
Large size (3 spans long) per 100	3.00
Laying adobes, average cost, small size, per 100:	
According to one informant	2.00
According to another informant:	
To shoulder height	1.00
Shoulder height to 9.8 ft. (3 m.)	1.50
Above 9.8 ft. (3 m.)	2.00
Manure for mortar (2 sacks per 100 adobes) per large sack (this may be furnished by the mason)	0.25
Stones:	
Quarrying, per 100 [2]	2.00
Transporting, per 100	2.00
Mason's charges per sq. m. (householder to furnish water and materials)	1.00
Roofing tiles, per 1,000	25.00 to 30.00
Bricks (mostly used for flooring or corners and doors in masonry structures) per 1,000	32.00

[1] 100 adobes will make 43 sq. ft. (4 sq. m.) of wall; large-size adobes make a somewhat thicker wall.

[2] "100 stones" really means 50 burro loads and will make 43 to 53 sq. ft. (4 to 5 sq. m.) of wall.

Masonry appears to be somewhat more expensive than adobe construction. A wall 8 feet (2.46 m.) high, 16.5 feet (5 m.) long, and of normal construction with 1½ feet (½ m.) of masonry buried, would cost as follows:

	Price in pesos
Masonry-adobe (2 estimates)	19.65 to 21.00
With large adobes	23.00
All masonry (1 estimate)	27.00
The same extent of wall in the usual wooden house construction	23.00

The best indication of costs of masonry-adobe houses is supplied by a study of the house of Pedro Chávez, school teacher of Cherán, under construction during 1940–41. The costs were checked in every possible way, in terms of materials and labor and also in units. It probably represents as accurate an estimate of costs as can be secured.

The house itself presents certain peculiarities. The front and side walls are of adobe brick on the usual masonry foundation. The ground plan consists of two rooms with an entryway, or

[p. 26b]

342 435 *zaguán*, between them. The walls facing the *zaguán* and the patio are of wood. A foundation of morticed beams resting on stones supports a wooden floor and walls. These beams are grooved as shown in figure 14. Wall boards are tongue-and-grooved, a type of construction used in Uruapan but new to Cherán. The wall boards are vertical and fit in a channel in the ceiling beams. One room has two windows opening on the street (fig. 14). The roof is of shakes. Chávez actually paid for only half of one side wall and nothing for the other (which rests entirely on his land), as his neighbor paid all the cost. In formulating the cost estimate, however, the wall was carefully measured, the number of adobes counted, and the cost of all masonry-and-adobe work was included in the total. All the woodwork was done on a [675] definite contract which included wood materials, so it is unnecessary to itemize this.

	Costs in pesos
Masonry, 32 m. (106 *ft.*):	
Stone	24.00
Mason's charges	32.00
Adobe [1]	70.00
Four stone bases for veranda pillars	10.00
Zaguán door (not included in carpenter's contract)	25.00
Carpenter's contract	275.00
Shakes, best grade, 8 bundles	40.00
12 kilos of nails	6.00
Total	482.00
Roofing fiesta (not including contributions of relatives)	30.00
Total costs	512.00

[1] 1,433 adobes were used; door and window openings make a fineal estimate impractical. This figure takes into account different mason's charges at different heights.

Two "*trojes*," or houses, of approximately the same size would cost between 500 and 600 pesos, but the above-described structure has much more loft storage space through utilization of the area over the entryway and veranda. The cost probably would be less if the interior walls were made of masonry and adobe. A tile roof would have cost between 100 and 120 pesos, adding 54 to 74 pesos to the cost. Its longer life would make it cheaper in the long run, however. The owner probably will lay a tile roof when the shake roof needs replacing. It should be remembered also that a kitchen will be employed apart from this structure.

[p. 27a]

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

435 The main supplementary structures to be con-
351 sidered are fences, gates, and sheds. The only fences involving expenditure are those of masonry-adobe. Costs are the same per meter as for a house wall.

The gate will vary in cost. Often it may consist of only a few planks, which may be second-hand material secured without cost, or even merely a pole or two laid horizontally across the opening. A well-made *zaguán* gate bought from a carpenter will cost about 17 pesos and up, depending on size. The balance of the gate, including the roof over it, will usually be constructed by the house owner. Ordinarily, the few shakes needed will be left over from house building or may be secured for a few cents.

435 Sheds are usually built by the householder. A
343 sizable shed roof might require a bundle of shakes costing 5 pesos. No nails would be used, the shakes being held down by rough-hewn strips of pine and stones.

COMPARISON OF COSTS

435 It is clear from the foregoing data that a ma-
342 sonry-adobe structure is as cheap or slightly cheaper than a wooden house, or "*troje*." It also has more storage space. On the other hand, it requires somewhat more care in upkeep and also more expense to make it look "right" to the Tarascan. The interior, for example, should have a coat of plaster of either adobe or lime and sand. Preferably, so should the exterior. Both should also be whitewashed or kalsomined. None of these costs are included in the estimates.

435 An interesting comparison is made in table 5
342 of the costs of the following four categories of Tarascan houses:

511 (*a*) What the Tarascan would conceive to be the minimal shelter, which would be far below the Tarascan standard of decency.

(*b*) Housing considered a poor standard but not impossible.

(*c*) A respectable standard for a small family.

(*d*) A high standard for a small family.

Only people of some wealth normally use masonry-adobe structures; consequently, only in this category have I shown costs for this type of housing, without including any "frills" for decoration or finishing.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascan

435
342
511

TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "*tarite*" kitchen	25–50
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosina, or one "*tarite*" kitchen and one small "*troje*."	175–300
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosina or "*tarite*" kitchen and one medium "*troje*."	375–500
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosina and two good "*trojes*."	550–600
	One trója kosina and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on p. 28 b]

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 Only in a general way is there correlation be-
556 tween house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28 b]

435 342 511 a relative or friend to permit him to use a bit of land—as many do—the cost of minimal shelter could be as low as $11. By begging scraps, even this figure could be reduced. Such a housing situation would, however, be regarded as "frightful" by all Tarascans.

At the other end of the scale, there are numerous Cherán residents who have much more costly establishments than those represented under *d*. Relatively few are in the condition of *b;* the great majority of Cherán residents would fall in category *c* and a fair proportion in category *d*. The discussion of house use will illustrate this point.

RELATION OF HOUSES TO

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 556 2. A special occupation, such as storekeeping, may be followed.

3. There may be definite social pretensions. Of these three causes, the last seems least operative. Wealth is a necessary prerequisite to anything more elaborate than class *d* housing but wealth is often concealed. Numerous families in class *d* are far from wealthy by Cherán standards.

These judgments are somewhat subjective, but case material could be cited to support them.

[p. 28b]

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

121 [114] made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans [146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 146 One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

146 As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 435 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph, "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in The Maya and their Neighbors, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

[text continues on p. 304]

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

262 the poorest families in town shows that the total food cost for a family of three adults and two children could average as little as 81½ centavos
435 a week or $42.38 (pesos) a year. This would be 16.3 centavos a day per person. In contrast to this, the diet of a relatively wealthy family, in which the household numbered ten persons, cost $12.50 per week or $650.00 per year. This would be $1.25 per person per week, or $65.00 per person per year, again disregarding age differentials.[6]

146 The suggested improved diet given in table 4 actually might cost even less than the poor family diet presented. The diet in figure 4, is,
262 however, deficient in calories, as has been stated. Even with the addition of sufficient calories, it is possible that the improved diet would not add noticeably to the cost; certainly it would not cost more than a peso a week for the five persons. These data suggest that education in the use of proper foods and the changing of food habits may sometimes be more important than economic betterment as a means of bringing about adequate nutrition.

121 It must be reiterated, however, that any conclusions suggested in this paper are tentative. Imperfect as the data and interpretations are, it is nevertheless clearly indicated that extensive and accurate nutritional studies are needed. This is true, whether the major aim is to discover the possible relation of nutrition to other cultural factors, or whether it is to map out a program of nutritional improvement for the group.

[6] In these cost estimates, it is assumed all food was purchased; actually some would be grown.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

527 The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on Saturday, but the main events take place on
543 Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make quantities of miniature breads about an inch
[436] and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
543 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a special high-pitched cry used on no other occa-
198 sion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Arijeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

1:Beals E-t (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter [347] house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. [651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. Individual sales are usually small, and the [437] portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

Nixtamal mills.—Some seven or eight *nix-* 256 *tamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.586]

184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.636]

471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [437] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of [423] exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners [556] to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

443 goods, but may make buying trips in person to Purépero for cloth or to Uruapan for groceries. Some storekeepers make clothing in their spare time or have sewing machines for rent. In addition, storekeepers may add to their income by buying corn, wheat, or eggs in small quantities. It is no uncommon thing in some stores to see a small girl arrive with some wheat tied up in one end of her *rebozo* and perhaps one egg, and bargaining with the storekeeper for some small purchase. It is noteworthy, though, [431] that the transaction is not on a barter basis. First the sale of wheat or eggs to the storekeeper is completed and the money paid over. The seller then indicates what she desires to purchase.[24]

Time did not permit the making of a detailed study of the functioning of Cherán stores. It would be of considerable interest to do so, and if the cooperation of the wholesalers in Uruapan and Purepero could be secured, probably a fairly accurate idea of the movement of goods into the Cherán market would be possible. In the discussion of price some idea of the range of goods carried is given (p. 88).

Although not forming an important item in Cherán trade, it should be observed that women, children, and occasionally elderly men, sell some goods on the streets, usually at a street corner. Perhaps half a dozen corners always have one to three vendors selling such things as cooked squash or sweetpotatoes, fruit, peanuts, and other things which are purchased primarily as *golosinas*, or between-meal snacks. Similar vendors appear in some numbers at harvest time, often out in the country, at which time their stock also includes *čharanda* (sugarcane alcohol and water).

MARKETS

An important mechanism of exchange among the Tarascans is the market. In a great many towns markets are held only on the occasion of a religious fiesta or, if present at other times, are small and relatively unimportant. Taras-

[24] An hour in the store of M. S. is typical. A small girl brought 1 liter of shelled maize, two ears of maize, and one egg for which she received 11 centavos. Several other persons came in, bringing single liters of wheat or corn. One person brought 20 liters of beans (this is unusual as Cherán raises less beans than it consumes). In addition to a number of sales of less than 5 centavos, the following sales at 5 centavos were made (there were none larger): one cake of soap, *criolina*, castor oil, lime.

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and [437] begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 73-a]

443 professional traders gather at Pátamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practically every village lively trading accompanies the
443 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
438 some instances such markets are large enough to
796 be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongarícuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
[651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruápan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [439] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 15b]

312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. [438] In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. [435] During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a carga (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.35 a carga. [563] Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where ocote (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[829] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw ("*sardina*") (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs ("*tachones*"), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called "*vigas*" (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a
[435] father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a
[563] day (16 carpas), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

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[p.17b]

313 about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

[438] An important product of Cherán is shakes, *tejamanil* (tasámani). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, [824] as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (péri) with [401] a wedge, *cuña* (injárukua). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (uáŋgua). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After [804] drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied into bundles of 400 called an irépita (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the [438] length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.[8]

[8] A cuarta equals ¼ of a vara (the standard measure of length, about 33 inches long).

[text continues on p. 19a]

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[p.119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
804 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily
●438 in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*,
or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes
6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan
towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani
iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are
sold in Zamora and are sometimes called
Zamorana.

313 Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to
6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows:
On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled.
Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional, the finished product is taken to Uruapan or Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract
arrangements. The workers leave town on
439 Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping.
Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in splitting and shaping the ties with the ax. Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor, and the men are paid in time to return home that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold
322 in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small
wooden objects for which Paracho is famous. A few people in Cherán also make broom handles.

314 A considerable amount of charcoal is produced on the more distant lands of Cherán. Several men in town make their living entirely from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners usually spend from Monday until Friday in the woods, and return home over the week end. Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers, the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has been true of Cherán in the past, but for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

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223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price of beef. It is said not to be liked very well. 438 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons 262 at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village. Many Tarascan towns have industrial special- [463] ties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

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[p.206]

241 Maguey (agave) Crab apples
Chayote *Zapote blanco*

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but [438] grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans 311 all have soils almost exclusively composed of 134 volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) 311 "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called *"joyas,"* consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

The so-called "plains" consist of several large [423] areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are 241 the principal crops grown. The "plains" are 311 cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

The largest "plain," usually referred to sim- 311 ply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

231 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes
232 he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when
[422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[439] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but
[252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A
[364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

Although some persons in Cherán were said
[232] to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, [241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

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231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the god- [262] father. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

Honey and wax are usually taken from the
237 hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make
231 them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

939 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [438] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture men's hats of palm straw braid, although pro- 439 duction does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated
with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted
down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and
then a white varnish (*blanco de España*).
None of these materials was further identified.
The price obtained for hats varies with the
thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing,
and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
[462] time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

29) ground, and the lower edge is decorated with a band nearly 2 inches wide of cross-stitched designs in blue, strong pink, or red. These designs are made in Nahuatzen on long strips of *manta* and are purchased and sewn on the lower edge of the petticoat. The garment itself is tubular with a circumference of at least 6 yards. The top edge is folded back a foot or more, giving a double thickness of cloth about the waist. It is worn flat across the front and then skillfully gathered in knife pleats across the back, forming almost a ridge of material across the back. The pleats are not sewn but are laid in place each time the petticoat is donned. The top of the petticoat comes at least 6 inches above the waist. A woven belt of wool, usually in brilliant colors, about 2 inches wide and 2 or more yards long, is then placed very tightly about the waist to support the petticoat. Only training from childhood makes it possible to endure the tightness of the belt constantly.

If Tarascan dress is worn constantly, women frequently wear the petticoat without the skirt and apron while working. This is true even when running errands on the street. Any formal occasion, however, is thought to require the outer skirt and apron.

The outer skirt is of very dark-blue or black wool cloth, either of commercial origin, or hand-
[438] loomed materials from Paracho or Nahuatzen. Two widths of the latter are required. The skirt is tubular also, and the circumference should equal or exceed that of the petticoat, the limit being the purse of the family and the fortitude of the woman. Skirts over 30 yards in circumference are known; a 15-yard circumference is probably about the minimum for a really stylish garment. The top is folded in, and the surplus material is gathered, as in the petticoat, in knife pleats across the back. The top of the skirt is well above the waist and is held in place by several narrow woven belts of bright colors and designs. Despite their elaborate designs, these belts are wrapped one on top of the other. Although one would suffice, ideally one belt is superimposed on another until they reach a thickness of as much as 2 inches (pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2, upper right and left).

The pleats of the skirt must be prepared more carefully than those of the petticoat.

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a
[854] ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 For special occasions, women who can afford
[438] them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton
[435] *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children
[492] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the *rebozo*. (Pl. 2, upper right and left.)

[p.43b]

335 carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

322 402 [824] As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type. They are made of madroño wood and are turned on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

322 438 Broom handles are made by one family, as already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

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[p. 43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra
[461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work
[462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

Candles are made by men. Two candle-
394 makers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.44a]

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather 532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed 326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan* 256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943. 438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán 389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings
283 during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas.* A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its
303 entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja.* The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to
532 order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are
[438] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

262 and as a daily food by all who can afford it,
252 which in Cherán would probably constitute a considerable majority of the population. It is often eaten with tamales of the type known as kurúndas, or with boiled chayote. Meat, if not made into čurípo, usually is boiled.[14]

Mole is a less common meat dish, probably derived from the Mestizos. It consists of a stew, preferably of turkey, but if this is not obtainable, of chicken, pork, or beef in descending order of frequency as well as preference. Pieces of the boiled meat are served in a sauce made in various ways, according to the availability of the ingredients and the knowledge of the cook. The sauce may include the following ingredients: Cloves, ginger, chocolate, cin-
[263] namon, ground toasted bread or tortillas, pumpkin seeds, garlic, onion, and chile of the type known as pasíya or "*chileancho*." The chiles are either fried in lard or dipped in hot water, ground with the other ingredients, and cooked in the meat broth. A thick, rich, and usually rather greasy sauce or gravy is the result. Mole is usually eaten on special occasions.

Fish are brought to Cherán either fresh,
[438] broiled, or dried. Fresh fish come from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro only a limited part of the year, usually just after the rainy season in the fall. It is expensive compared with meat, but is much liked. During the rainy season, broiled fish are brought from Lake Chapala; in the dry season, from Erongaricuaro.

The fish are washed carefully in hot water before cooking. Fish is boiled in water with
[263] onion and *silantro* (a pungent herb). Some people eat the intestines, removing only the bile. Seasoning with chile and tomato, ground together, is common; sometimes the broth is thickened with maize dough and sometimes onion is added. Fish may also be fried with eggs in lard, making a sort of fish hash.

Small dry fish (čaráles), resembling small dried minnows, are on sale on market day throughout the year and also at many of the stores. They are toasted on the *comal* and eaten with chile and tortillas, especially for breakfast. They are also made into a broth with chile sauce.

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[14] The majority of the recipes were collected by Silvia Rendón.

252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These
[438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale
[443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not
[427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-
[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at
[435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

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438 Recognition of the interrelations of various
439 economic activities in different regions is not a new idea to the Tarascans. The economy of the region tends toward individual and local specialization with a consequent high development of trade. While undoubtedly the majority of the Tarascans are members of self-sufficient family groups so far as the bare necessities of existence are concerned, very large numbers are partly or wholly dependent upon employment, manufactures, or trade. Consequently, the internal economy of a Tarascan village not only is complex by primitive standards but also fits into tribal and extratribal patterns of even greater complexity. Quite apart from relations with the national economy of Mexico, and, through it, with international economy, large numbers of Tarascans have been traders and middlemen on a large scale. Not only have they carried local products from Tarascan village to Tarascan village, or outside the Tarascan area; they have bought goods in non-Tarascan areas to sell in other non-Tarascan areas. The study of Cherán economy, then, must be considered an incomplete picture of Tarascan economy just as the study of the economics of a single small town would inadequately describe the economics of the United States.

The following tabulation gives the units of
804 measure used in Cherán.

Cherán units of measure

Dry measure

1 *litro* = 1 liter, or 0.908 quart
1 *medida* = 5 *litros*
1 *fanega* = 20 *medidas*, or 100 *litros*, or 1 *hectalitro*

Weight[1]

1 *libra* = 1 pound
1 kilo = 2.2 libras
1 *arroba* = 11.5 kilos
1 *carga* = 161 kilos or 14 *arrobas*
1 burro load = ½ *carga* (approx.), 7 or 8 *arrobas*
1 mule load = 1 *carga* (approx.), 14 to 18 *arrobas*

Capacity

1 cuartillo = 1 pint or ½ liter
1 *litro* = 1 quart (approx.) or 1 liter
1 *decalitro* = 10 litros

Square measure

1 *hectarea* (hectare) = a piece of land about 10,000 sq. paces or 10,000 sq. m.

[1] The beam balance is widely used for determining weight.

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

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256 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* pro-
243 duces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds
434 of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or
438 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 One agricultural activity for which few data
438 were obtained is fruit growing. No informa-
434 tion was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

Another view of farming activity may be
434 gained by examining the income of individual
241 farmers. These data are probably somewhat
511 unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

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439 rero or even from the Pacific Ocean. Even men who are not regular traders will go on local market. Finally, it should be noted that individuals often visit markets, especially those in Paracho or during fiestas at nearby towns, [494] and make purchases of needed goods. Especially since the highway has brought bus service to the town, for important purchases a man may even go to Uruapan. It is not uncommon for well-to-do men, for example, to have garments made to order by the tailors in Uruapan.

It is impossible to compile from present data a complete list of the products imported into Cherán. The list extends from chile and beans to horses and sewing machines. Many articles are available only on special occasions. For example, the almost universally used type of water jar in Cherán is made only in Patamban, and is offered for sale only on the occasion of the fiesta of the patron saint in October. Householders must anticipate their yearly needs of these fragile (but quite long-lived) articles at this time; otherwise they are forced to attend a fiesta in some other town and pick up a different plain style of jar made in Uruapan or La Cañada.

Nearly all goods sold in the stores are im-
438 ported (except occasional local products such as clothing). A considerable list of these goods is given in the discussion of price (p. 88). Tarascan products imported include fish and tules from the Lake area; hat braid of palm straw, chairs, tables, beds, and various wooden objects from Paracho; pottery from Santa Fe, Quiroga, Patamban, La Cañada, and the "hot country," or *tierra caliente* (the last is non-Tarascan); axes from Tingambato; knives, machetes, plow points, and jewelry from Nahuatzen; oils, garlic, spices, and vegetables from Zacapu and the Lake region; *rebozos* and cloth from Paracho, Nahuatzen, and elsewhere; pigs from La Cañada; beans from the Lake region; chiles from various places; and a variety of fruits. The latter include bananas, coconuts (from non-Tarascan sources), sweet and sour lemons, oranges, guavas, mameys, plums, mangoes, watermelons, cantaloups, avocados, zapotes of all sorts, and cherimoyas.

439 From non-Tarascan sources, but still outside the more conventional commercial channels, are

[p.806]

366 443 days do the lines extend the full length of the plaza. The Monday morning market is much smaller.

TABLE 3.—*Products sold in the Cherán market, 1940*

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Product	Number of vendors selling product on Sept. 7	Product sold on— Nov. 9	October 6 (fiesta)
Agua fresca (sweet water)			×
Anillos (rings)			×
Ajo (garlic)		×	
Aretes (earrings)			×
Atole			×
Ayates (carrying nets)			×
Bateas (wooden bowls)			×
Cacahuates (peanuts)		×	
Cabetes (jellies)			×
Calabaso cocido (cooked squash)			×
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)		×	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	5		×
Canastas (flat baskets)			×
Carne seco (dried meat)			×
Cebollas (onions)	4	×	×
Changungas			×
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayote)		×	
Cherimoya		×	×
Chiles	13	[1]×	×
Chiquihuites (baskets)		×	
Cocos (coconuts)			×
Col (cabbage)		×	
Cucharas (spoons)			×
Cundas (harvest baskets)		×	
Dulces (sweets)		×	×
Dedales (thimbles)			×
Dardenistas		×	
Fajas (sashes)			×
Frijoles (beans)	1	×	×
Guayabas (guavas)			×
Habas cocidos (cooked broadbeans)		×	
Helotes cocidos (cooked green corn)		×	
Higos (figs)			×
Jicamas		×	×
Jitomates (tomatoes)			×
Juguetes (playthings)			×
Leña (firewood)	1		
Lenteja (lentils)	1		
Limas (sweet lemons)	1		×
Loza de Oaxaca (pottery from Oaxaca)			×
Loza (pottery)	2		×
Maíce			×
Manzanas (apples)	3	×	×
Mecates (ropes)			×
Morales (bags)			×
Muñecas (dolls)			×
Naranjas (oranges)		×	
Nieve (ice cream)			×
Pan, blanco y moreno (bread, white and dark)		×	×
Pan dulce (sweet bread)			×
Pan de horno (cookies)		×	
Pastura (fodder)		×	
Peras (pears)	2		×
Pescado (fish, several kinds)[2]	3	[2]×	×
Petates (mats)		×	×
Platanos (bananas)		×	×
Pitaskas[3]		×	
Papas (potatoes)	1		
Queso (cheese)	1		×
Rebozos (shawls)			×
Religion (crosses, medals, etc.)			×
Ropa hechó (clothing)			×
Sanhorias (carrots)		×	
Silantro			×
Serapes (blankets)			×
Sombreros (hats)			×
Tascales (baskets for tortillas)		×	
Tela (cloth)			×
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	2	×	×
Tunas (prickly pears)		×	
Velas (candles)			×
Vidrio (glass)			×
Yerbas (herbs)			×
Zapatos (shoes)			×

[1] Black and red chile from Querendaro; green chile, large and small; red chile, large and small; chile pasilla ancha; chile guajillo; chile mirasol; chile verde ¿irápa?.

[2] *Charo* (kuéfupo—small, dried, from Pátzcuaro; turuti—large, fresh, from Pátzcuaro).

[3] Small, black fruit like green tomato in taste.

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On the occasion of a fiesta, the market occupies the entire plaza and overflows onto side streets. The variety and quantity of goods on such occasions exceed that at the regular Paracho market. Table 3 shows this clearly in the market held for October 6, 1940, the fiesta of the patron saint. Only two weekly markets were checked in any detail, as the fluctuations in the market simply reflect those occurring at Paracho the following day. Table 3 gives a list of the articles on sale in Cherán on three different dates, and for September 7 the number of vendors of each article is given.

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TABLE 4.—*Place of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1940*

Origin of vendor[1]	Article	Origin of article
Chapala	Fish	Chapala.
Cherán	Pottery	Huancito.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Pottery	Huancito.
Cherán (4)	Wood	Cherán.
Cherán	Apples	Do.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Cheese	Tierra caliente.
Pátzcuaro	Green chile Onions	Pátzcuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Uricho.
Uricho (2)	Yellow chile	Do.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, chile	Do.
	Tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Uricho	Yellow chile Tomatoes	Uricho.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, cabbage	Pátzcuaro.
Do	Onions, cabbage, tomatoes	Do.
Uricho	Chile, onions, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Pátzcuaro	Potatoes, beans, tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes (purple)	Zipiajo.
Villa Jimenez	Beans	Villa Jimenez.
Zunapario	Chile	Zunapario.
Cherán	Bread, peaches	Cherán.
Caranco	Chile	San Gabriel, Jalisco.
San Francisco	Chile, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Do	Tomatoes	Do.
Cherán	Tomatoes	Cherán (?).
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes	Pandicuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Cherán (?).
Etucuaro	Lentils	Etucuaro.
El Tigre	Chile	El Tigre.
Zacapu	Tomatoes	Zacapu.
Lagalga	Sweetpotatoes	Purépero.
Pandicuaro (2)	do	Zacapu.
Chucandiro	do	Zacapu (San Simon).
San Pedro Caro	Dried fish	Hacienda de la Luz.
Carapan	Lemon	Carapan.
Chapala	Cooked dried fish	Chapala.

[1] Numbers in parentheses indicate number of vendors if more than one.

Tables 4 and 5 show the places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán and at Paracho in September, 1940, and table 6 gives the products and number of vendors at the Paracho market on various dates in 1940.

About 70 to 80 percent of the vendors in the Paracho market on September 1 (table 5) were

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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*

Product	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Agua fresca (sweet water)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Aguacates (avocados)	Cañada	(1)	1	1
Anillos (rings)	Patamban	Paracho	1	1
Aretes (earrings)	Nahuatsen	do	1	1
Bagas (burden ropes)	Paracho	do	2	2
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Caldo (broth)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	La Azarca	La Azarca	1	6
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Purépero	Purépero	2	
		Paracho	2	
Cebollos (onions)	Paracho	do	2	2
Cerezas (cherries)	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	2
Cestas (baskets)	Pandicuaro	Zacapu	2	2
Chabacanos (apricots)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	1
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Changungas	Tierra caliente	Urusapan	1	1
Chiles (peppers)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	9
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Pátscuaro (?)	Pátscuaro	3	
Col (cabbage)[1]				
Coliflor (cauliflower)[1]				
Dulces (candy)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Duraznos (peaches)	Pichataro	do	1	20
	Cherán	Cherán	6	
	Pichataro	Pichataro	8	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	
	Cheranástico	Cheranástico	2	
	Urusapan	Urusapan	1	
Fibra de palmas (palm leaves)	Tierra caliente (1 woman, maybe all, carried it up)	Cherán	2	7
		Paracho	1	
		Pátscuaro	1	
		Barsi	3	
Frijoles (beans)	Pátscuaro	Pátscuaro	1	8
	San Gerónimo	San Gerónimo	2	
	Carapan	Carapan	2	
	Tirindiro	Tirindiro	1	
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Tangancicuaro	Tangancicuaro	1	
Guitarras (guitars)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Habas (pulse or broadbeans)	Cañada	Cañada	2	3
		Carapan	1	
Helotes (cooked green corn)	Paracho	Paracho	1	3
	Cheranastico	Cheranástico	1	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Higos (figs)	Cañada	Paracho	1	2
		Cañada	1	
Huaraches (woven sandals)	Purépero	Purépero	1	1
Jicamas (root)	(?)	Paracho	1	1
Lechuga (lettuce)[1]				
Limas (sweet lemons)	Chilchota	Chilchota	3	3
Limonas (lemons)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	5
	Chilchota (?)	Chilchota	3	
	Tierra caliente	Guanajuato	1	
	Guanajuato	Purépero	1	
	Huanuito	Huanuito	1	
Loza (pottery)	Patamban	Patamban	3	9
	do	Nurió	1	
	Quiroga	Zacapu	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	
	Quiroga	Tzintzuntzan	1	
Manta	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Mandils (aprons)	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Manzanas (apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	2	18
	do	Pichataro	13	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	1	
Manzanas-chatas (crab apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	1	4
	Urusapan	Urusapan	3	
Mostacillos (?) (beads)	Guadalajara	do	1	1
Muebles (furniture)	Paracho	do	2	2
Naranjas (oranges)	(?)	Paracho	1	5
	Urusapan	Urusapan	1	
	Limon	Limon (?)	1	
	Chilchota	Chilchota	2	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
Nueces (nuts)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	
Pan (bread)	Tanaco	Tanaco	2	6
Pan dulce	Cherán	Cherán	4	
Papas (patatas) (potatoes)	Nahuatsen	Paracho		1

[1] No data.

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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*—Continued

Products	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	Arantepacua	Arantepacua	3	3
Peras (pears)	Pichataro	do	4	18
	Cherán	Cherán	4	
	Pichataro	Pichataro	9	
	do	Cherán	1	
Pescado seco (dried fish)[1]				
Platanos (bananas)	Tierra caliente	Paracho	1	5
		Uruapan	4	
Queso (cheese)[1]				
Rebosos	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Serapes	do	do	2	2
Sigras (large, lemonlike citrus fruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Silantro seeds	Cañada	Cañada	1	2
	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Sombreros (flat-top, white hats)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	10
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	
	Nahuatzen (?)	do	1	
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Morelia (?)	Paracho	1	
	Cherán (?)	do	1	
Toronja (grapefruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota		2
Tunas (prickly pears)	Tanasco	Tanasco	3	4
	Purépero	Purépero	1	
Uakinikin (a long nut)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Uikumu (yellow fruit?)	Los Reyes	Paracho	1	2
	Cimotlan	Cimotlan	1	
Tela (cloth)	Paracho	Paracho	2	2
Violin	do	do	1	1
Yerbas (herbs)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Zapatos (shoes, orange; also white)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	1

[1] No data.

interviewed. The number of vendors and the articles sold, by classes, are as follows:

Articles:	Number of vendors
Fruits	52
Vegetables	26
Prepared food (including bread)	12
Wearing apparel	21
Baskets and pottery	15
Furniture	2
Ornaments and musical instruments	3
Palm fiber for hats	7
Total	138

Most vendors not interviewed were engaged in the sale of fruits or vegetables, mostly vegetables.

Another example of an unimportant market is given by Rendón for San Juan Parangaricutiro. The main articles sold were small quantities of tomatoes, chile, jicamas, onions, cabbage, silantro, garlic, limes, oranges, guavas, cherimoyas, peanuts, and sugarcane. Two persons sold candies from Zamora, two booths sold sweetpotatoes, one each sold pottery and shoes,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p.82b]

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Agua fresca (sweet water)	1	4	2	1		
Aguas gaseosas (pop)		3	8	3		1
Aje (pigment)					2	
Ajo (garlic)						6
Aguacates (avocados)	1			1		
Anillos (rings)	1					
Aretes; collares (earrings; necklaces)	1	1				3
Atole (maize gruel)					2	2
Ayates (nets)				2	2	2
Bagas (burden ropes)	2					
Bates para lavar ropa (washtray)				1		
Bateas (wooden bowls)		1	1			
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	1				2	
Borrega (mutton)		3		3		
Cacahuates (peanuts)		4	5		9	2
Cal (lime)					2	
Caldo (broth)	1					
Calabacitos (small squash)					3	
Calabazo cocido (cooked squash)		4	5	14	12	1
Calses (cakes)					1	
Camas (beds)	1			1	7	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	4	8		2		1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	2	2				
Caña (sugarcane)			3	1		
Canastas (flat baskets)				1		1
Carne de puerco cocido (cooked pork)		1	1	2		3
Carne seco (dried beef)		1		6	12	6
Cebollos (onions)	2	15	11	12	18	15
Cerezas (cherries)	2		1	5	1	
Cerezas secas (dried cherries)			1		2	1
Cestas (baskets)	2	3	1	4		
Chabacanos (apricots)	1					
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	1					
Changungas (a fruit)	1					
Chayotes			3	1	7	
Chayotes cocido (cooked chayotes)		3		4		
Cherimoyas (a fruit)					4	
Chicahuites (harvest baskets)				1	3	
Chicharos (peas)		4	3	4		
Chicharos cocidos (cooked peas)				1		
Chiles (peppers)	9	53	32	15		
Chiles, large wide, red				7		
Chiles, large long, red				15		
Chiles, small, red				20		21
Chiles, verdes (green)				8	25	18
Chile, negros (black)				2	5	7
Cintas (belts)						1
Ciruelas (plums)		2				
Cocos (coconuts)				3	1	
Col (cabbage)		14	10	2	6	7
Coliflor (cauliflower)		1			2	
Corbatas (neckties)			1			
Cucharas (spoons)		1		2	1	
Cracklings					1	
Custard						1
Dibujos y arts, flores			1			
Doughnuts				1		
Dulces (candy)	1	6	4	7	4	2
Dulces de membrillos (fruit paste)		1				
Durasnos (peaches)	20	22	1	3		
Escobas de palma (brushes of palm)	1					
Escobas de paja verde (brushes of green straw)						1
Espinaca (spinach)			1			
Fajas (sashes)		2	2	2	1	3
Fibra de palma (palm leaves for hats)	7	5		1	11	
Floreras (flowerpots)						1
Flores (flowers)					2	
Flores de papel (paper flowers)						2
Frijoles (beans)	8	13		6	24	
Gorditos (fried maize cakes)					1	
Granadas (pomegranates)		6		31	30	2
Guavas					1	2
Guitarras (guitars)	1					
Habas (broadbeans)	3	1		1	4	
Habas verdes (green broadbeans)					1	
Helotes (green corn on cob)	3	1	4	6	2	
Higos (figs)	2					
Hoja de betabel (chard)		3				
Hoja de limones (lemon leaves)		2				
Hoja de naranja (orange leaves)		1		2		
Huaraches (woven sandals)	1	1	4	1		
Ixtle (maguey halters)		11				
Jalatina (jelly)				1		
Jicamas (a turniplike root)	5			3	6	
Jitomates (tomatoes)					6	
Juegos de naipes (card games)				4		
Juguetes (playthings, e.g. dolls)		5	2	1	2	

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.83a]

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*—Continued

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Juguetes de loza (pottery figurines)		3	8	13	1	
Lana (wool)					1	
Lechuga (lettuce)		1			1	
Limas y limones (lemons and limes)	8	17	7	16	13	7
Loquats				1		
Loza (pottery)	9	1		64	5	2
Macate (maguey fiber string)			1			
Mandils (aprons)	4					
Mantas (blankets)	1					
Manzanas (apples)	22	37	5	16	2	
Maize (corn)	6		1		2	
Macetas (flowerpots)					1	
Madroño berries						1
Mamey (a fruit)					1	
Mascaras (masks)		2	1			
Maza (maize dough)		1				
Mazorca (maize ears)				1		
Medias (stockings)						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and notions)		1	19	4	8	1
Molineros (chocolate beaters)				1		
Morales (bags)				1		
Mostacillas (beads)	1					
Muebles (furniture)	2					
Naranjas (oranges)	5	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream)		1	1	1	2	2
Nuezes (nuts)	3					
Orange plum				1		
Palma tejida (hat braid)[2]					1	
Pan (bread)	6	26	28	29	28	17
Pan de huevo (cake)						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey)			10			
Pan dulce (cookies)				1	1	
Papas (potatoes)	1	8	6	2	5	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	3					
Peluqueros (barbers)				6		
Peras (pears)	18	14				
Pescado (fish)		12	5	1	13	6
Petates (mats)		1		2	4	1
Platanos (bananas)	5	4	1	19	3	2
Plumas (pens)				3		
Pulque					1	
Queso (cheese)	1	17	9	3	8	2
Rebozos (shawls)	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets)		1				
Serapes (blankets)	2	4	2	1	7	8
Servietas (napkins)					1	
Sigras (a fruit)	1					
Silantro semilla (seed for flavoring)	2	5	1	4	4	
Sillas (chairs)				3		
Sombreros (hats)	1	2	1	1	2	2
Sopladores (fire fans)		1				
Sweaters						1
Tamales		19		23		1
Tejocotes (wild crab apples)	5	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing)	2			2		2
Tela de lana (wool yardage)			7			
Tesquisquite		1		2		10
Tomates (small husk tomatoes)	10	36	26	19	8	
Toronja (grapefruit)	2					
Tortillas					5	3
Tortilla baskets					3	1
Tunas (prickly pears)	4		3		4	1
Uskinikin (nut)	1					
Violina (violin)	1					
Velas (candles)			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs)	1				1	
Yellowfruit		1		1		
Yams			1			
Zanhorias (carrots)		1	2			1
Zapatos (shoes)	1	3	8	3	9	7

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

[2] An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurúndas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

438 The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market
443 on Sunday which is not notably different from
a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as
462 this is the market town for La Cañada, prob-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.836]

438 ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans.
443 Rendón, who collected the data, observes that
there is a fairly clear sex division in market
462 activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—*Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota*

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Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	5
Ripe tomatoes	6	0
Green chile	0	3
Dry chile	7	7
Cabbage	3	4
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	8
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit	6	8
Peanuts	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	0	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	4
Regular tamales (kurúndas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Soaproot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	4
Pitch pine	2	0
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

511 The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

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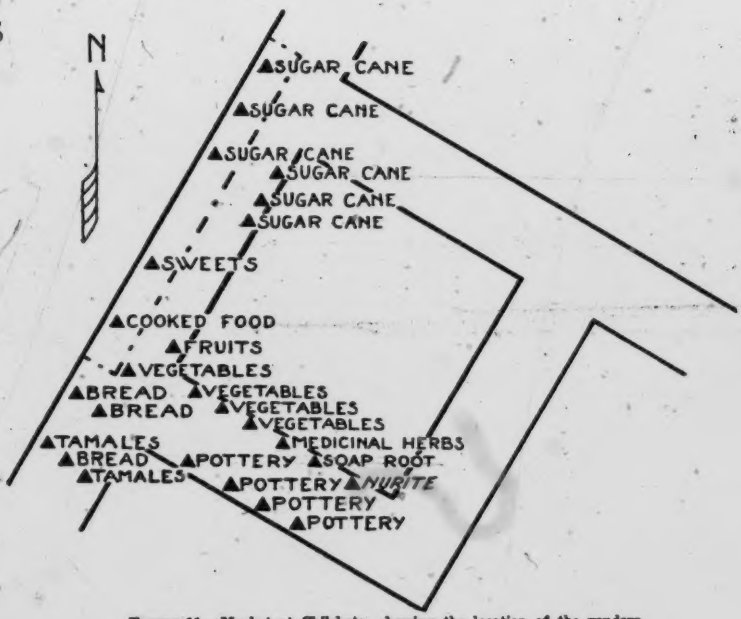

FIGURE 11.—Market at Chilchota, showing the location of the vendors.

[p. 84c]

796 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very [793] drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities [272] of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The 438 principal item in the market is pottery, and it 323 is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1316]

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
796 tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.13a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 fitted into the class system of colonial
621 Mexico.
[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

The other main type of social unit in
175 rural Mexico was the privately owned es-
621 tate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can
be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural
423 communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

The colonial village community was the
175 primary economic unit, to some extent self-
621 sufficient but never completely so. In a
society based on agriculture, it was the
423 main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the
175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]
[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of
[463] most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they
[438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

For various reasons differences in wealth
175 came to exist within the community: The
556 Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-5.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

648 In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
656 regarding the distribution of the property of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas,* 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados);* that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 464-6.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least
621 two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
482 conservative tendencies within the villages can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
621 sistence economy or a market economy. No
438 doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier
433 it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 30.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

438 Handicrafts are very important to the economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape, and are frequently used even if the latter
178 are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 68.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
[323] tery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for villages predominantly devoted to handi-
[438] crafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
175 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic
668 development of the country, a period of unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 26 b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans
175 may have been influenced by Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He
[743] tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held
[423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hos-
[794] pital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has
[438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 201-3, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 186-194.

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

313 by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of
412 poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.[2]

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

Several types of shakes are made. In Anga-
313 huan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches
438 wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (tasámbani sapírati), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (tasámbani iórati), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (tasámani tiápiti), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (irépita).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety
412 of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable
339 earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist
333 climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

[2] A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33b]

[804]

[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 224 gathering, although now of small importance, is 222 still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT Continues bottom P. 33b]

243 are planted together, the seeds being separated according to color after the harvest. The plant is cut with a sickle in November or December, the grain threshed in an open space in the fields and stored in small ollas in the troje.

The cultivation of amaranth is disappearing among the Tarascans; it would probably die out rapidly if women did not constantly remind men to plant it every year. In some Sierra pueblos it is no longer grown, but grain is brought in from [438] other towns, particularly from Pamatácuaro and its surrounding ranches and from Capacuaro.[77] Little is grown in the Lake towns or in La Cañada, the grain being imported from the Sierra. In a few pueblos it was claimed that *alegría* was neither cultivated nor eaten: Paracho, Huánsito, San Jerónimo, Puácuaro, Napízaro.[78]

262 In terms of quantity consumed, amaranth has little importance in present Tarascan diet. Its significance lies in its relict position in Indian culture. Today the most widespread amaranth 252 food among the Tarascans is a tamal called "č'apáta," made from a mixture of ground maize and *alegría*. Blue or black ekuáru maize is dry-ground on the metate; red or black *alegría* is then ground into the maize flour; a sweetening (piloncillo) and water are stirred into the mixed flour, and the resultant dough is wrapped in maize husks and boiled in an olla. In some pueblos of La Cañada ground *alegría* is mixed with wheat flour and piloncillo, of which tamales called č'apátas de trigo are made. Moreover, *bolitas*, confections made of white amaranth, are made, but are more common in adjacent mestizo towns. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then mixed with honey or a paste of piloncillo to make small cakes. These are commonly sold at fairs or on fiesta days.[79] Few ceremonial or religious uses of amaranth were found in the Tarascan pueblos.[80]

[77] Curiously, the Sierra pueblos which no longer cultivate *alegría*, but import grain for home use, are some of the more isolated, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Nurío, and Pomacuarán. In these towns no reason was given for not growing *alegría*. Possibly the inhabitants found it less bothersome to buy the grain than go to the trouble of raising it.

[78] Modern amaranth cultivation extends beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech in Michoacán. It is still grown and used in the former indigenous towns of Apo, Tancítaro, Sirahuén, Opopeo, and in some mestizo *rancheos* north of Uruapan.

[79] In Pamatácuaro an atole is made of amaranth and black maize. Such atole is widespread in the highlands of northern Guerrero (Hendrichs 1945–46, vol. 1, p. 35); and is probably encountered in other indigenous areas of Mexico. In Atapan a pakéa (ground grain boiled in water to a solid mass) is made of red *alegría*.

[80] In Pamatácuaro atole of black *alegría* and black maize is taken especially at the maize planting celebrations. In Sicuicho č'apátas are eaten at both the maize planting and harvesting fiestas. In other pueblos special uses of amaranth were denied.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 46-a]

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by 177 missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent 197 had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit [242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are [242] only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly 438 for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *cemuase*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chata*, *mariceua*, *chata de Serine* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *moreliana* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1769 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 226). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

245 orchard. In such cases trees are closely spaced
438 and present an unkept appearance.

Many Tarascan pueblos in the lower and warmer areas bordering the Sierra specialize in subtropical fruits, and possibly served prehistorically as fruit supply centers for the Sierra towns. Since the development of modern transportation their produce is taken to many parts of Mexico. San Angel Zurumucapio is the avocado center of the Tarascan *tierra templada*,[98] Tingambato the chirimoya town, and the former Tarascan pueblos, Ziricuritiro and Acahuato, produce bananas, mangoes, mamey, citrus, etc. Tarascan Atapan and mestizo Tingüindín supply the western part of the Sierra with citrus, guayaba, and mangoes. As early as 1581 Atapan had become a citrus-growing center, and probably before the Conquest had produced avocados and chirimoyas for Sierra trade. The La Cañada towns have ever been the northern Tarascan fruit center. Today avocados form the main fruit speciality of Acachuén, Ichán-Tacuro, and Carapan; oranges are the chief export of Tanaquillo.[99] With the possible exception of Ihuatzio, which produces large quantities of avocado, there is no specialized fruit town in the Lake area, although the aggregate subtropical fruit production there is of importance in Sierra trade.

Fruits from the *tierra caliente* have long had a
262 special significance among the Sierra Tarascans. Today at least two tropical fruits are eaten especially at religious fiestas, and special effort is made to obtain them for such occasions. Coconuts (kóko) in some Sierra pueblos are rarely eaten except during the Ramos and Easter holidays.
[439] Formerly in Charapan 2 weeks before Easter a group composed of 15 men and boys from each barrio traveled down to the Tepalcatepec Basin to fetch coconuts for eating and coconut blossoms
[389] for church decorations. The band was ceremoniously seen off with the firing of rockets.[100] Likewise, the large plantain (*plátano macho*) is eaten

[98] The large avocado trees in the house lots of Zurumucapio completely hide the town. Two types of the fruit are grown, the black and white-skin varieties. Both are irrigated, and the fruit is harvested in April and May. Frequently coffee plants are grown under the shade of the avocado.

[99] Other fruits produced in La Cañada: Limes, guayaba, chirimoyas, figs, apricots, juaquiniquiles (ñurén), plums, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, apples, zapote blanco, capulín, a few bananas.

[100] This custom has practically disappeared in the Sierra. Most coconuts and other tropical fruit are now obtained at the Ramos (Palm Sunday) fairs at Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. In the Lake area during Easter festivities churches are often decorated with melons (*sandías*) from the Balsas.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 47-b]

244 addition to the gardens of Lake Pátzcuaro,
312 commercial truck farming is also carried on in La Cañada and in Atapan, but on a smaller scale. There, fields are irrigated by diverting water from streams, a technique probably learned from Europeans.[103]

244 The native chile, *jitomate* (tom-kuaraki), *tomate*, and green beans (*ejotes*) and the Old World onion, garlic, cabbage, and lettuce are the principal products of the commercial gardens. Chile is the most significant of these, in terms of both acreage and market value. The fruit of this plant, a vitamin-rich gastrin, has always been important in the aboriginal diet. Two species of *Capsicum* are cultivated: *C. annuum*, the common herbaceous annual, and *C. fructescens*, the perennial shrub (*chile de árbol*). The latter is cultivated mainly in the house gardens. Both species re-
244 quire a long growing season and abundant water;
438 consequently chile cultivation is absent from the Sierra, but is found in the surrounding well-watered areas. Chile, therefore, has ever been a
[439] trade article between the Sierra and its borderlands.[104] Tarascan Puácuaro, Uricho, Arúcutin, and mestizo Tócuaro and Erongarícuaro are the main chile producers of the Lake. Most of the La Cañada pueblos raise some chile for export into the Sierra, but Etúcuaro, outside the valley, is the largest producer of that general district. All these areas raise *chile verde*, rather than the *chile seco* of the *tierra caliente* and Lake Cuitzeo district.[105] In both the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada areas chile and tomatoes are first planted in the *almáciga*, or hotbed, in December.[106] Replanting in the gardens is done in March, and the vegetables are harvested from June through September.

STOCK RAISING AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

231 Modern Tarascans raise most of the European animal domesticates. Most households own a team of oxen for plowing and one or two burros for hauling wood and carrying produce to market.

[Text continues top of P. 49a-Analysis]

[103] In several formerly Tarascan towns in the northern plateau area vegetables are cultivated on a commercial scale. The truck farming around Ziricicuaro, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, was significant during the latter part of the 18th century. Tarascan horticulturists of this pueblo carried vegetable produce as far as the Toluca market (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 265).

[104] The Tarascan name for Chilchota is *ŕirápu*, which means green chile. The Sierra people have always thought of La Cañada as a producer of chile, as well as other vegetables and fruits.

[105] The chief varieties of *C. annuum* in the Lake district are *lumbrillo* (*verde*), *amarillo*, and *relleno* (*bell chile*). *Chile seco* from the *tierra caliente* reaches the Sierra through the markets at Urupan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes.

[106] The *almácige* is likely a European introduction, although it was pre-Columbian in the *chinampa* district in the Valley of Mexico.

501 drying up of lakes in the northern and western sections of Tarasca, the distribution of the dugout has decreased in area during the last 100 years. At the present time the Tarascan boat is used on Lakes Pátzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Chapala; two old dugouts on the small pond at Tarejero represent the remnants of the once extensive canoe traffic in the Zacapu lagoon.[124] Most of the Lake
[438] Pátzcuaro boats are made in the Sierra settlements of Cumachuén, Capacuaro, and in the highlands to the south, mainly around the *rancho* of Santa Juana. The boats are dragged to the lake shore, where they sell for 100 to more than 600 pesos each. They are said to last for 3 to 5 years before becoming waterlogged. Two sizes of boats are seen on Lake Pátzcuaro—the small ičáruta for two to four persons, used for shore fishing, and the larger tepári, which carries from four to eight individuals and is employed in midlake fishing and for transport.[125] The smaller boat is paddled with the *pala* or šótakua, which has a round blade of pine (25 × 28 cm.) attached to a handle of oak or *tejocote* varying in length from 30 cm. (for children) to over 2 m. The larger canoes are both paddled and rowed. Sierra folk from Cumachuén and Capacuaro manufacture oars and paddles, which they market in Erongarícuaro and Pátzcuaro.

226 **Fishing methods.**—In most parts of the lake, fishing is done in the early morning hours between 5 and 10 o'clock. Fishing is seasonal, most activity occurring during the dry season (November to May). *Chinchorreros* usually operate in groups of four; often blood relations, the group divides the catch equally. An owner of a net and boat often hires *peones* to help with the *chinchorro*, paying wages or dividing the catch. The wife and children occasionally help set the čerémekua along the shore, and often women aid with the *chinchorro*. Midlake fishing is open to all inhabitants of the Lake area, who pay a federal license of 1.50 pesos annually. By custom, however, the people of a particular settlement have exclusive fishing rights along the shore of their lands; those from other pueblos may not fish the shores of

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[124] As late as 1872 heavy canoe traffic is described between Tarejero and Zacapu (Pérez Hernández, 1872, p. 119). Late in the 16th century small reed *balsas* were used on Lake Chapala (Ponce Relacion, vol. 2, pp. 18-20).

[125] Measurements of the dugouts: The ičáruta has a length of 2.5 m. to 6.5 m., width of 60 cm., and depth of 40 cm.; the tepári ranges from 6.5 to 11 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 50 cm. deep.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56-b]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

Among most people lacking modern transporta-
438 tion facilities and mass production techniques,
472 cottage industries, often termed "native crafts,"
are characteristic of the local economy. Owing
463 to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population[132] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agave fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 Like so many of his material culture elements,
463 the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[132] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 3.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 178 [166] An interesting aspect of cottage industries is their ephemeral character. Owing to movement of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[134] [323] The pottery industry in Santa Fé de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was [294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan [282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft [325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[134] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-c]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]

Pueblo	1946	1841	1822	1780
Aeuchuaq	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ahuiran	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Tablecloths. Woodwork: Violins. Turned work.	Weaving (cotton): Mantas. Belts. Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings of cotton thread.	Knitting: Men's cotton stockings.
Angahuan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Arantepacua	Capotes. Brooms.	(?)	(?)	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Aranza	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(Depopulated.)
Arocutin	None.	(?)	(?)	Petate weaving.
Atapan	None.	None.	None.	None.
Azajo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.

See footnote at end of table.

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1948	1941	1922	1769
Caltzontzin (Parícutin)	Weaving (cotton): Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).	(?)	Weaving (cotton).
Capacuaro	Woodwork: Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts.	Woodwork: Boxes.	(?)	Woodwork: Boxes.
Carapan	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Charapan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf.	Weaving (cotton). Woodwork: Rosaries. Chocolate beaters.	Woodwork: Rosaries. Mahcatas.	Weaving (cotton. Woodwork: Rosaries.
Charás	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Napkins. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf. Embroidery work.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork (1742).
Cherán-Atzicuirín	None.	None.	None.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Chilchota	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Cocucho	Pottery.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries.	Woodwork: Rosaries.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries. Other turned work. Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (1742).
Cuanso	Leatherwork: Shoes. Belts. Saddle leather. Pottery.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Comanja	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Conejos, Los (Paranguaricutiro).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).
Corupo	Woodwork: Cabinetmaking. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Boxes. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Pinnotile molds. Boxes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Cuanajo	Woodwork: Cabinet work: Boxes.	Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work. Boxes.

See footnote at end of table.

[P. 59]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1769
Cuanajo—Continued	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.			
Cuanalaba	Woodwork: Bateas. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars. Woodwork (1762): Saddle frames.
Erongarícuaro	Potato weaving	(?)	Potato weaving.	(?)
Huécato	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ichán	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ihuátzio	Potato weaving. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Janitzio	Netting. Weaving (cotton): Men's belts.	(?)	(?)	Netting.
Jarácuaro	Hat making. Palm leaf. Weaving. Belts. Adobe making.	Potato weaving.	(?)	Potato weaving.
La Pacanda	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nahuatzen	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Cloth. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Leatherwork: Saddles. Belts.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Saddles.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Shoes. Saddles.
Naranja	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Naptaro	Potato weaving.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nocutepo	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Nurio	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Hat making: Felt.	Hat making.	Hat making: Felt.
Ocumicho	Clay toys.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Weaving (cotton)
Pátzcuaro	Woodwork: Spoons. Bateas. Hat making: Wheat straw. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).

See footnote at end of table.

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1822	1769
Paracho	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Turned work. Cabinet work. Toys. Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work. Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.
Patamban	Pottery. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Pottery.	Pottery.
Pichátaro	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Rebozos. Woodwork: Cabinet work. Broom handles. Bateas. Hat making: Palm leaf. Petate weaving.	Weaving (agava). Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work.
Pomacuarán	None.	Weaving (cotton). Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings.	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (?).
Pátzcuaro	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Quiroga	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Capotes.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Quiroga	Woodwork: Bateas. Turned work. Chairs.	(?)	Woodwork: Bateas. Boxes.	Woodwork: Bateas. Woodwork (1742): Bateas. Boxes.
San Andrés	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
San Angel	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Santa Fé	Pottery.	(?)	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Bateas (painted). Boxes (painted). Petate weaving.
San Felipe	Ironwork. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Ironwork.	Ironwork.	Ironwork (also in 1844).
San Jerónimo	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Belts. Blankets.	(?)	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving. Woodwork: Boxes.

See footnote at end of table.

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1920	1780
San José	Pottery.	(?)	Leather work: Tanning. Woodwork: Saddle frames.	(?)
San Lorenzo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Santa Tomás	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Sevina	Woodwork: Bateas. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Shaken.	Woodwork: Shaken.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Sicuicho	None.	None.	None.	Weaving (cotton).
Sirio	Woodwork: Spoons. Bateas.	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)
Sopeo	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tacécuaro	Petate weaving. Capote making.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
Tanaco	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates.	None.	(?)	(?) Pottery (1742). Woodworking (1742). Saddle frames.
Tanaquillo	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tarécuato	Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates. Costales. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Rope making.	(?)	(?)	Weaving (agave).
Tarejero	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Tarécuato	Hat making: Wheat straw. Palm leaf. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Leatherwork: Shoes.	(?)
Trinidaro	Pottery: (Hat making ceased in 1936.)	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Técuro	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Masks.	(?)	(?)	None.
Tócuro	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)

See footnote at end of table

[P. 62-a]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1769
Turicuaro	Stonework: Metates. Woodwork: Bateas. Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Capote making.	Stonework: Metates.	Stonework: Metates.	(?)
Tzintzuntzan	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.
Urapicho	Hat making: Palm leaf.	None.	None (?).	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames.
Uricho	Petate weaving.	(?)	(?)	Petate weaving.
Zacán	(?)	Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (cotton): Mantas.	(?) Woodwork (1844): Bateas. Rope making (1884).
Zirosto	Woodwork: Bateas (disappeared since volcano). Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Filmcills molds. Weaving (cotton)	Woodwork: Bateas (painted).	Woodwork: Bateas. Woodwork (1844): Bateas. Rope making (1884).

[1] Sources: 1644, Basalenque (1886); 1742, Villaseñor y Sánchez (1746–48); 1769, AGN, Historia, vol. 73; 1822, Martínez de Lejarza (1824); 1941, AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 704, Memorias Estadísticas, 1941; 1946, Field observation.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 62b]

438 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest
463 times, have completely disappeared. The fine
Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the
beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924,
178 pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground
pith of maize stalks, from which various objects
(mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared
in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then disappeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican
kitchens,[188] and tile roofing is used extensively in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.62 c]

323 most parts of the country. As in pre-Conquest days, the manufacture of clayware in Mexico is still a cottage industry in which various towns specialize.

Including Tzintzuntzan (largely mestizo), there 323 are nine pottery towns in the present Tarascan 438 area: Santa Fé, Comanja, Zipiajo, Huánsito, Santo Tomás, San José, Patamban, and Cocucho. With the exception of Cocucho, all are located in the čaránda, or clay-soils district north of the Sierra, usually near deposits of suitable firing clay (map 20). The Cocucho potters have always hauled clay from the vicinity of Tangancícuaro and San José, for suitable deposits rarely occur in the Sierra. Other pottery towns, now mestizo, are also located in the northern clay area (Tangancícuaro, Capula, Villa Morelos, Penícuaro). Moreover, other Tarascan villages in La Cañada (Sopoco, Ichán, Tacuro, Tanaquillo), in the Zacapu

[118] The common clay kitchen utensils include various types of pots (*ollas*) for boiling; the *comal*, or round, flat piece placed on the hearth for frying, broiling, and toasting; small saucers (*cazuelas*) for frying and from which food is sometimes eaten; water jugs (*cántaros*); drinking cups (*vasos*).

323 Basin (Tirindaro), and in the Lake area (San
●438 Jerónimo and Erongarícuaro) make pottery on a small scale, mainly for local use.

Modern Tarascans use both the hand and the mold techniques. The latter is usually accompanied by application of lead oxide glaze. The former is still used in only three pueblos—Comanja, Zipiajo, and Cocucho, where it is performed solely by women.[136] In Comanja the lower part of the vessel is shaped from a single daub of clay. A depression is made in the center and the walls are built up with the hands by pressing in small daubs of clay. The outer and inner surfaces are smoothed with a corncob. The result is a well-balanced vessel with walls of even thickness. The vessels are rough-finished, rarely polished, and litharge glaze is never employed. Firing is accomplished by placing pottery on a pile of dried manure. The pots are covered with dried grass (*zacatón*), which, when lighted, ignites the manure. The grass ash is permitted to cover the pots, a hole being left in the center of the pile to permit smoke from the smoldering manure to escape. After 3 hours the pottery is fired to sufficient hardness. The chief ceramic products of Comanja are the large water ollas, called "*comanjas*," which are marketed in the Sierra, the Lake area, and in some of the mestizo towns to the north. Similar ollas are made by an identical process in Zipiajo, but on a smaller scale.

In Cocucho the ceramic process is similar to that of Comanja, except that the base of the vessel is formed on the bottom of a broken olla and part of the wall is built up of rolled pieces of clay (pls. 9 and 10). Firing is also similar, but pine bark and rotten wood, rather than manure, is employed for fuel; this process probably represents the truly aboriginal technique. The Cocucho women make large ollas with thick walls, especially famed as tamale cooking pots throughout the Sierra. This olla, rarely used outside of the Sierra, is called kukúču, from which the village derives its name. The tunúči, a small flat olla used as a *tlascal* (receptacle for tortillas), is also made.

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[136] The native hand technique was practiced in other Tarascan towns during the 18th century. In 1729, according to Matias de Escobar, "*Es cosa que admirar como que los he visto en Tiripitio* [southwest of Morelia] *como labran cuanto* [loso] *quieren, sin las ruedas y moldes de los Españoles. Un pequeño cuero y una mala navaja son todos los instrumentos con que obran*" (Escobar, 1924, p. 143). Both the hand and mold methods appear to be native in Mexico, although the latter was known to Europeans. See Foster, 1948, for a discussion of native and introduced elements in the modern mold technique.

323 The manufacture of these two Tarascan pots is
438 slowly dying. In 1946 only 10 women were making pottery in Cocucho, whereas in 1841 it was made in practically every household of the village (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

Today by far the greater amount of Tarascan pottery is made with molds by both men and women.[127] None is manufactured with the potter's wheel. All who use molds have taken
[177] over the European glaze technique and the firing oven. Tarascan mold-made pottery can be differentiated according to finish. The "Patamban" type, for instance, carries a beautiful green glaze, known and admired over most of western Mexico.[128] Green glaze is also used in Santo Tomás and Santa Fé de la Laguna, having been recently introduced into the latter pueblo. Pottery hand-painted with brilliant floral designs on a background of black glaze is a specialty of Santa Fé de la Laguna. This unusual technique was
[177] introduced around 1900, and was readily adopted by the inhabitants, whose former industry was batea painting. As mentioned previously, the inhabitants of Santa Fé de la Laguna began to make pots during the last quarter of the 19th century. Since then their ware has become
[439] known throughout Mexico, and some is imported by United States curio shops. In 1936 the technique spread to Tiríndaro, when daughters of a Santa Fé potter married into Tiríndaro families. The most common modern household pottery is the Red ware, either glazed or polished, made in Tzintzuntzan, Huánsito, San José, and Patamban. Before being fired the large pieces, such as ollas and *cántaros*, are usually slipped with a red clay solution and then burnished with iron pyrites. A handsomely polished surface, similar to that of the pre-Conquest wares, results after firing. (Such ware is fired only once.) Smaller pieces are often glazed with litharge. Glazed pieces are fired twice, the litharge being applied after the first firing and the glazed surface appearing after the second. Designs are often painted in white (*tierra blanca*) and black (*tierra*
[439] *de hormigón*). Red ware is carried as far as Guadal-

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[127] See Foster (1948) for a detailed description of the mold technique used by the potters of Tzintzuntzan.

[128] To produce the green color, pulverized copper oxide (*cobre quemado*) and yellow flinty quartz (*pedernal*) are added to the lead oxide (litharge) solution, which is applied to the pottery before firing. A black glaze is also made by adding a mineral called *tierra de hormigo* and pedernal to the litharge.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 64-a]

438
323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and Mexico City.

[439] Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the [177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous [177] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

Spinning.—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun 283 raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.) [386] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

Weaving.—Tarascans weave all agave and 286 cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáıatakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

283
439 cord; these and the woven articles are marketed in Guanajuato, Jalisco, the *tierra caliente*, and in all parts of the present Tarascan area.

Woolen products are woven mainly on the
286 European loom, which was introduced early in the 16th century.[141] During most of the colonial
[177] period this loom was used principally in the *obrajes*, or cloth mills established by Spaniards in various parts of Mexico near an abundant supply of wool. Indians first learned European weaving techniques in these mills, the labor for which came from surrounding native pueblos. By 1540 an *obraje*, operated by 26 forced native workers, had been set up in Acámbaro (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 33), and before the close of the century woolen mills existed in Taximaroa and Valladolid (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 225). Moreover, Indians quickly learned to spin wool, for tributes of spun wool were exacted from some pueblos, possibly to supply *obrajes* nearby.[142] It is not clear when the Tarascans began to use the hand loom in their own villages; possibly some looms were set up in the northern towns in the 16th century.[143] A report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) on the Tarascan pueblos of Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra, however, mentions the use only of the native loom. The first indication of a native wool industry in the Tarascan area comes from the Martínez de Lejarza report of 1822, which cites the *obrajeros* of San Juan Parangaricutiro (later the most renowned of the Tarascan blanket-weaving towns) and of several northern mestizo towns.[144] Tarascan wool weaving on a commercial scale may be post-colonial, having little economic basis until the break-down of the large woolen mills at the close of the colonial period. Today woolen blankets
● [438] (*cobijas*, *serapes*) are made on the European hand loom in 24 Tarascan towns, Nahuatzen and prevolcano Parangaricutiro being the largest pro-
ducers.

[141] Strands of wool are sometimes mixed with cotton in making women's belts. Often the warp is of woolen strands, the woof of cotton thread.

[142] For example, ca. 1540 the people of Puruándiro (Michoacán) contributed each week two arrobas of spun wool (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 117).

[143] The Relación de Chilchota (Mus. Nac.) states that some natives in the town made clothes of wool, but the type of loom used is not given. Moreover, according to the Relación de Cuitzeo (Mus. Nac.), the Indians living around the lake "... *hacen lana a las enamoradas para hacer ropa para vestirse, y sus mujeres la hacíciaa* ..." Again, the type of loom used to weave wool is not given.

[144] The northern towns mentioned: Morelia, Zinapécuaro, Zitácuaro, Taximaroa, Jiquilpan, Huarachita, La Piedad, Huaniqueo, and Tangamandapio. At that time the latter pueblo was wholly Tarascan; according to Martínez de Lejarza (1824, p. 227), "... *sus habitantes trabajan telares de algodón y lana.*"

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets, [438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

Embroidery and sewing.—In the Sierra villages 531 of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran, 438 Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro. 286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180). [439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus- 294 try was introduced probably in early colonial [177] days.[145] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurío (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.) 294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of 438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[145] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 62.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

294 *trensas*. In practically every Tarascan pueblo women, children, and sometimes men weave
●438 *trensas* in their spare time, while walking to and from market, and while herding sheep. Braids are sold in the main markets, where they are purchased by hat makers. Little wheat straw is now braided, palm leaf being more durable and more easily handled.[147] After they are pressed and straightened with wooden rollers (fashioned like a clothes wringer), the braids are sewed together in spiral form, beginning at the crown. The brim and crown are made separately and sewed together. In Jarácuaro wooden forms are used to block crowns. Most hatters employ a Singer sewing machine, but those of Urapicho, Pamatácuaro, and Zacán sew by hand. In some towns hat making is disappearing, owing largely to factory competition. Pichátaro, formerly an important hat town, now has but four hatters. In 1936 the industry disappeared completely in Tiríndaro.

285 **Tule weaving.**—The indigenous sleeping mat or
438 *petate* (k'uírakua) is found in most of highland Mexico. Also, the fire fan or *soplador* (p'unítatarákua), an indispensable kitchen utensil, is woven of tule. Mats and fire fans are made wherever tule is available—along the shores of shallow lakes, marshy areas, and river banks. Consequently, the villagers living around Lake Pátzcuaro are the chief tule weavers in the present Tarascan area (map 20; pl. 12). In San Andrés 90 percent of the working population make *petates*. Even a few families in the Sierra towns of Pichátaro and Cherán fabricate mats from tule reeds imported from Erongarícuaro. Formerly the towns near the northern march[1] districts were important *petate* producers, but there the industry has greatly declined with the desiccation of wet areas and disappearance of the tule brakes.[148] Tule is likewise being depleted along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. The *petateros* of Puácuaro, Napízaro, and Uricho import reeds from Jarácuaro Island, the local supply having been exhausted years ago.

Tule reeds are cut with the sickle, semidried, and bundled for transport or storage (pl. 8). In

[147] Hats of wheat straw are now made only in Pamatácuaro, Teremedo, and Apo (mestizo).

[148] A few *petates* are still made in Tarascan Turejero, on the border of the former Zacapu marshes; in mestizo Etócuaro (Tangancícuaro Basin); and in Tacátzcuaro (near the Cotija graben lakes). Moreover, the industry is still carried on in some of the Lerma Delta towns east of Lake Chapala, and in a few villages around Lake Cuitzeo.

[1] [probably should read 'marsh'.—Analyst]

285 438 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'uírakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[149] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 438 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton [283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

294 [171] **Capote making.**—In many parts of indigenous Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made [438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are imported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de [439] Rosales.[150] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 67a]

[149] Other types: The k'amérika (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the čimánitepémuela (1 m.×30 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; ióstičan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranchos along the shore of the Tariu-k'éri Peninsula.

[150] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

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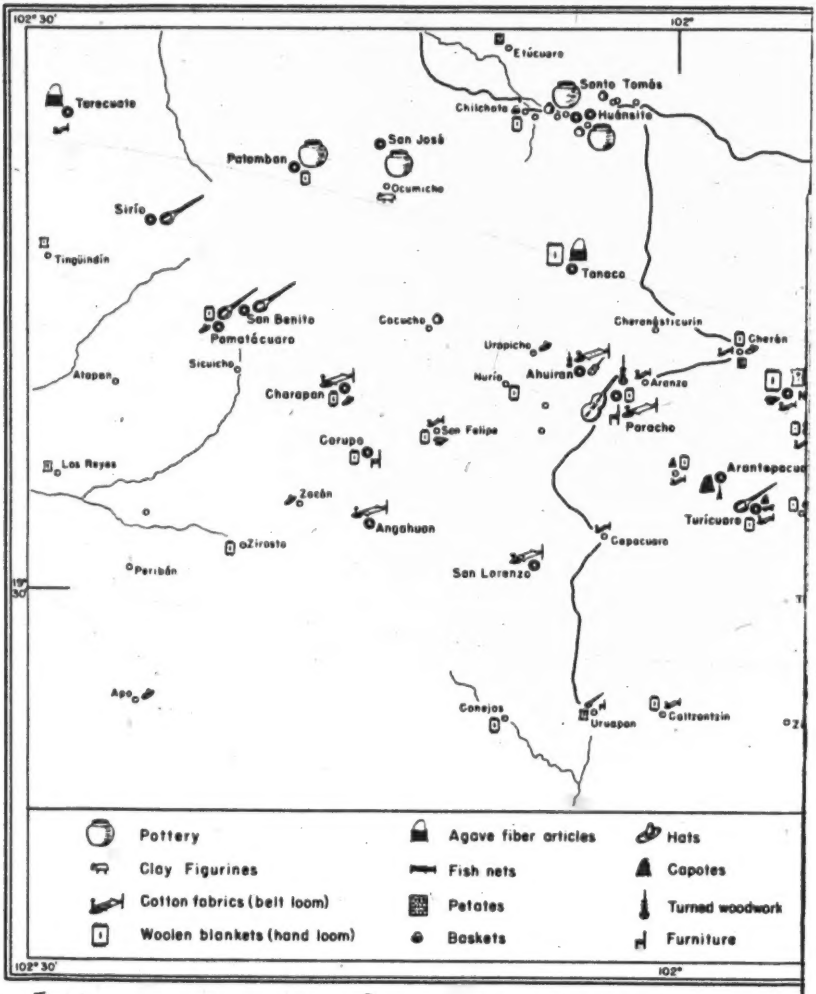

[Facing page 66; section A]

MAP 20.—Distribution of handicrafts in the m

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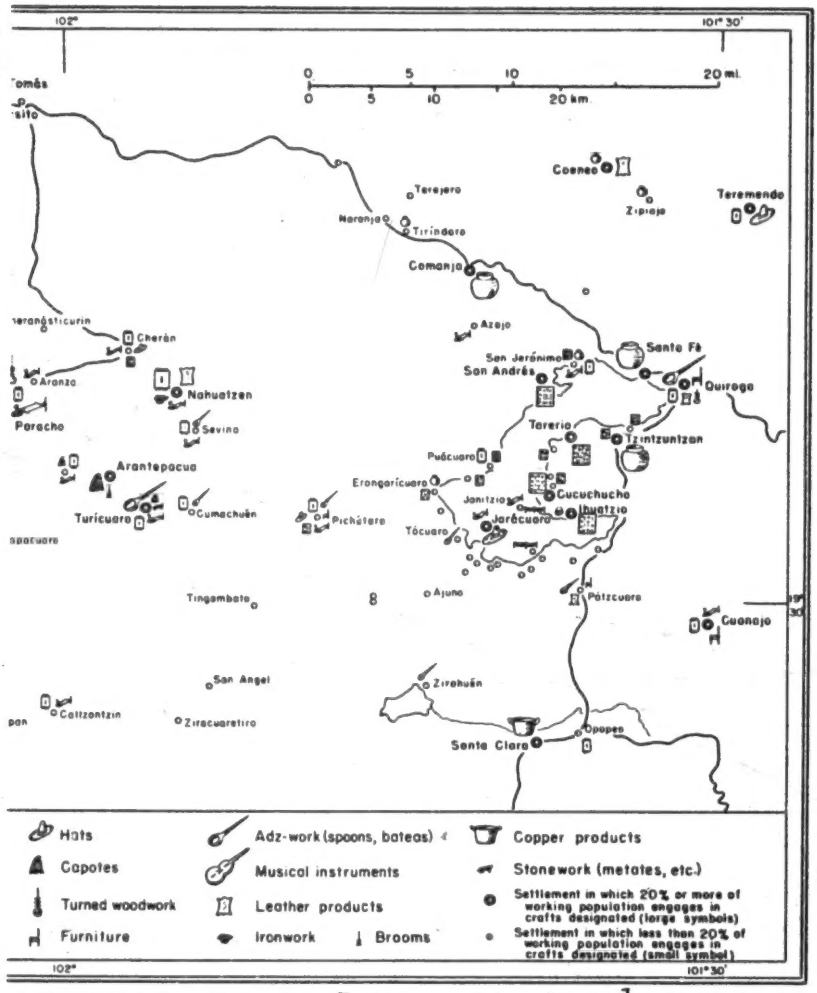

ion of handicrafts in the modern Tarascan area. [Facing page 66; section B]

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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 67-b]

322 industry more than 150 years old; in only five of the present towns do more than 25 percent of the working population engage in woodwork.

Adz work.—This is the simplest of the wood techniques now practiced by Tarascans (and by other Indian groups, as well as by mestizos in many parts of Mexico). Before the Conquest the Indians shaped boats from a single log and carved delicate figures on throwing sticks and tom-toms, possibly using obsidian and copper cutting tools. With the introduction of the [177] European steel adz and gouge early in the 16th century, native wood carving was greatly facilitated. One of the earliest European objects which the Tarascans carved with the adz was the saddle frame (*fuste*), an industry which disappeared 100 years ago. Today wooden spoons 322 and bowls (*bateas*) of softwoods are the principal ● 438 adz and gouge products, Pamatácuaro and its offspring settlements Sirío and San Benito being the chief producers.[161] These objects are also made in the Tarascan villages of Turícuaro, Cumachuén, Pichátaro, Zirosto (formerly important) and Sevina (where the industry was introduced a few years ago), and in the mestizo towns of Pátzcuaro, Tócuaro, Zirahuén, Uruapan, Quiroga. Spoons and bowls are made from softwoods: *jaboncillo* (šápu), *palo blano* (urápit-úku), and *aile* (pámu). Occasionally *bateas* are made of pine. Tools include the common adz and vari- [412] ously shaped gouges, which are driven with a wooden mallet (pl. 13). The products of Pamatácuaro and surrounding settlements are marketed in all parts of Michoacán and sometimes are taken as far as Guadalajara and Mexico City.

Lathe work.—This represents one of the most characteristic forms of modern Tarascan woodcraft, Paracho being the center of the *torneros*. Formerly the simple bow lathe was employed to make bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters (*molinillos*), chessmen, toys (tops, yoyos), darning eggs, etc. (See Beals, 1946, p. 43, for illustration of bow lathe.) Since 1942, however, when a power line was constructed near the town, most of the bows have been replaced by electrically powered lathes. About six *torneros* in Paracho and five in neighboring Ahuíran still use the bow. Formerly turned objects, chiefly rosaries, choco-

[161] It is doubtful that wooden *bateas* were carved before the Spanish Conquest. Gourds of *Crescentia alata* probably functioned for the modern *bateas*. The "*bateas*" employed in early Spanish gold placering in the *tierra caliente* were likely fashioned from *Crescentia* gourds.

322 [438] late beaters, and *malacates*, were made in Charapan and Cocucho, but this activity has now disappeared. Most of the turned objects are shaped from madroño wood (panáŋksa). Carving is done by pressing variously shaped steel chisels and gouges against the whirling block of wood. [531] In Paracho, designs are painted and burned into objects, and the surface lacquered or varnished. [177] The wheel lathe, an early Spanish introduction, is used by most cabinetmakers in the area for turning wood.

Cabinet work.—As mentioned earlier, cabinet work was rapidly adopted by Tarascan craftsmen in the early colonial period. In the 17th and 18th centuries inventories of miners' and merchants' household goods in west-central and northern Mexico rarely fail to mention chairs, tables, boxes "de Mechoacán." The majority of present Tarascan towns has at least one cabinetmaker who partially satisfies local demand for furniture. In [438] Paracho, Corupo, and Cuanajo—the Tarascan furniture centers—carpenters make chairs, tables, bed frames. Cuanajo is famed for its wooden chests, which are marketed in all parts of Michoacán. Most furniture is made from pine wood with simple tools (saw, mallet, plane, chisel, gouge). As mentioned above, chair and table legs are turned on the wheel lathe (fig. 6). The more common jointing techniques used include mor-

322 ticing and tenoning, housing, and dovetailing. Some pieces are joined with wooden pegs; metallic nails and screws are never employed.

Musical instruments.—The most sophisticated
322 of Tarascan woodwork is the manufacture of
534 stringed instruments in Paracho. This pueblo has been the guitar town of Mexico since colonial
[438] times. In 1940 Paracho claimed 49 guitar makers and three individuals who made violins (including base viols). The art has spread to neighboring Ahuíran, where three men made violins in 1946. Local woods—*firímu*, *aile*, and *palo blanco*—are used for the top and base of the guitars; for sides and handles and inlaid designs walnut and cedar are imported from Mexico. Some *guitarreros* utilize local pine and fir for the tops of violins and base viols. The wood is cut with a small saw and planed to desired thinness. The top and base are cut from a pattern; the side bands are soaked and bent into place, being glued to the top and bottom pieces and held in place with braces. Strings and metal parts are assembled, and the instrument is varnished and waxed, ready for the ultimate consumer. Most *guitarreros* work on a
[439] contract basis for Mexico City or Guadalajara buyers, and many Tarascans have moved their trade to the larger towns, mainly Mexico City, where their products bring higher prices.

The age of the Paracho guitar work is not known.
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69a--ANALYST]

322 It is first mentioned as an established industry in the report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344), indicating that it had been introduced for some time.

LACQUER WORK

386 Modern lacquerwork in Michoacán is closely associated with wood carved with the adz and
322 lathe. Before the Spanish Conquest various gourds (*Lagenaria*, *Cucurbita*, and *Crescentia*) were lacquered with a varnish made from the insect *axin* (*Coccus axin*) and *chía* (*Salvia* sp.) This industry probably centered in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins (Brand, 1944, p. 60) and was extended into the towns near the southern edge of the Sierra, e. g., Peribán and Uruapan. After the introduction of Spanish adz work during the colonial period, lacquer was applied to wooden *bateas* in Peribán, Zirosto, Zacán, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. *Bateas* were painted, but not lacquered, in Cucupao (Quiroga) and Santa Fé de la Laguna. Today few Tarascans practice the art, the famous *bateas* of Uruapan being lacquered by mestizos. Some of the turned vases and bowls of Paracho are finished with tung oil and synthetic lacquer purchased in mestizo markets.

LEATHERCRAFT

282 Probably one of the first native Tarascan crafts stimulated and expanded by the early Spaniards was leatherwork. With the introduction of cattle, Tarascan tanners were able to multiply leather production, which formerly had been based on deerskin, to meet the heavy Spanish demand for saddles, halters, shoes (the famous "*zapatos de baqueta de mechoacán*").[132] Tanning was done with local oak bark, as it is today (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13). During the colonial period leather-
282 crafts were centered in the northern Tarascan
438 towns near the pastures and hide supply, and in a few pueblos of the Sierra. The latter included Cherán, Cheranátzicurin, Ocumicho, and Nahuatzen, which was one of the largest tanning centers

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[132] Fray Toribio de Motolinia's statement of 1540 on the Tarascan leather industry is revealing: "*Han deprendido a curir curembaro . . . son buenos zapateros, que hacen zapatos y sirrillas* [slippers], *borceguíes* [high shoes], *pantuflos, chapines* [wooden shoes with leather straps] *de mugeres; . . . este oficio comenzó en Michoacán, porque allí se curten los buenos cueros de venados. Hacen todo lo que es menester para una silla pinsle hasta y fuste, curaza y sobrecuraza . . .*" (Motolinia, 1903, p. 133). According to the Relación de Michoacán (p. 16) "*cotaras de cuero,*" or leather sandals, were made for the caltzontzin in pre-Conquest times.

282 in the Tarascan area.[153] By the latter part of the
438 19th century leathercrafts began to decline, and today within the Tarascan area only Nahuatzen (largely mestizo) continues to tan hides and make saddles and other riding equipment.[154] Some Tarascan towns now boast of one or two *zapateros* who make huaraches of imported leather for local consumption. The principal huarache-making centers are now the surrounding mestizo towns: Coeneo, Zacapu, Tinguindín, Los Reyes, Uruapan, Ario de Rosales.

METALCRAFT

325 **Copper work.**—The Tarascans were probably the foremost metallurgists in pre-Columbian Mexico. They worked gold, silver, and copper. The precious metals were formed into ornaments and disks, which the *caltzontzin* stored on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro; useful objects, such as axes, *coas*, and spearheads, were made of copper (Relación de Michoacán, pp. 104–109, 122–123). Although definite archeological evi-
325 dence is not yet at hand, it is probable that the
172 Tarascans purified native copper and extracted metal from simple oxide ores by smelting (Hendrichs, 1940, p. 327).[155] From cursory inspection of copper artifacts extant in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia, it appears that Tarascans cast copper objects (axheads) in stone molds. After casting, the axes seem to have been further shaped and possibly hardened by hammering.[156] Accidental, rather than deliberate, alloying with tin and zinc probably occurred.

325 The Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins contained
316 the ancient copper mines and metallurgical sites.
172 Hendrichs (1940, 1945–46) has described several probable ancient copper mines sites in both the

[153] AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13; Zavala and Castello, 1939–48, vol. 7, pp. 361–362; AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 178–179. The present northern Tarascan towns of Zipiajo, Azajo, Companja, Tetejero, Tirindaro, Naranja, and Teremendo were all producers of shoes and saddles in the latter part of the 18th and in the 19th century.

[154] Beals (1946, p. 44) states that in 1940 one person from Aranza was tanning hides in Cherán. The old men of Ocumicho remember the manufacture of the black "*zapatos de sequatas*" in their town during the last century. These were sold throughout the Sierra as well as in surrounding mestizo towns.

[155] The Lienzo de Jucutacato, a 18th-century representation of the migration of a people from the Gulf of Mexico into the Tarascan country (where they learned metallurgy) clearly depicts smelting of ore or metal (probably copper) apparently with the aid of charcoal and forced air draft (blowpipes) at the ancient copper center of Jicalán (Jicalán Vieja), 29 km. south of Uruapan.

[156] Microanalysis of Tarascan copperware has not yet been undertaken. Until the results of such analyses are known, it is impossible to make definite statements as to ancient metallurgical methods. Interestingly, the flange shape of the modern Tarascan steel axhead is identical with that of the copper axes found in archeological sites in the Balsas Basin.

325 southern and northern drainages of the lower
172 Balsas (Guerrero). However, the mines of
316 Inguarán in the northern drainage of the lower Balsas in Michoacán were the main source of the metal. Smaller deposits, such as those of Sinagua, were gophered over a wide area. The villages
[438] of La Huacana, Jicalán, Sinagua, and possibly Tzatzio appear to have been the chief pre-Columbian copper refining centers.[157]

325 Needing copper for the manufacture of brass
438 cannon, the Spaniards quickly levied tribute in copper bars on various pueblos in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins. Later, adventurers (in the name of the Crown) took over the native mines
[177] at Inguarán, probably introducing European smelting techniques. The main 16th-century Spanish smelting and refining center was Tzatzio, 10 miles each of Ario. This center was located within pine and oak forests, which afforded raw materials for charcoal, and was near the chief highway from Pátzcuaro to the *tierra caliente*. Copper ore and probably native copper was carried by Indians to Tzatzio from the Inguarán mines, which lay 15 miles to the south (AGN General de Parte, vol. 5, ff. 311–313, 1601). Tzatzio was probably an ancient copper center, and the experienced Tarascan metallurgists were retained by the Spaniards to continue with European methods. Before the end of the 16th century the Spanish Crown had established an *asiento* in the Michoacán copper industry, in order to insure a steady supply of metal for the foundaries in Mexico City.[158] Between 1607 and 1614

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[157] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540, state that the Spaniards exacted tribute of copper bars from La Huacana and Jicalán (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 123, 294). Moreover, every 20 days 20 Indians of Coyuca carried copper bars to Mexico (ibid., p. 80). Coyuca, located near the confluence of the Balsas and Cutzamala Rivers, may have been a collecting point for small lots of copper refined in various pueblos of the middle Balsas drainage. At the end of the 16th century copper was still being mined, refined, and made into tools at Sinagua (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo). Tzatzio was one of the first Spanish copper smelting centers in the area, and was probably an old Tarascan center as well (AGI Aud. de México, leg. 238). In passing, it should be noted that the old La Huacana was located near the Inguarán mines. In 1759 the town was destroyed by the eruption of Jorullo, and a new settlement, the La Huacana seen on modern maps, was established near Tamacuaro 15 miles west of the old site (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 393–394)

[158] Under the *asiento*, or contract, system, control of various industries was farmed out to private individuals. In the case of the copper industry of Michoacán, administrative control was purchased from the Crown for 6-year periods. The administrator was obliged to furnish the Government a stipulated amount of copper annually at a fixed price. In 1599 an official survey was made of the copper industry in Michoacán. The surveyor recommended that owing to forest depletion around Tzatzio and the consequent difficulty in charcoal supply, refining operations should be moved to Ario, near abundant pine forests (AGI Aud. de Mexico, leg. 238). It is doubtful that this move was made, since in 1607 copper was still being refined at Tzatzio (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 166).

325 438 official copper refining operations had shifted 20 miles northward to Santa Clara (Villa Escalante), which has remained the copper center of Michoacán to this day (AGN Minería, vol. 22, exped. 3). In addition to copper bars for the royal artillery, the colonial administrators established the manufacture of caldrons and other copper vessels, which they sold to all parts of New Spain (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 389).[159] Colonial copper production, however, was not limited to the royal refineries at Santa Clara, for as late as 1789 braziers were still being made by native coppersmiths at Jicalán (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 366). Moreover, some copperwork was done in Pátzcuaro throughout the colonial period.[160]

Today the sole survivors of the former Tarascan copper industry are some 30 mestizo coppersmiths in Santa Clara, where the renowned *casos* (caldrons), vases, and bowls are still manufactured. Ore or native copper is no longer refined; instead, scrap copper is purchased, melted down, and cast in earthen molds. Sixteenth-century hand bellows are still used to force an air draft; charcoal is employed for fuel. The cast vessel is finished and hardened by alternate annealing and hammering.

Ironworking.—With its concomitant tools (bellows, hammers, anvils, tongs, etc.), ironworking was introduced into Tarascan economy early in [177] the 16th century. Curiously, one Sierra village, San Felipe de los Herreros, became the foremost ironworking center of Michoacán during the colonial period and the early 19th century. In 1644 bridle bits, spurs, locks and keys were fashioned and marketed in surrounding Spanish and mestizo towns (Basalenque, 1886, vol. 1, p. 467). As late as 1851, 68 families (practically the entire town) were professional smiths, supplying the countryside with plow tips, hoe blades, axheads, woodworking tools, etc. In 1946 three

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[159] During the 17th century Tarascans from all parts of Michoacán were forced to work in the Inguarán mines and the *fundiciones* at Santa Clara. Most of the *fundidores* came from the *tierra caliente* and from the *tierra fría* towns of Zirosto and Pátzcuaro (Zavala and Castillo, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 169; vol. 7, p. 240). In 1789 there were 8 copper refineries at Santa Clara, each operated by 30 to 40 men (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 389).

[160] The Relación de Pátzcuaro of 1581 (p. 47) mentions "*herreros y calderos.*" Basalenque (1886, vol. 1, p. 451), writing in 1644, states that copper bells were made in Pátzcuaro. As late as 1862 (Romero (1862, p. 7) writes of Pátzcuaro coppersmiths, who were refining ore from Inguarán and Churumuco. Several new copper deposits in Michoacan were exploited during the last quarter of the 18th century, e. g., the mines of Apupato, near the old site of Urecho (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 388) and those of Chirangangueo, near Tuzantla, south of Zitácuaro (AGN Minería, vol. 62, exped. 1; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 92).

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's *"planchas de hierro"* were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

324 Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauáni), *manos* (pojékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andésite (ťakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 441 The structure of trade among the Tarascans is not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made metates. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly baiser).

438
441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

443 **The market (uašájpikuaru, or "the place where people sit").**—Sunday is the most important
439 market day for the Tarascans.[182] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[183] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[184] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text Continues top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] [182] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[183] Formerly Peribán was one of the largest *tierra caliente*—*tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fiesta markets are still held in Peribán however.

[494] [184] Within the last 8 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden busses or taxis to market. Since 1943 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Eiroeto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

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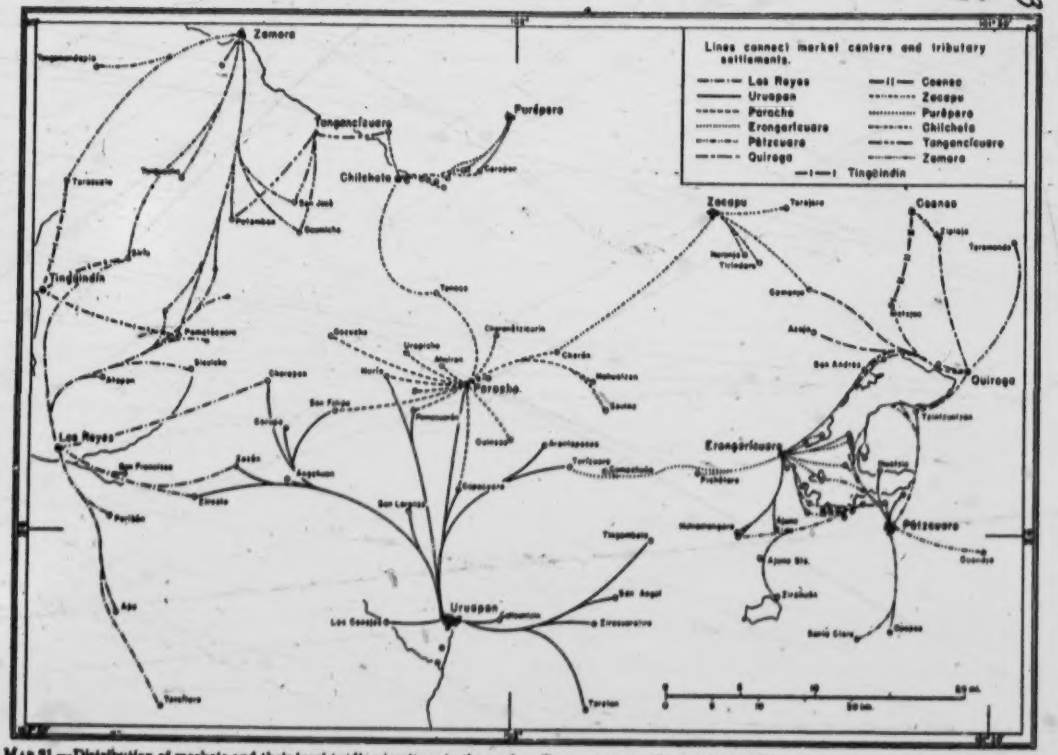
[P. 72]



MAP 21.—Distribution of markets and their local trading territory in the modern Tarascan area. Black circles and town outlines represent markets. Many non-Tarascan towns tributary to the main markets are not indicated.

443 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practically every village lively trading accompanies the
443 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
438 some instances such markets are large enough to
796 be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[166]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongarícuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
[651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[166] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Purhán, Zacapu, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Purhán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[167] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[168] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking [n7] storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanicization of the native population.[169]

The professional traders.—The *huacalero* (in-
443 spikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaɹakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large
443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many
439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

[438] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and México. Regional
[443] handicrafts were represented as follows:

Article:	Origin	Vendors (number)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
Blankets	Jiquilpan	1 stall.
Reboses	Paracho	1 stall.
Women's belts	Nahuatzen	1 stall.
Straw hats	Apo	1 stall.
Agave rope	Tarecuato	2 stalls.
Pottery	Patamban	12 stalls.
Pottery	Santa Fé	1 stall.
Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Peribán	1 stall.

[167] Chevin, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[168] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[609] [169] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the *juzgado*, or town hall.

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

Although they do not use the large *huacal*,
443 many women of the Sierra devote most of their
438 time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite
492 of inroads of motor transportation, still account
443 for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into
[177] use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacan, Ziristo, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ayate*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

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000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and [361] Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of 133 361 463 438 the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

178 179 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright 000 red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German [114] scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable [172] sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early [131] date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

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182
The Town's ? ^ 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
538

The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

? ^ [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

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[End Plate 2]

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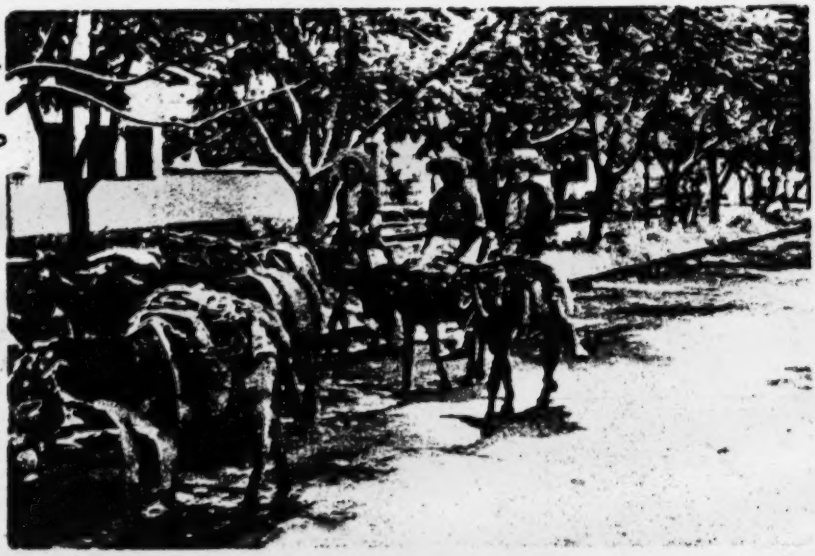

Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[176] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

[p119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length, called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
804 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily
438 in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*, or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes 6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are sold in Zamora and are sometimes called Zamorana.

Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to
313 6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows: On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled. Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional, the finished product is taken to Uruapan or Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract arrangements. The workers leave town on
● 439 Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in splitting and shaping the ties with the ax. Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor, and the men are paid in time to return home that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold
322 in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small wooden objects for which Paracho is famous. A few people in Cherán also make broom handles.

A considerable amount of charcoal is pro-
314 duced on the more distant lands of Cherán. Several men in town make their living entirely from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners usually spend from Monday until Friday in the woods, and return home over the week end. Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers, the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has been true of Cherán in the past, but. for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. [462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in [407] 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Tarataro, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

Beans.—The soil of Cherán is said not to be 244 good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

244 brownish, and various spotted beans with much variation in size and shape were observed, and, in many cases, were named by informants. Until reports are received from botanists, the details of variation seem of little interest. All seem to be of climbing types.

Some people plant a few beans between the corn rows, usually in the garden. Mixing of corn and bean seed is said not to give good results. Separate planting of beans is rare, if it occurs at all. Beans are threshed by driving burros over the straw, or children may trample out small quantities.

Squashes and pumpkins.—A few pumpkins are grown in gardens for home use. The most common type is a squash known as chilacayote, although it is not grown abundantly.

The chilacayote must be planted 15 to 20 feet apart, for the plant spreads widely. Uusally it is planted in gardens. The fruit is large and green, resembling a watermelon in shape and color. The flesh is white and watery.

251 Some chilacayote is eaten fresh, cooked with
[252] brown sugar. Usually, though, it is cured by leaving it in the sun on roofs or wall tops for 2 or 3 weeks. Sometimes the squashes are coated with ashes mixed with water. This is believed to harden the exterior. After curing, they are stored in the "*troje*" or in the storage loft and saved until spring. Planting time is the traditional season for eating chilacayote, for this is a period when there are almost no fresh fruits or vegetables. The squashes sell
[435] for 25 to 50 centavos.

Broadbeans or habas.—Broadbeans (*Vicia*
244 *faba*), a coarse variety of European vetch, are usually planted in gardens or, more rarely, in the field. They are planted in furrows, like maize, and are cultivated similarly. Broadbeans yield well in Cherán but relatively few are grown, as they are not liked as well as ordinary beans.

Potatoes.—Planting of potatoes began in Cherán only 2 or 3 years ago. Apparently
[439] they do well but only a few are planted as yet, principally for sale in Mexican communities, for they have little place in Tarascan cookery. They are planted in April and harvested in November or December.

Chayote.—The chayote is not grown abundantly. Plants are found only in gardens,

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[p.27b]

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

252 The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

245 *Pears.*—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (ꞓarápiti), and t'ačani (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

245 Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

[10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as quiote; the leaves are called téfkua, the stalk or bud, hámaá. Mestizoized Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part. [194]

245 Pears and other fruit trees are not pruned, cultivated, or fertilized. Fruit to be shipped, especially pears, is picked with a special implement to prevent bruising. Three narrow pieces of shake are cut to a point at one end. They are then tied with string to one end of a long light pole, forming a triangular funnel. The funnel is placed under the fruit and raised, detaching it gently from the tree (fig. 4).

[413]

FIGURE 4.—Pear picker, made of trimmed shakes, cord, and any convenient long pole. The fruit is caught in the opening, lifted until the stem breaks, and then lowered to the ground. Bruised pears will not stand shipment.

Miscellaneous fruits.—A bitter apple, *manzana agria* or *chata*, is grown in Cherán. A larger, sweet apple is grown in Pichátaro, but only four or five trees exist in Cherán.

Three kinds of peaches are grown in Cherán: *blanco*, a type with red flesh near the pit (name uncollected), a green peach (prísku), and a yellow peach (melókuta). Relatively few [439] peaches or apples are exported.

Two kinds of cherries, black and white, are grown in Cherán. Both are dried in some [251] quantities and are sometimes sold in the market at Paracho.

A few *zapote blanco* are grown in Cherán, but most of this fruit consumed in Cherán is imported. The same is true of plums.

The *tejocote* is said not to be cultivated, but it sometimes is planted deliberately along field borders and its fruit is used. As, with the exception of pears, this is all the attention ever given to other fruits, it is fair to include the

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245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and [252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos [778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest [632] Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote*." Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

339 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [438] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture men's hats of palm straw braid, although pro- 439 duction does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

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294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

Sewing machine
3 or 4 hat blocks
Wooden paddle for blocking
Smooth stone for blocking
Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
Iron punch for ventilators
Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.—A
286 number of women ornament women's blouses
531 or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
[467] time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

296 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons
463 make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town
[511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards
[177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside
[439] in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

Men's dress.—Influence of the Mestizo world
291 is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside
177 from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

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[p.59a]

438 Recognition of the interrelations of various
439 economic activities in different regions is not a new idea to the Tarascans. The economy of the region tends toward individual and local specialization with a consequent high development of trade. While undoubtedly the majority of the Tarascans are members of self-sufficient family groups so far as the bare necessities of existence are concerned, very large numbers are partly or wholly dependent upon employment, manufactures, or trade. Consequently, the internal economy of a Tarascan village not only is complex by primitive standards but also fits into tribal and extratribal patterns of even greater complexity. Quite apart from relations with the national economy of Mexico, and, through it, with international economy, large numbers of Tarascans have been traders and middlemen on a large scale. Not only have they carried local products from Tarascan village to Tarascan village, or outside the Tarascan area; they have bought goods in non-Tarascan areas to sell in other non-Tarascan areas. The study of Cherán economy, then, must be considered an incomplete picture of Tarascan economy just as the study of the economics of a single small town would inadequately describe the economics of the United States.

The following tabulation gives the units of
804 measure used in Cherán.

Cherán units of measure

Dry measure

1 *litro* = 1 liter, or 0.908 quart
1 *medida* = 5 *litros*
1 *fanega* = 20 *medidas*, or 100 *litros*, or 1 *hectalitro*

Weight[1]

1 *libra* = 1 pound
1 kilo = 2.2 libras
1 *arroba* = 11.5 kilos
1 *carga* = 161 kilos or 14 *arrobas*
1 burro load = ½ *carga* (approx.), 7 or 8 *arrobas*
1 mule load = 1 *carga* (approx.), 14 to 18 *arrobas*

Capacity

1 cuartillo = 1 pint or ½ liter
1 *litro* = 1 quart (approx.) or 1 liter
1 *decalitro* = 10 litros

Square measure

1 *hectarea* (hectare) = a piece of land about 10,000 sq. paces or 10,000 sq. m.

[1] The beam balance is widely used for determining weight.

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[p.596]

Cubic measure (used in masonry)

804 1 *barra* = 1 yd. × 1 yd. × 16 in.
1 *metro* = 1 m. × 1 m. × 50 cm.

PRODUCTION

Production in Cherán depends more directly
433 upon the land than it does in most other Tarascan villages. Although the land ultimately is
439 the source of all Tarascan raw materials, some industries require relatively few of such materials. In some cases—for example, the straw hat industry—all the raw materials are imported from outside the Tarascan area. Even more numerous are instances where the raw materials are secured from some other Tarascan town.

While Cherán economy is primarily self-sufficient in character, it is less so than are most Indian economies of Mexico. Cherán does supply most of its own basic food and housing needs, but it does not supply its own clothing. Moreover, many foods every Cherán resident desires are not produced locally. Numerous Cherán families also depend on wages more than upon their own direct exploitation of the land or upon industry. Finally, Cherán produces many goods for export, although to a far less degree than neighboring Paracho.

LAND

Tarascan land is of three main types: farm,
423 forest, and residential. To these might be added public roads, water courses, and mineral deposits. The latter are relatively unimportant. Public roads and trails of course serve communications and do not enter directly into production. Water courses are also mainly in the public domain. Virtually their only use is to supply drinking water for man and beast and for washing purposes. Public lands also supply the small requirements of sand, clay, and building stone.

All permanent farm lands are privately owned. The only exceptions are occasional temporary fields cleared from the forest on lands too steep for cultivation for more than a few years. On the farm lands the major products are white or yellow maize and wheat. Beans, squash, fruits, oats, and barley are produced only in small quantities.

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243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

294 433 434 Some persons make and sell finished garments. Men's trousers or blouses require about 2½ meters of material, at an average cost of about 30 centavos a meter. One woman specializes in children's garments. She claims to make 3 to 4 dozen children's garments a [435] week, selling them at 80 centavos to $2.50 apiece (including materials). Her profits vary. A child's rayon dress requiring $1.50 worth of material she sold for $1.75, while for a cotton dress requiring $0.40 worth of material she charged $0.80.

All fitted or tailored garments, which are growing in [439] popularity, are imported. A widely heard comment was that anyone in Cherán who could make and fit garments, especially men's shirts, would make great profits.

MINOR ACTIVITIES

433 434 [394] *Candlemaking:*

Cost of wax (per kilo)	
Sales of candles from 1 kilo of wax	$2.25–$2.50
Possible profit (excluding labor and equipment)	$0.50–$1.00

[283] *Rope making (horsehair):*

Horsehair $0.50 per kilo	$0.37½
Labor	1 day
Sale price	$1.50
Gross profit per day	$1.12½

Comment: Only one man was found who made ropes. No data were secured on agave fiber ropes made by the same man, nor on the time taken in marketing and securing raw materials. As all the equipment is homemade and very little capital is needed, the gross profit probably is close to net profit except for the factors mentioned.

295 433 434 *Shoemaking:*

Equipment:	
Sewing machine	$55.00
Lasts	?
Knives	?
Labor:	
1 cheap pair of shoes per day is produced by a shoemaker and 2 unpaid apprentices	
[435] Value of product (per pair)	$3.00–7.00
Estimated gross income:	
Per day	1.50
Per pair of shoes	1.50–3.50

Comment: No clear picture of the economics of this industry was secured. The selection and purchase of hides involves knowledge of tanning, size, and quality of the hide. Guarache makers apparently earn as little as 20 centavos a day, but there are no full-time professionals in town. All local manufacturers make guaraches to order and in claiming they make only one pair a day, they probably mean they do not attempt to make more than one pair a day.

281 435 434 *Tanning:*

Charge per cowhide	$5.00–$10.00
Charge per sheepskin	.50
Average daily return	1.25

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

389 Materials and prices:

	Per kilo
Nitrate	$1.70
Chlorate	5.00
Sulfur	.80
Fiber string	1.00
Shakes, cane, etc.	Nominal

433
434

(Shakes are $5 a bundle of 400, but the number used is small; 3 or 4 per dozen *cohetes*, for example.)

Comment: Cohetes are made to order and sell at $3.00 to $4.00 per dozen. *Castillos* or set pieces are done on contract. Gross income from this source was at least $400 in 1940. Between times *cohetes* were made fairly steadily. Probably the fireworks maker's income is above average.

DISTRIBUTION

439 The problem of distribution affects primarily those goods which are exported from Cherán and those things which are imported. Only a small fraction of the materials produced locally are sold locally; in the main each family produces the local products it consumes and sells its surplus for export.

The export goods of Cherán consist almost wholly of forest products and farm products. The first are usually sold on contract or are transported by the producer to market. Railroad ties, for example, are always cut on contract. Charcoal is mostly sold to dealers from Zacapu and is delivered to the nearest spot where it can be picked up by trucks. However, there is some small local sale, mostly for operation of producer gas generators for *nixtamal* mills, and a little is carried on burros to such a town as Uruapan. Similarly, planks and beams are mainly sold, either to dealers who pick them up in trucks for export or locally on contract to someone building a house. In towns close to Uruapan, Zamora, or other centers, much of the sale of such products as charcoal, planks, and beams is direct, the maker carrying the goods to town on market day.

The major exception to the marketing methods for forest products described above is tejamanil, or shakes. For the local market, the shake maker usually works on order. For the export market he usually takes his product on burros to some nearby Mestizo town. These expeditions may be combined with other trading operations. Thus, shakes may be taken to Turetan via Nahuatzen, Tingambato, and Ziracuaretiro, a full-day trip with burros from 5

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

439 a. m. to 8 or 9 p. m. As Turetan is considered the source of the best bananas in the region, a return load of bananas frequently is purchased. Tejamanil may also be taken to Uruapan, Zamora, or Zacapu.

Marketing of farm produce follows several patterns. Bulk crops, such as maize and wheat, are today sold mainly to dealers who come to town with trucks to carry off their purchases. Maize and wheat are sold as far away as Morelia. While large farmers may sell quantities directly to such dealers, the storekeepers also play a considerable part by their purchases of small quantities of corn or wheat. Most of the purchases in this case are of one or two *almuds* at a time when the family happens to need a few centavos. Nevertheless, some wheat is carried to the mills by the owner on burro back, and corn may be taken to one of the larger markets. Individual small-scale buyers also occasionally visit the town, mainly to purchase eggs, chickens, or even small pigs. Today they arrive by bus, as a rule, and put in the day going from house to house, generally taking their purchases to Uruapan for sale.

Some local vegetables and fruit are also taken for sale to Paracho or, more rarely, to Uruapan. Bread, atole, or tamales may also be carried to market by the women. The most important fruit export, pears, is often carried considerable distances into Colima or into Guerrero. Sometimes the owner will carry his own pears, but more frequently a regular trader or *viajero* will buy the fruit. Other exported fruits include tejecote, cherries, apples, and quinces.

Another aspect of distribution, naturally, is concerned with the supplying of imported goods to the inhabitants of Cherán. Practically all manufactured goods used in the village are imported. This applies not only to machine products but to household industries as well, for the specialists of Cherán in no field supply all the local demand. Three principal agencies of distribution exist: First are the stores, specializing primarily in machine products; second, are the local markets, although for everything but foodstuffs the principal occasions are when fiestas occur; third, are the *arrieros* or *viajeros*, the traveling traders of Cherán who bring back products from as far away as the Balsas Basin in Guer-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.76a]

439 rero or even from the Pacific Ocean. Even men who are not regular traders will go on local market. Finally, it should be noted that individuals often visit markets, especially those in Paracho or during fiestas at nearby towns, and make purchases of needed goods. Especially since the highway has brought bus service to the town, for important purchases a man may even go to Uruapan. It is not uncommon for well-to-do men, for example, to have garments made to order by the tailors in Uruapan.

[494]

It is impossible to compile from present data a complete list of the products imported into Cherán. The list extends from chile and beans to horses and sewing machines. Many articles are available only on special occasions. For example, the almost universally used type of water jar in Cherán is made only in Patamban, and is offered for sale only on the occasion of the fiesta of the patron saint in October. Householders must anticipate their yearly needs of these fragile (but quite long-lived) articles at this time; otherwise they are forced to attend a fiesta in some other town and pick up a different plain style of jar made in Uruapan or La Cañada.

Nearly all goods sold in the stores are imported (except occasional local products such as clothing). A considerable list of these goods is given in the discussion of price (p. 88). Tarascan products imported include fish and tules from the Lake area; hat braid of palm straw, chairs, tables, beds, and various wooden objects from Paracho; pottery from Santa Fe, Quiroga, Patamban, La Cañada, and the "hot country," or *tierra caliente* (the last is non-Tarascan); axes from Tingambato; knives, machetes, plow points, and jewelry from Nahuatzen; oils, garlic, spices, and vegetables from Zacapu and the Lake region; *rebozos* and cloth from Paracho, Nahuatzen, and elsewhere; pigs from La Cañada; beans from the Lake region; chiles from various places; and a variety of fruits. The latter include bananas, coconuts (from non-Tarascan sources), sweet and sour lemons, oranges, guavas, mameys, plums, mangoes, watermelons, cantaloups, avocados, zapotes of all sorts, and cherimoyas.

438

439 From non-Tarascan sources, but still outside the more conventional commercial channels, are

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.766]

439 to be mentioned pottery from Guanajuato (and even from Oaxaca), dried meat from *tierra caliente*, cattle, and horses. Machinery and tools made in industrial establishments include axes, saws, hoes, hatchets, plow points, engines (for *nixtamal* mills), sewing machines, flat irons, and, quite rarely, radios, phonographs, typewriters, and trucks. The functioning of the principal distributive agencies will now be examined in some detail.

TRADERS

441 A fair number of men in Cherán who engage in trade are known as *arrieros* or *viajeros*.
439 Whether there is any distinction between the two is uncertain. The impression received—and it is no more than an impression—is that originally the *arrieros* traveled to distant places outside of Tarascan territory, while the *viajeros* traded among the local villages. At present the two terms seem to be used as synonyms.

In the town voting register a number of men are listed as *arrieros*. Nevertheless, so far as could be learned, none of them dedicates all his time to trade. At the same time, there were numerous other men listed as farmers or laborers, yet who make fairly regular trading trips. The main distinction seems to be that a man listed as an *arriero* ordinarily makes about three long trips a year, while other men may make only one. Some men who make fairly regular short trips are not listed as traders. For example, one man who carries palm leaves regularly to the Paracho market is not included.

The main season for trading is from late fall until June, that is, the dry season. The principal routes followed for long trips are to Guerrero, Coalcomán, and Colima. A good many shorter trips may be taken to local fiestas, especially the great fiesta and market at San Juan Parangaricutiro. In addition, some men go to Guadalajara and Celaya for goods to carry to Guerrero. Finally, a long trip usually involves a number of short local trips around Cherán, either to purchase goods for transport to the *tierra caliente* or to dispose of merchandise brought back.

[462] The *arrieros* are all men, with a single exception (reported but not seen). Wives, however, frequently accompany their husbands. Sickness is the greatest hazard. Women are

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[827] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[164] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; how-
[674] ever, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products ("*tornillo*") from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

439 sold locally (usually a minor part) or taken to
441 the weekly Paracho market or to fiestas in nearby towns. Often goods are kept some weeks if there is a prospect of a scarcity developing, or an important fiesta is scheduled.

The majority of the long trips are to Guerrero, usually to Petatlán, where the fiesta of Holy Week attracts the greatest number of Cherán traders. The length of the trip taken depends to some extent on the rapidity with which goods are sold; once stocks are exhausted, traders turn back. One trader reported having reached Acapulco on one of his trips.

Some typical trips follow:

441 M. F. goes on Sunday to Paracho, where he
439 awaits his trading partner from another town. Monday the two go to San Francisco and buy
487 sweetpotatoes. Thursday they arrive in Tepic (Colima) and sell the sweetpotatoes. Friday they go to Guajuya (Jalisco) and buy chiles. Monday they return to Tepic and Saturday M. F. reaches Cherán. The trip involves 12 days' traveling and 2 days' resting, buying, and selling.

The schedule in detail is as follows:

Sunday	Paracho
Monday	San Francisco
Tuesday	Periban
Wednesday	Buena Vista
Thursday	Tepic
Friday	Guajuya
Monday	Tepic
Tuesday	Buena Vista
Wednesday	Periban
Thursday	San Francisco
Friday	Paracho
Saturday	Cherán

Some traders go to Colima proper by way of Zaragoza, but details were not obtained. It is 17 days' travel each way.

M. F. also goes to Coalcomán, carrying pottery from La Cañada which he buys in Cherán or Paracho. The route is the same as far as Tepic. Thence he stops at Obregón, Las Parotas, and Coalcomán. The round trip takes 3 weeks, of which 18 days are spent in traveling.

On his trips to Petatlán, Guerrero, M. F. buys wooden toys from Paracho and pottery from Santo Tomas. Starting on a Thursday, he goes to Pichataro. On Friday (market day) he is in Pátzcuaro and buys garlic, oils, and

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.78e]

441 spices (*marjoram, pincente,* etc.) The trip to
439 Petatlán takes a total of 18 days (see itinerary
487 below); San Gerónimo is 5 days farther. A round trip usually takes about 6 weeks.

J. G. also leaves on a Thursday. Leaving his burro at Pátzcuaro, he goes to Quiroga to buy pottery (probably on the bus, as he does not take his burros). Returning to Pátzcuaro, on one trip he bought 500 strings of garlic, 15 liters of oils at $1.50 a liter (salad oil, olive oil, *aceites de razar, malza mantequilla, canaldo, mastral,* and *verbena*), and spices (*pimiente,* rosemary, *mandruje, flor de azalco,* and *manzanilla boraja*), and 2½ dozen wooden spoons of assorted sizes.

At Paso de la Vaca, J. G. began to sell a little, but only enough to buy food (he had run out of money). His itinerary is similar to that of M. F., but he made one more stop. On his return he loaded one burro with dried meat and rode the other because he was sick. For the same reason he spent 8 days at one place. The two itineraries follow:

Arrive	*M. F.*	*J. G.*
Pichataro	Thursday	Thursday
Pátzcuaro	Friday	Friday
Santa Clara	Saturday	Saturday
Ario de Rosales	Sunday	Sunday
Alinonzita	Monday	.....
Corral de Piedras		Monday
Cayaco	Tuesday	Tuesday
Guadaloupe	Wednesday	Wednesday
Río de las Balsas	Thursday	Thursday
Paso de las Vacas	Friday	Friday (began to sell)
Limón	Saturday (began to sell)	
Zopilote		Saturday
Tepehuaje	Sunday	Sunday
Colmenaros	Monday	Monday
La Unión	Tuesday	Tuesday
La Onía (close to Pacific from here on)	Wednesday	Wednesday
Pantla	Thursday	Thursday
Puerto Sijuatanejo	Friday	Friday
Cuicuayul		Saturday
San Geronimito	Saturday	Sunday
Petatlán	Sunday	Monday

San Gerónimo is 5 days' traveling beyond Petatlán; Acapulco is 6 days' traveling from San Gerónimo.

Another example is C. S. C. who makes only one trip a year, a visit to Holy Week in Petatlán, Guerrero. He carries woodwork from

441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery (*"posición"*) is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the [439] occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least
621 two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[609] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
182 conservative tendencies within the villages can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
621 sistence economy or a market economy. No
438 doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier
433 it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 30.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 19a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
[534] chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[439] greatly increased in importance. The town
[323] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
175 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic
668 development of the country, a period of unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

324 stone work used as doorjambs, door corners, and bases for the pillars of verandas where these rest on the ground.

TILE AND BRICK

339 Tile and brick are little used. Some tile roofs are seen and tiles are sometimes laid over a shake roof when the latter is worn out. Both tile and [317] brick are made from clay occuring near the town. The dry clay is brought to town on burros. The manufacture is carried on in an old chapel, and firing is in a kiln, both located in the church compound. The quality is poor and the demand is small.

MISCELLANEOUS

353 Adobe-and-masonry walls are commonly fin-
● 439 ished on the inside and, less frequently, on the
[338] outside, with a coat of sand and lime plaster. This material is always imported. So, too, are the pigments used in whitewash or kalsomine finishes employed to decorate plastered walls.

TYPES OF
STRUCTURES

343

FIGURE 3.—Old "*troje*" in Cherán, said to have been built before the Revolution.

343 *la tarima*" (uanájʼukua). The foundation beams
335 are square, from a third to a fourth of a *vara* (about 8 to 10 inches) in cross section, but the crosspiece is thinner by the thickness of the floor boards.

The two longest foundation beams and the

[p. 10 b]

354 The kitchen always has a hearth on the ground, usually made with six stones (parángua), arranged as in figure 15. Infrequently, the hearth or stove is of clay (fig. 16). Space is provided for three fire places, one (fig. 15, *b*) for the *comal* or tortilla baking dish, and two (*a–a*) for cooking pots. This hearth is usually at one side of the structure.
[373] Near the fire a branched stick (čurínǫgu) is set in the ground; on this stick pitch-pine splinters (k'uerámu) are burned for light at night. At the back of the kitchen are one or two shelves,
415 "*tinajera*," (plátu jatákua). On the upper are
352 the old ollas and large vessels. On the bottom are new ollas (pureči), plates (plátu), jars (ɨɛamatarakua), wooden spoons (iozésa), and knives (kučó). Below the shelves on the ground, are the three-legged metates (iauári), *molcajetes* (jiúmatakua), *comales* (eróksa), and large water jugs (k'amúkua), including one set on a fiber ring (uanɛari) containing drinking water. Also on the ground are baskets (ɛakiáta), tortilla baskets ("tascal," kuatása), and gourds (uzáni). Either on the floor or on the shelf may be wooden bowls (batieča), other types of baskets (ɛakiáta kanímu
[439] and šúndi, "*chúndi*"), and fire fans (p'unítatarakua). All the manufactured articles are imported.
352 The metate, when in use, is placed on a plank beside the fire. At night, it is removed and mats
[513] are spread out for sleeping.

[p. 22 b]

4: Wen K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 40-9]

262
252 the above-named foods is the highly colored flour types grown in the house-lot gardens.

Pinole has the widest distribution and is possibly the most ancient of the maize foods in the New World. Among the Tarascans usually yellow maize from the *desmontes* is employed for pinole. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then dry-ground on the metate, piloncillo being mixed in during the grinding process. *Pinole* is used almost exclusively for food on long trips. *Esquite* is prepared also by toasting whole grains of dried sweet or black *elote* corn on the *comal*, but it is not ground.

The preparation of tamales, pozole, atole, and tortillas among the Sierra Tarascans is discussed by Beals (1946, pp. 49–52). In preparing all four types, hard-shelled maize is first soaked and cooked in lime water to soften or remove the hard outer shell that covers each grain. (Beals mentions the use of oak ashes in soaking corn for pozole.) For tamales, atoles, and tortillas the soaked grains are wet-ground on the metate or in power-operated grinding mills (*molinos de nixtamal*). The fact that they form an essential part of fiesta and ritual foods of most Mexican Indians suggests that tamales and atoles may be more ancient than tortillas. The latter are commonplace in each of the two or three daily meals and carry no ritual significance. Moreover, the varieties of both tamales and atoles are numerous. Beals describes 10 atoles habitually made in Cherán; 11 kinds were noted in Sicuicho, only 5 of which were similar to those in Cherán. The varieties of atole are ordinarily distinguished by the addition of some flavoring, such as ground blackberries or herbs.

231 *Animal feed.*—Maize grain is commonly fed to livestock, notably for fattening hogs. Yellow corn, mainly Mountain Yellow, is considered the best for feed, as it has the highest oil content of all Tarascan corns; moreover, apparently the yellow color gene is associated with proper vitamin content for animal growth and fattening.[9]

439 *Sale of maize.*—The Tarascan Sierra is primarily a subsistence area in terms of maize, but when crops are good surplus grain is sold to buyers from Zamora, Tangancícuaro, Uruapan, and Zacapu. The surplus maize districts are

[9] According to Edgar Anderson (personal communication), in Jalisco the Yellow Mountain maize brought down from the highlands sells at a premium in the hog-raising districts south of Guadalajara.

439 located around the Sierra in areas favored by irrigation or rich soils, such as the upper escarpment in the South or the Zacapu Basin in the North. White field maize and yellow field maize comprise the bulk of the export crop. Ekuaru maize is entirely for home consumption and most of the mountain crop is used locally. Accurate statistics on crop production and export are not available for the Tarascan area; export data probably do not exist, since public records of sales are not kept in the villages.

Bean culture.—As an aboriginal cultigen the bean 244 (*frijol*, t'aɢán) is second only to maize in Tarascan agriculture and food habits. Twenty varieties of the kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) are cultivated in modern Tarasca. Although most of these are found in many parts of central Mexico,[68] a few may be peculiar to the Sierra of Michoacán. Among the latter are small cream- or brown-colored beans called *petrona* or uašári in some Sierra villages; another is called karáɣani. The Indians regard such beans as "criollos," or natives to the local countryside, while other varieties, [177] which carry non-Tarascan names, are acknowledged to have been introduced from the outside. Many wild beans are reported to exist in the Sierra, though only one, called uipínju (probably *P. vulgaris*) was described in Pamatácuaro, where it is tolerated along edges of maize fields. It is gathered and eaten, but is little liked.[69]

Besides the kidney bean, the Tarascans cultivate the large-seeded *Phaseolus coccineus* L. (*P. multiflorus* Willd.), which they call kokóɢ (the ayocote or ayocotl of the Nahuatl-speaking people).[70] This bean is rarely grown or used by mestizos and even among the Indians its cultivation is dying out.[71] It is now grown only by the more conservative people, especially in the house-lot gardens where it is planted and tended by women. Kokóɢ, therefore, must be an old cultigen in the area. Having a sweet flavor, it is not as well liked as the newer kidney beans from the outside. In some of the Lake pueblos kokóɢ has

[68] The common central Mexican varieties are: Bayo Grande, Bayo Chico, Mexicano, Colorado, Color de Rosa (Rosa de Castilla), Encerrado, Prieto, Blanco, Huiguerilla, etc.

[69] Unfortunately, a seed specimen of this bean was unobtainable. Another doubtful wild *Phaseolus* is reported from Corupo; called *frijol cimarrón*, it produces a white seed and an enlarged root stalk ("raíz como camote").

[70] The Spanish terms "*patate*" and "*frijole*" are also used in some localities. In Pamatácuaro *P. coccineus* is known as ʃepe.

[71] In many pueblos (Sierra and Lake regions) it was stated that kókoɢ was cultivated many years ago, but since the introduction of better flavored beans from mestizo towns, it was no longer grown.

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by
177 missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent
797 had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit
[242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting
[242] of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly
438 for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *ceruuaa*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chata*, *mariana*, *chata de Serine* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *mareliana* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1769 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 330). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

245 orchard. In such cases trees are closely spaced
438 and present an unkept appearance.

Many Tarascan pueblos in the lower and warmer areas bordering the Sierra specialize in subtropical fruits, and possibly served prehistorically as fruit supply centers for the Sierra towns. Since the development of modern transportation their produce is taken to many parts of Mexico. San Angel Zurumucapio is the avocado center of the Tarascan *tierra templada*,[98] Tingambato the chirimoya town, and the former Tarascan pueblos, Ziricuritiro and Acahuato, produce bananas, mangoes, mamey, citrus, etc. Tarascan Atapan and mestizo Tingüindín supply the western part of the Sierra with citrus, guayaba, and mangoes. As early as 1581 Atapan had become a citrus-growing center, and probably before the Conquest had produced avocados and chirimoyas for Sierra trade. The La Cañada towns have ever been the northern Tarascan fruit center. Today avocados form the main fruit speciality of Acachuén, Ichán-Tacuro, and Carapan; oranges are the chief export of Tanaquillo.[99] With the possible exception of Ihuatzio, which produces large quantities of avocado, there is no specialized fruit town in the Lake area, although the aggregate subtropical fruit production there is of importance in Sierra trade.

Fruits from the *tierra caliente* have long had a
262 special significance among the Sierra Tarascans. Today at least two tropical fruits are eaten especially at religious fiestas, and special effort is made to obtain them for such occasions. Coconuts (kóko) in some Sierra pueblos are rarely eaten except during the Ramos and Easter holidays.
●[439] Formerly in Charapan 2 weeks before Easter a group composed of 15 men and boys from each barrio traveled down to the Tepalcatepec Basin to fetch coconuts for eating and coconut blossoms
[389] for church decorations. The band was ceremoniously seen off with the firing of rockets.[100] Likewise, the large plantain (*plátano macho*) is eaten

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[98] The large avocado trees in the house lots of Zurumucapio completely hide the town. Two types of the fruit are grown, the black and white-skin varieties. Both are irrigated, and the fruit is harvested in April and May. Frequently coffee plants are grown under the shade of the avocado.

[99] Other fruits produced in La Cañada: Limes, guayaba, chirimoyas, figs, apricots, juaquiniquiles (ñurén), plums, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, apples, zapote blanco, capulín, a few bananas.

[100] This custom has practically disappeared in the Sierra. Most coconuts and other tropical fruit are now obtained at the Ramos (Palm Sunday) fairs at Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. In the Lake area during Easter festivities churches are often decorated with melons (*sandías*) from the Balsas.

raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

Specialized truck gardening.—This is a more recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans. They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratarákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratarákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 23), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratarákua* is used also at Tarejero, in the basin of Zacapu.

244 addition to the gardens of Lake Pátzcuaro,
312 commercial truck farming is also carried on in La Cañada and in Atapan, but on a smaller scale. There, fields are irrigated by diverting water from streams, a technique probably learned from Europeans.[103]

244 The native chile, *jitomate* (tom-kuaraki), *tomate*, and green beans (*ejotes*) and the Old World onion, garlic, cabbage, and lettuce are the principal products of the commercial gardens. Chile is the most significant of these, in terms of both acreage and market value. The fruit of this plant, a vitamin-rich gastrin, has always been important in the aboriginal diet. Two species of *Capsicum* are cultivated: *C. annuum*, the common herbaceous annual, and *C. fructescens*, the perennial shrub (*chile de árbol*). The latter is cultivated mainly in the house gardens. Both species re-
244 quire a long growing season and abundant water;
438 consequently chile cultivation is absent from the Sierra, but is found in the surrounding well-watered areas. Chile, therefore, has ever been a
[439] trade article between the Sierra and its borderlands.[104] Tarascan Puácuaro, Uricho, Arúcutin, and mestizo Tócuaro and Erongarícuaro are the main chile producers of the Lake. Most of the La Cañada pueblos raise some chile for export into the Sierra, but Etúcuaro, outside the valley, is the largest producer of that general district. All these areas raise *chile verde*, rather than the *chile seco* of the *tierra caliente* and Lake Cuitzeo district.[105] In both the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada areas chile and tomatoes are first planted in the *almáciga*, or hotbed, in December.[106] Replanting in the gardens is done in March, and the vegetables are harvested from June through September.

STOCK RAISING AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

231 Modern Tarascans raise most of the European animal domesticates. Most households own a team of oxen for plowing and one or two burros for hauling wood and carrying produce to market.

[text continues top of P. 49a-Anelis]

[103] In several formerly Tarascan towns in the northern plateau area vegetables are cultivated on a commercial scale. The truck farming around Ziricícuaro, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, was significant during the latter part of the 18th century. Tarascan horticulturists of this pueblo carried vegetable produce as far as the Toluca market (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 265).

[104] The Tarascan name for Chilchota is *tirápu*, which means green chile. The Sierra people have always thought of La Cañada as a producer of chile, as well as other vegetables and fruits.

[105] The chief varieties of *C. annuum* in the Lake district are *ixmirillo* (*verde*), *amarillo*, and *relleno* (*bell chile*). *Chile seco* from the *tierra caliente* reaches the Sierra through the markets at Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes.

[106] The *almácigo* is likely a European introduction, although it was pre-Columbian in the *chinampa* district in the Valley of Mexico.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55-d] Pátzcuaro Sierra

226 another without permission from the authorities of the latter.

252 **Fish preparation.**—*Pescado blanco, trucha,* and akúmaja are usually taken to market fresh, although the latter is sometimes fried on the *comal* before being sold. The tiny k'uerépu and č'arári, however, are invariably sun-dried, the catch being spread on a petate, which is placed near the door of the dwelling where it can be easily watched [439] (pl. 11). Since pre-Conquest days dried č'arári has been one of the main exports of the Tarascan lakes. It was distributed into the *tierra caliente,* the Sierra, and as far east as Toluca.

LUMBERING ACTIVITIES

313 The Tarascans, possibly more than any other aboriginal group of Mexico, have been exploiters of forest products since pre-Columbian times. During the Empire period one of the important officials of the *caltzontzin* at Tzintzuntzan was in charge of "the keepers of the forests," who cut beams and made planks for public, and probably private, use.[126] Not only were large beams and logs used in the construction of temples, but also in the building of forts against Aztec raids. During the colonial period the pine forests on the northern flanks of the Sierra de Ozumatlán were heavily exploited by Tarascan woodmen for beams, planks, and shakes for the Guanajauto and Zacatecas mining districts.[127]

Much of the timber resource of northern Michoacán was depleted by the end of the 18th century. Relatively untouched by colonial exploitation, the pine and fir forests of the Sierra de los Tarascos, although constantly diminishing, have remained the principal source of timber for the indigenous population. There are few contemporary Sierra Tarascan men who cannot handle an ax or lumber saw. When the maize fields do not demand their attention, the family head and his sons are usually in the forest cutting timber or gathering resin. The Sierra Indian is consequently both a farmer and a lumberjack. Some are professional woodsmen, who live in the village but seldom engage in agriculture. Little lumber-

[126] Relacion de Michoacán, p. 17: ". . . *diputado sobre los que guardaban los montes que tenian cargo de cortar vigas y hacer tablas y otra madera de los montes . . .*"

[127] This exploitation began immediately after the Guanajuato mines were opened ca. 1554, and extended into the post-colonial period. After the exhaustion of the local wood supply, Zacatecas began to draw on the northern Michoacán lumber reserves during the first part of the 17th century (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 1, p. 315).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55b] Sierra

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house [439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Wood-cutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[138] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[138] Although in some pueblos (Paracúaro and *rancho*, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 63-b]

323 The manufacture of these two Tarascan pots is
438 slowly dying. In 1946 only 10 women were making pottery in Cocucho, whereas in 1841 it was made in practically every household of the village (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

Today by far the greater amount of Tarascan pottery is made with molds by both men and women.[137] None is manufactured with the potter's wheel. All who use molds have taken
[177] over the European glaze technique and the firing oven. Tarascan mold-made pottery can be differentiated according to finish. The "Patamban" type, for instance, carries a beautiful green glaze, known and admired over most of western Mexico.[138] Green glaze is also used in Santo Tomás and Santa Fé de la Laguna, having been recently introduced into the latter pueblo. Pottery hand-painted with brilliant floral designs on a background of black glaze is a specialty of Santa Fé de la Laguna. This unusual technique was
[177] introduced around 1900, and was readily adopted by the inhabitants, whose former industry was batea painting. As mentioned previously, the inhabitants of Santa Fé de la Laguna began to make pots during the last quarter of the 19th century. Since then their ware has become
● [439] known throughout Mexico, and some is imported by United States curio shops. In 1936 the technique spread to Tiríndaro, when daughters of a Santa Fé potter married into Tiríndaro families. The most common modern household pottery is the Red ware, either glazed or polished, made in Tzintzuntzan, Huánsito, San José, and Patamban. Before being fired the large pieces, such as ollas and *cántaros*, are usually slipped with a red clay solution and then burnished with iron pyrites. A handsomely polished surface, similar to that of the pre-Conquest wares, results after firing. (Such ware is fired only once.) Smaller pieces are often glazed with litharge. Glazed pieces are fired twice, the litharge being applied after the first firing and the glazed surface appearing after the second. Designs are often painted in white (*tierra blanca*) and black (*tierra*
[439] *de hormigón*). Red ware is carried as far as Guadal-

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[137] See Foster (1948) for a detailed description of the mold technique used by the potters of Tzintzuntzan.

[138] To produce the green color, pulverized copper oxide (*cobre quemado*) and yellow flinty quartz (*pederual*) are added to the lead oxide (litharge) solution, which is applied to the pottery before firing. A black glaze is also made by adding a mineral called *tierra de hormigón* and pederual to the litharge.

438
323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and Mexico City.

[439] Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the
[177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous
[177] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

Spinning.—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun
283 raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.)
[286] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

Weaving.—Tarascans weave all agave and
286 cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáratakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

286 found in most parts of indigenous America south of the United States (pl. 11). Customarily, only women operate this loom; however, in Tarecuato agave fiber is woven with it by both men and women, and in Tanaco, exclusively by men. Until the 1880's the most important fabric made with the belt loom was the cotton *manta*, a simple white cloth used for native clothing since pre-Conquest days. The cheap factory-made cottons [177] of Puebla and Veracruz have completely displaced the indigenous *manta*, so that today Tarascans weave women's and men's belts (*fajas*), shawls (*rebozos*), aprons (*delanteras*), tablecloths and napkins (*servilletas*). Widths of cloth ranging from 1½ inches (women's belts) to more than a yard (*rebozos*) can be woven on these looms. Designs are usually woven into the above-named articles, the warp threads being first arranged for large widths on a long stick (šekuárakua) and for the narrow *fajas* on the šekuáni, an arrangement of four to five small sticks placed in the ground. Some of the finest examples of cotton weaving are found in the Sierra pueblos: Paracho (whose women make the Tarascan *"rebozo corriente"*), Ahuíran (women's belts), Angahuan (women's belts, aprons, *rebozos*), Charapan (belts, aprons, tablecloths), San Lorenzo (tablecloths, belts).

In the early colonial period the weaving of agave fiber was apparently widespread in the Sierra (AGN Congregaciones, f. 14), but today it is limited to Tarecuato and Tanaco.[139] In these villages the main agave fiber products are *morrales* (square bag with shoulder straps), *ayates* (coarse piece for wrapping articles to be carried on back), and *costales* (coarsely woven sacks for carrying goods on mules and burros). The fiber of *maguey bruto* 283 (akámba t'arímiti) is used for the finely woven morrales, while that of *maguey del toro* (torakámba) is employed for the coarser *ayates* and *costales*. Leaves of the agave plant are cut and the fiber extracted and carded. After drying, it is spun by (1) rolling fibers on the thigh with the hand, or [286] (2) with the malacate. The fibers are woven on the belt loom in the same fashion as cotton[140] (pl. 11). A piece of the agave fabric is doubled over and sewn on the sides to make the morral, and a shoulder cord is added. Other agave fiber [439] products made in Tarecuato include rope and

[139] Agave fiber products were manufactured in Pátzcuaro during the last century (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

[140] The loom for weaving agave fiber is called xúpatakua in Tarecuato.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 65-a]

283
439 cord; these and the woven articles are marketed in Guanajuato, Jalisco, the *tierra caliente*, and in all parts of the present Tarascan area.

286 Woolen products are woven mainly on the European loom, which was introduced early in the 16th century.[141] During most of the colonial [177] period this loom was used principally in the *obrajes*, or cloth mills established by Spaniards in various parts of Mexico near an abundant supply of wool. Indians first learned European weaving techniques in these mills, the labor for which came from surrounding native pueblos. By 1540 an *obraje*, operated by 26 forced native workers, had been set up in Acámbaro (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 33), and before the close of the century woolen mills existed in Taximaroa and Valladolid (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 225). Moreover, Indians quickly learned to spin wool, for tributes of spun wool were exacted from some pueblos, possibly to supply *obrajes* nearby.[142] It is not clear when the Tarascans began to use the hand loom in their own villages; possibly some looms were set up in the northern towns in the 16th century.[143] A report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) on the Tarascan pueblos of Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra, however, mentions the use only of the native loom. The first indication of a native wool industry in the Tarascan area comes from the Martínez de Lejarza report of 1822, which cites the *obrajeros* of San Juan Parangaricutiro (later the most renowned of the Tarascan blanket-weaving towns) and of several northern mestizo towns.[144] Tarascan wool weaving on a commercial scale may be post-colonial, having little economic basis until the break-down of the large woolen mills at the close of the colonial period. Today woolen blankets [438] (*cobijas*, *serapes*) are made on the European hand loom in 24 Tarascan towns, Nahuatzen and pre-volcano Parangaricutiro being the largest producers.

[141] Strands of wool are sometimes mixed with cotton in making women's belts. Often the warp is of woolen strands, the woof of cotton thread.

[142] For example, ca. 1540 the people of Puruándiro (Michoacán) contributed each week two arrobas of spun wool (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 117).

[143] The Relación de Chilchota (Mus. Nac.) states that some natives in the town made clothes of wool, but the type of loom used is not given. Moreover, according to the Relación de Cuitzeo (Mus. Nac.), the Indians living around the lake "... *hacían lazos a los comerciantes para hacer ropa para vestirse, y sus mujeres la hacían* ..." Again, the type of loom used to weave wool is not given.

[144] The northern towns mentioned: Morelia, Zinapécuaro, Zitácuaro, Taximaroa, Jiquilpan, Huaracháta, La Piedad, Huaniqueo, and Tangamandapio. At that time the latter pueblo was wholly Tarascan; according to Martínez de Lejarza (1824, p. 227), "... *sus habitantes trabajan telares de algodón y lana.*"

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets, [438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

Embroidery and sewing.—In the Sierra villages 531 of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran, 438 Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro. 286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180). [439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus- 294 try was introduced probably in early colonial [177] days.[146] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurío (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.) 294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of 438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[146] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 63.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

285 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat
438 making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'ufrakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[148] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake
438 Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton
[283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

Capote making.—In many parts of indigenous
294 Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to
[171] those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made
[438] by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are im-
[439] ported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[150] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[Text continues top of p. 67a]

[148] Other types: The k'amérika (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the šimánitepéuseka (1 m.×80 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; íóstiřan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranchos along the shore of the Tazío-k'éri Peninsula.

[150] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 67-9]

294 palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are [439] marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an [177] introduced trait.

Broommaking.—This is another minor industry 412 now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. [171] The result is a common broom found in all parts of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the 322 Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the [177] natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[180a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[180a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1880, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in Garcia Library, Univ. of Texas).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 68-b]

322 ticing and tenoning, housing, and dovetailing. Some pieces are joined with wooden pegs; metallic nails and screws are never employed.

Musical instruments.—The most sophisticated
322 of Tarascan woodwork is the manufacture of
534 stringed instruments in Paracho. This pueblo has been the guitar town of Mexico since colonial
[439] times. In 1940 Paracho claimed 49 guitar makers and three individuals who made violins (including base viols). The art has spread to neighboring Ahuíran, where three men made violins in 1946. Local woods—*firímu*, *aile*, and *palo blanco*—are used for the top and base of the guitars; for sides and handles and inlaid designs walnut and cedar are imported from Mexico. Some *guitarreros* utilize local pine and fir for the tops of violins and base viols. The wood is cut with a small saw and planed to desired thinness. The top and base are cut from a pattern; the side bands are soaked and bent into place, being glued to the top and bottom pieces and held in place with braces. Strings and metal parts are assembled, and the instrument is varnished and waxed, ready for the ultimate consumer. Most *guitarreros* work on a
[439] contract basis for Mexico City or Guadalajara buyers, and many Tarascans have moved their trade to the larger towns, mainly Mexico City, where their products bring higher prices.

The age of the Paracho guitar work is not known.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69a--ANALYST]

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's "*planchas de hierro*" were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

324 Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauári), *manos* (poɹékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andesite (*ťakápu* amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 The structure of trade among the Tarascans is 441 not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made metates. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly *hetes*).

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[187] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[188] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking [177] storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanicization of the native population.[189]

The professional traders.—The *huacalero* (in-
443 spikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaiakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large
443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many
● 439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

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[438] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and Mérida. Regional handicrafts were represented as follows:

[443]

Article:	Origin	Vendors (number)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
Blankets	Jiquilpan	1 stall.
Rebozos	Paracho	1 stall.
Women's belts	Nahuatzen	1 stall.
Straw hats	Apo	1 stall.
Ixtle rope	Tarecuato	2 stalls.
Pottery	Patamban	12 stalls.
Pottery	Santa Fé	1 stall.
Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Peribán	1 stall.

[187] Cherán, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[188] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[189] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the *juzgado*, or town hall.

[609]

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

Although they do not use the large *huacal*,
443 many women of the Sierra devote most of their
438 time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite
492 of inroads of motor transportation, still account
443 for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into
[177] use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacan, Ziristo, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ayate*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

443 Like the *huacalero*, the *arriero* in the Tarascan
area has functioned chiefly as a commercial inter-
492 mediary between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra*
439 *fría*. During the colonial period, however, some
mule skinners extended operations into the north-
ern mining districts. Moreover, various mestizo
towns in Tarasca became *arriero* centers—strategic
points along the main routes where mule trains
met, animals were sold and traded, supplies pur-
chased, and merchandise exchanged. Such towns
became residences of many muleteers. A series
of these centers lies within the *tierra caliente* and
includes Apatzingán, Huetamo, and Coyuca.
Another series is located within the *tierra tem-
plada:* Uruapan, Ario, Tacámbaro. Other centers
are found in the *tierra fría:* Cotija, and, formerly,
Parangaricutiro and Jiquilpan. Most of these
towns still function as *arriero* centers, and although
motor transportation is continually replacing the
mule and burro, some of them will continue to
serve as way stations for fuel and repairs and
collecting points for products carried out by
trucks.

Since the construction of motor roads in many
443 parts of Tarasca, former *arrieros* and *huacaleros*
494 have begun to use public busses and semipublic
trucks to transport merchandise. Pottery vendors,
for example, stand for hours along the highway,
hailing through-trucks to take them and their
goods to Guadalajara, Morelia, or Mexico City.
Moreover, heavy sugar and *cascalote* trucks now
operate from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes
into the *tierra caliente*.

The wholesale buyers represent a modern type
442 of merchant, who with the advent of road con-
struction have begun to penetrate into the
Tarascan area. Grain dealers from Morelia,
Zamora, and Uruapan now run their trucks into
the Sierra towns to buy surplus wheat. Again,
many woodworkers in Paracho are on contract
to city wholesalers for turned work and guitars,
which are collected at intervals in trucks or pas-
senger cars.

439 to be mentioned pottery from Guanajuato (and even from Oaxaca), dried meat from *tierra caliente*, cattle, and horses. Machinery and tools made in industrial establishments include axes, saws, hoes, hatchets, plow points, engines (for *nixtamal* mills), sewing machines, flat irons, and, quite rarely, radios, phonographs, typewriters, and trucks. The functioning of the principal distributive agencies will now be examined in some detail.

TRADERS

441 A fair number of men in Cherán who engage in trade are known as *arrieros* or *viajeros*. 439 Whether there is any distinction between the two is uncertain. The impression received—and it is no more than an impression—is that originally the *arrieros* traveled to distant places outside of Tarascan territory, while the *viajeros* traded among the local villages. At present the two terms seem to be used as synonyms.

In the town voting register a number of men are listed as *arrieros*. Nevertheless, so far as could be learned, none of them dedicates all his time to trade. At the same time, there were numerous other men listed as farmers or laborers, yet who make fairly regular trading trips. The main distinction seems to be that a man listed as an *arriero* ordinarily makes about three long trips a year, while other men may make only one. Some men who make fairly regular short trips are not listed as traders. For example, one man who carries palm leaves regularly to the Paracho market is not included.

The main season for trading is from late fall until June, that is, the dry season. The principal routes followed for long trips are to Guerrero, Coalcomán, and Colima. A good many shorter trips may be taken to local fiestas, especially the great fiesta and market at San Juan Parangaricutiro. In addition, some men go to Guadalajara and Celaya for goods to carry to Guerrero. Finally, a long trip usually involves a number of short local trips around Cherán, either to purchase goods for transport to the *tierra caliente* or to dispose of merchandise brought back.

[462] The *arrieros* are all men, with a single exception (reported but not seen). Wives, however, frequently accompany their husbands. Sickness is the greatest hazard. Women are

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Women are
441 439 [827] believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major [641] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

[674] Robbers are also a source of danger; however, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when [497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to [494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products ("*tornillo*") from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.77]

439 sold locally (usually a minor part) or taken to
the weekly Paracho market or to fiestas in
441 nearby towns. Often goods are kept some weeks if there is a prospect of a scarcity developing, or an important fiesta is scheduled.

The majority of the long trips are to Guerrero, usually to Petatlán, where the fiesta of Holy Week attracts the greatest number of Cherán traders. The length of the trip taken depends to some extent on the rapidity with which goods are sold; once stocks are exhausted, traders turn back. One trader reported having reached Acapulco on one of his trips.

Some typical trips follow:

441 M. F. goes on Sunday to Paracho, where he
439 awaits his trading partner from another town. Monday the two go to San Francisco and buy
487 sweetpotatoes. Thursday they arrive in Tepic (Colima) and sell the sweetpotatoes. Friday they go to Guajuya (Jalisco) and buy chiles. Monday they return to Tepic and Saturday M. F. reaches Cherán. The trip involves 12 days' traveling and 2 days' resting, buying, and selling.

The schedule in detail is as follows:

Sunday	Paracho
Monday	San Francisco
Tuesday	Periban
Wednesday	Buena Vista
Thursday	Tepic
Friday	Guajuya
Monday	Tepic
Tuesday	Buena Vista
Wednesday	Periban
Thursday	San Francisco
Friday	Paracho
Saturday	Cherán

Some traders go to Colima proper by way of Zaragoza, but details were not obtained. It is 17 days' travel each way.

M. F. also goes to Coalcomán, carrying pottery from La Cañada which he buys in Cherán or Paracho. The route is the same as far as Tepic. Thence he stops at Obregón, Las Parotas, and Coalcomán. The round trip takes 3 weeks, of which 18 days are spent in traveling.

On his trips to Petatlán, Guerrero, M. F. buys wooden toys from Paracho and pottery from Santo Tomas. Starting on a Thursday, he goes to Pichataro. On Friday (market day) he is in Pátzcuaro and buys garlic, oils, and

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

441 spices (*marjoram, pincente*, etc.) The trip to
439 Petatlán takes a total of 18 days (see itinerary
487 below); San Gerónimo is 5 days farther. A round trip usually takes about 6 weeks.

J. G. also leaves on a Thursday. Leaving his burro at Pátzcuaro, he goes to Quiroga to buy pottery (probably on the bus, as he does not take his burros). Returning to Pátzcuaro, on one trip he bought 500 strings of garlic, 15 liters of oils at $1.50 a liter (salad oil, olive oil, *aceites de razar, malza mantequilla, canaldo, mastral*, and *verbena*), and spices (*pimiente*, rosemary, *mandruje, flor de azalco*, and *manzanilla boraja*), and 2½ dozen wooden spoons of assorted sizes.

At Paso de la Vaca, J. G. began to sell a little, but only enough to buy food (he had run out of money). His itinerary is similar to that of M. F., but he made one more stop. On his return he loaded one burro with dried meat and rode the other because he was sick. For the same reason he spent 8 days at one place. The two itineraries follow:

Arrive	*M. F.*	*J. G.*
Pichataro	Thursday	Thursday
Pátzcuaro	Friday	Friday
Santa Clara	Saturday	Saturday
Ario de Rosales	Sunday	Sunday
Alinonzita	Monday	.....
Corral de Piedras		Monday
Cayaco	Tuesday	Tuesday
Guadaloupe	Wednesday	Wednesday
Río de las Balsas	Thursday	Thursday
Paso de las Vacas	Friday	Friday (began to sell)
Límón	Saturday (began to sell)	
Zopilote		Saturday
Tepehuaje	Sunday	Sunday
Colmenaros	Monday	Monday
La Unión	Tuesday	Tuesday
La Onía (close to Pacific from here on)	Wednesday	Wednesday
Pantla	Thursday	Thursday
Puerto Sijuatanejo	Friday	Friday
Cuicuayul		Saturday
San Geronimito	Saturday	Sunday
Petatlán	Sunday	Monday

San Gerónimo is 5 days' traveling beyond Petatlán; Acapulco is 6 days' traveling from San Gerónimo.

Another example is C. S. C. who makes only one trip a year, a visit to Holy Week in Petatlán, Guerrero. He carries woodwork from

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried meat. He normally travels only a half day.
439 (However, his half day would mean a dawn
487 start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery (*"posición"*) is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 71-a]

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

The former source of metal for the San Felipe [439] smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's "*planchas de hierro*" were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited 324 to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro. [438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauáni), *manos* (pojékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andesite (ťakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca. [256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools, [412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

The structure of trade among the Tarascans is 438 not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of 441 central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made *metates*. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly *bateas*).

438
441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

The market (uašájpikuaru, or "the place where
443 **people sit").**—Sunday is the most important
438 market day for the Tarascans.[163] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[164] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[165] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text Continues Top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] [163] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[164] Formerly Peribán was one of the largest *tierra caliente—tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fiesta markets are still held in Peribán however.

[494] [165] Within the last 8 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden busses or taxis to market. Since 1943 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Ziróstо, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

443 Like the *huacalero*, the *arriero* in the Tarascan
492 area has functioned chiefly as a commercial inter-
439 mediary between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra fría*. During the colonial period, however, some mule skinners extended operations into the northern mining districts. Moreover, various mestizo towns in Tarasca became *arriero* centers—strategic points along the main routes where mule trains met, animals were sold and traded, supplies purchased, and merchandise exchanged. Such towns became residences of many muleteers. A series of these centers lies within the *tierra caliente* and includes Apatzingán, Huetamo, and Coyuca. Another series is located within the *tierra templada:* Uruapan, Ario, Tacámbaro. Other centers are found in the *tierra fría:* Cotija, and, formerly, Parangaricutiro and Jiquilpan. Most of these towns still function as *arriero* centers, and although motor transportation is continually replacing the mule and burro, some of them will continue to serve as way stations for fuel and repairs and collecting points for products carried out by trucks.

443 Since the construction of motor roads in many
494 parts of Tarasca, former *arrieros* and *huacaleros* have begun to use public busses and semipublic trucks to transport merchandise. Pottery vendors, for example, stand for hours along the highway, hailing through-trucks to take them and their goods to Guadalajara, Morelia, or Mexico City. Moreover, heavy sugar and *cascalote* trucks now operate from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes into the *tierra caliente*.

The wholesale buyers represent a modern type
442 of merchant, who with the advent of road construction have begun to penetrate into the Tarascan area. Grain dealers from Morelia, Zamora, and Uruapan now run their trucks into the Sierra towns to buy surplus wheat. Again, many woodworkers in Paracho are on contract to city wholesalers for turned work and guitars, which are collected at intervals in trucks or passenger cars.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These
[438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale
[443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not
[427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each boardful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-
[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at
[435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

494 left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into
556 Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do
494 men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves. Although trucks are not supposed to carry
[661] passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

443 Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos.
[511] It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

443 goods, but may make buying trips in person to Purépero for cloth or to Uruapan for groceries. Some storekeepers make clothing in their spare time or have sewing machines for rent. In addition, storekeepers may add to their income by buying corn, wheat, or eggs in small quantities. It is no uncommon thing in some stores to see a small girl arrive with some wheat tied up in one end of her *rebozo* and perhaps one egg, and bargaining with the storekeeper for some small purchase. It is noteworthy, though, [437] that the transaction is not on a barter basis. First the sale of wheat or eggs to the storekeeper is completed and the money paid over. The seller then indicates what she desires to purchase.[24]

Time did not permit the making of a detailed study of the functioning of Cherán stores. It would be of considerable interest to do so, and if the cooperation of the wholesalers in Uruapan and Purépero could be secured, probably a fairly accurate idea of the movement of goods into the Cherán market would be possible. In the discussion of price some idea of the range of goods carried is given (p. 88).

Although not forming an important item in Cherán trade, it should be observed that women, children, and occasionally elderly men, sell some goods on the streets, usually at a street corner. Perhaps half a dozen corners always have one to three vendors selling such things as cooked squash or sweetpotatoes, fruit, peanuts, and other things which are purchased primarily as *golosinas*, or between-meal snacks. Similar vendors appear in some numbers at harvest time, often out in the country, at which time their stock also includes *čharanda* (sugarcane alcohol and water).

MARKETS

An important mechanism of exchange among the Tarascans is the market. In a great many towns markets are held only on the occasion of a religious fiesta or, if present at other times, are small and relatively unimportant. Taras-

[24] An hour in the store of M. S. is typical. A small girl brought 1 liter of shelled maize, two ears of maize, and one egg for which she received 11 centavos. Several other persons came in, bringing single liters of wheat or corn. One person brought 20 liters of beans (this is unusual as Cherán raises less beans than it consumes). In addition to a number of sales of less than 5 centavos, the following sales at 5 centavos were made (there were none larger): one cake of soap, *criolina*, castor oil, lime.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

443 can economy is also linked with the national economy through the markets. The Sunday market at Uruapan, for example, is an important occasion for the disposal of Tarascan goods and for the purchase of supplies. The Uruapan market, however, is primarily a Mestizo market, and the Indian part in it is minor and far from obvious.

Quite otherwise is the market at Pátzcuaro. Although it is perhaps even more of a Mestizo town than Uruapan, the markets at Pátzcuaro on Fridays and Sundays are predominantly Indian markets. The Pátzcuaro markets are probably the most important agencies of exchange to be found in Tarascan territory. They would well merit intensive study.

The Sunday market in Paracho is the only large, regular market in the Sierra Tarascan area. While numerous Mestizos participate, the bulk of the vendors and almost all the buyers are Tarascans. Although subject to fluctuation in size from week to week, the Paracho market compares favorably at any time with the occasional large markets held in other towns on the occasion of a fiesta.

Cherán does boast of two weekly markets in addition to the infrequent affairs on the occasion of important fiestas. These markets, however, are merely insignificant reflexes of the Paracho market. Traveling salesmen or *viajeros* whose route to Paracho leads through Cherán often set up shop in the Cherán plaza on Saturday afternoon. In the evening or early the next morning they move on to Paracho. If they have not sold out their goods in Paracho, they may stop Monday morning in Cherán for a few hours. The number of vendors and the amount of goods sold, then, are relatively insignificant. Fresh vegetables are the main items, and housewives who do not expect to go to Paracho the following day may stock up for the week.

The Saturday market at Cherán usually gets
366 under way about 1 o'clock in the afternoon.
443 Vendors continue to arrive, however, until as late as 4 o'clock, and the main activity of the market is between 5 o'clock and dusk. The market occupies the street on the south side of the plaza in front of the municipal building. The vendors form two facing lines on opposite sides of the street. Only on unusually busy

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.806]

366 days do the lines extend the full length of the
443 plaza. The Monday morning market is much smaller.

TABLE 3.—*Products sold in the Cherán market, 1940*

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Product	Number of venders selling product on Sept. 7	Product sold on—	
		Nov. 9	October 6 (fiesta)
Agua fresca (sweet water)			×
Anillos (rings)			×
Ajo (garlic)		×	
Aretes (earrings)			×
Atole			×
Ayates (carrying nets)			×
Bateas (wooden bowls)			×
Cacahuates (peanuts)		×	
Cabetes (jellies)			×
Calabaso cocido (cooked squash)			×
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)		×	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	5		×
Canastas (flat baskets)			×
Carne seco (dried meat)			×
Cebollas (onions)	4	×	×
Changungas			×
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayote)		×	
Cherimoya		×	×
Chiles	13	[1]×	×
Chiquihuites (baskets)		×	
Cocos (coconuts)			×
Col (cabbage)		×	
Cucharas (spoons)			×
Cundas (harvest baskets)		×	
Dulces (sweets)		×	×
Dedales (thimbles)			×
Dardenistas		×	
Fajas (sashes)			×
Frijoles (beans)	1	×	×
Guayabas (guavas)			×
Habas cocidas (cooked broadbeans)		×	
Helotes cocidos (cooked green corn)		×	
Higos (figs)			×
Jicamas		×	×
Jitomates (tomatoes)			×
Juguetes (playthings)			×
Leña (firewood)	1		
Lenteja (lentils)	1		
Limas (sweet lemons)	1		×
Loza de Oaxaca (pottery from Oaxaca)			×
Loza (pottery)	2		×
Manos			×
Manzanas (apples)	3	×	×
Mecates (ropes)			×
Morales (bags)			×
Muñecas (dolls)			×
Naranjas (oranges)		×	
Nieve (ice cream)			×
Pan, blanco y moreno (bread, white and dark)		×	×
Pan dulce (sweet bread)			×
Pan de horno (cookies)		×	
Pastura (fodder)		×	
Peras (pears)	2		×
Pescado (fish, several kinds)[2]	3	[3]×	×
Petates (mats)		×	×
Platanos (bananas)		×	×
Pitahuas[3]		×	
Papas (potatoes)	1		
Queso (cheese)	1		×
Rebozos (shawls)			×
Religios (crosses, medals, etc.)			×
Ropa hecho (clothing)			×
Sanhorias (carrots)		×	
Silantro			×
Serapes (blankets)			×
Sombreros (hats)			×
Tascales (baskets for tortillas)		×	
Tela (cloth)			×
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	2	×	×
Tunas (prickly pears)		×	
Velas (candles)			×
Vidrio (glass)			×
Yerbas (herbs)			×
Zapatos (shoes)			×

[1] Black and red chile from Querendaro; green chile, large and small; red chile, large and small; chile pasilla ancha; chile guajillo; chile mirasol; chile verde tirápal.

[2] *Charo* (*kuíkepo*—small, dried, from Pátzcuaro; *turuši*—large, fresh, from Pátzcuaro).

[3] Small, black fruit like green tomato in taste.

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[p.81a]

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On the occasion of a fiesta, the market occupies the entire plaza and overflows onto side streets. The variety and quantity of goods on such occasions exceed that at the regular Paracho market. Table 3 shows this clearly in the market held for October 6, 1940, the fiesta of the patron saint. Only two weekly markets were checked in any detail, as the fluctuations in the market simply reflect those occurring at Paracho the following day. Table 3 gives a list of the articles on sale in Cherán on three different dates, and for September 7 the number of vendors of each article is given.

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TABLE 4.—*Place of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1940*

Origin of vendor[1]	Article	Origin of article
Chapala	Fish	Chapala.
Cherán	Pottery	Huancito.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Pottery	Huancito.
Cherán (4)	Wood	Cherán.
Cherán	Apples	Do.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Cheese	Tierra caliente.
Pátzcuaro	Green chile	Pátzcuaro.
	Onions	
Cherán	Chile	Uricho.
Uricho (2)	Yellow chile	Do.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, chile	Do.
	Tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Uricho	Yellow chile	Uricho.
	Tomatoes	
Pátzcuaro	Onions, cabbage	Pátzcuaro.
Do	Onions, cabbage, tomatoes	Do.
Uricho	Chile, onions, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Pátzcuaro	Potatoes, beans, tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes (purple)	Zipiajo.
Villa Jimenez	Beans	Villa Jimenez.
Zunapario	Chile	Zunapario.
Cherán	Bread, peaches	Cherán.
Caranco	Chile	San Gabriel, Jalisco.
San Francisco	Chile, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Do	Tomatoes	Do.
Cherán	Tomatoes	Cherán (?).
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes	Pandicuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Cherán (?).
Etucuaro	Lentils	Etucuaro.
El Tigre	Chile	El Tigre.
Zacapu	Tomatoes	Zacapu.
Lasalga	Sweetpotatoes	Purépero.
Pandicuaro (2)	do	Zacapu.
Chucandiro	do	Zacapu (San Simon).
San Pedro Caro	Dried fish	Hacienda de la Luz.
Carapan	Lemon	Carapan.
Chapala	Cooked dried fish	Chapala.

[1] Numbers in parentheses indicate number of vendors if more than one.

Tables 4 and 5 show the places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán and at Paracho in September, 1940, and table 6 gives the products and number of vendors at the Paracho market on various dates in 1940.

About 70 to 80 percent of the vendors in the Paracho market on September 1 (table 5) were

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*

Product	Origin of product	Vendor: Place of origin	Vendor: Number from each place	Vendor: Total number selling product
Agua fresca (sweet water)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Aguacates (avocados)	Cañada	(1)	1	1
Anillos (rings)	Patamban	Paracho	1	1
Aretes (earrings)	Nahuatsen	do	1	1
Bagas (burden ropes)	Paracho	do	2	2
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Caldo (broth)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	La Azarea	La Azarea	1	6
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Purépero	Purépero	2	
		Paracho	2	
Cebollas (onions)	Paracho	do	2	2
Cerezas (cherries)	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	2
Cestas (baskets)	Pandicuaro	Zacapu	2	2
Chabacanos (apricots)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	1
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Changungas	Tierra caliente	Uruapan	1	1
Chiles (peppers)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	9
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Pátzcuaro (?)	Pátzcuaro	3	
Col (cabbage)[1]				
Coliflor (cauliflower)[1]				
Dulces (candy)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Duraznos (peaches)	Pichataro	do	1	20
	Cherán	Cherán	6	
	Pichataro	Pichataro	8	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	
	Cheranástico	Cheranástico	2	
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
	Tierra caliente (1 woman, maybe all, carried it up)	Cherán	2	
Fibra de palmas (palm leaves)	Patzcuaro	Paracho	1	7
	San Gerónimo	Pátzcuaro	1	
		Barú	3	
		Pátzcuaro	1	
		San Gerónimo	2	
Frijoles (beans)	Carapan	Carapan	2	8
	Tirindiro	Tirindiro	1	
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Tangancicuaro	Tangancicuaro	1	
Guitarras (guitars)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Habas (pulse or broadbeans)	Cañada	Cañada	2	3
		Carapan	1	
Helotes (cooked green corn)	Paracho	Paracho	1	3
	Cheranastico	Cheranástico	1	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Higos (figs)	Cañada	Paracho	1	2
		Cañada	1	
Huaraches (woven sandals)	Purépero	Purépero	1	1
Jicamas (root)	(1)	Paracho	1	1
Lechuga (lettuce)[1]				
Limas (sweet lemons)	Chilchota	Chilchota	3	3
Limonas (lemons)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	5
	Chilchota (?)	Chilchota	3	
	Tierra caliente	Guanajuato	1	
	Guanajuato	Purépero	1	
	Huanuito	Huanuito	1	
	Patamban	Patamban	3	
Loza (pottery)	do	Nurió	1	9
	Quiroga	Zacapu	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	
	Quiroga	Tzintzuntzan	1	
Manta	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Mandiles (aprons)	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Manzanas (apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	2	18
	do	Pichataro	13	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	1	
Manzanas-chatas (crab apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	1	4
	Uruapan	Uruapan	3	
Mostacillos (?) (beads)	Guadalajara	do	1	1
Muebles (furniture)	Paracho	do	2	2
Naranjas (oranges)	(?)	Paracho	1	5
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
	Limon	Limon (?)	1	
	Chilchota	Chilchota	2	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Nueces (nuts)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	2
Pan (bread)	Tanaco	Tanaco	2	6
Pan dulce	Cherán	Cherán	4	
Papas (patatas) (potatoes)	Nahuatsen	Paracho		1

[1] No data.

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[p.82a]

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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*—Continued

Products	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	Aranteperua	Aranteperua	3	3
Peras (pears)	Pichataro	do	4	18
	Cherán	Cherán	4	
	Pichataro	Pichataro	9	
	do	Cherán	1	
Pescado seco (dried fish)[1]				
Platanos (bananas)	Tierra caliente	Paracho	1	5
		Uruapan	4	
Queso (cheese)[1]				
Rebozos	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Serapes	do	do	2	2
Sigras (large, lemonlike citrus fruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Silantro seeds	Cañada	Cañada	1	2
	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Sombreros (flat-top, white hats)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	10
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	
	Nahuatzen (?)	do	1	
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Morelia (?)	Paracho	1	
	Cherán (?)	do	1	
Toronja (grapefruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota		2
Tunas (prickly pears)	Tanaco	Tanaco	3	4
	Purépero	Purépero	1	
Uakinikin (a long nut)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Uikumu (yellow fruit?)	Los Reyes	Paracho	1	2
	Cimotlan	Cimotlan	1	
Tela (cloth)	Paracho	Paracho	2	2
Violin	do	do	1	1
Yerbas (herbs)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Zapatos (shoes, orange; also white)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	1

[1] No data.

interviewed. The number of vendors and the articles sold, by classes, are as follows:

Articles:	Number of vendors
Fruits	52
Vegetables	26
Prepared food (including bread)	12
Wearing apparel	21
Baskets and pottery	15
Furniture	2
Ornaments and musical instruments	3
Palm fiber for hats	7
Total	138

Most vendors not interviewed were engaged in the sale of fruits or vegetables, mostly vegetables.

Another example of an unimportant market is given by Rendón for San Juan Parangaricutiro. The main articles sold were small quantities of tomatoes, chile, jicamas, onions, cabbage, silantro, garlic, limes, oranges, guavas, cherimoyas, peanuts, and sugarcane. Two persons sold candies from Zamora, two booths sold sweetpotatoes, one each sold pottery and shoes,

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Agua fresca (sweet water)	1	4	2	1		
Aguas gaseosas (pop)		3	8	3		1
Aje (pigment)					3	
Ajo (garlic)						6
Aguacates (avocados)	1			1		
Anillos (rings)	1					
Aretes; collares (earrings; necklaces)	1	1				3
Atole (maize gruel)					2	2
Ayates (nets)				2	2	2
Bagas (burden ropes)	2					
Bates para lavar ropa (washtray)				1		
Bateas (wooden bowls)		1	1			
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	1				2	
Borrega (mutton)		3		3		
Cacahuates (peanuts)		4	5		9	2
Cal (lime)					2	
Caldo (broth)	1					
Calabacitos (small squash)					3	
Calabaso cocido (cooked squash)		4	5	14	12	1
Calses (cakes)					1	
Camas (beds)	1			1	7	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	4	8		2		1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	2	2				
Caña (sugarcane)			3	1		
Canastas (flat baskets)				1		1
Carne de puerco cocido (cooked pork)		1	1	2		3
Carne seco (dried beef)		1		6	12	6
Cebollos (onions)	2	15	11	12	18	15
Cerezas (cherries)	2		1	5	1	
Cerezas secas (dried cherries)			1		2	1
Cestas (baskets)	2	3	1	4		
Chabacanos (apricots)	1					
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	1					
Changungas (a fruit)	1					
Chayotes			3	1	7	
Chayotes cocido (cooked chayotes)		3		4		
Cherimoyas (a fruit)					4	
Chicahuites (harvest baskets)				1	3	
Chicharos (peas)		4	3	4		
Chicharos cocidos (cooked peas)				1		
Chiles (peppers)	9	53	32	15		
Chiles, large wide, red				7		
Chiles, large long, red				15		
Chiles, small, red				29		21
Chiles, verdes (green)				8	25	18
Chile, negros (black)				2	5	7
Cintas (belts)						1
Ciruelas (plums)		2				
Cocos (coconuts)				3	1	
Col (cabbage)		14	10	2	6	7
Coliflor (cauliflower)		1			2	
Corbatas (neckties)			1			
Cucharas (spoons)		1		2	1	
Cracklings					1	
Custard						1
Dibujos y arte, flores			1			
Doughnuts				1		
Dulces (candy)	1	6	4	7	4	2
Dulces de membrillos (fruit paste)		1				
Duraznos (peaches)	20	22	1	3		
Escobas de palma (brushes of palm)	1					
Escobas de paja verde (brushes of green straw)						1
Espinaca (spinach)			1			
Fajas (sashes)		2	2	2	1	3
Fibra de palma (palm leaves for hats)	7	5		1	11	
Floreras (flowerpots)						1
Flores (flowers)					3	
Flores de papel (paper flowers)						2
Frijoles (beans)	8	13		6	24	
Gorditos (fried maize cakes)					1	
Granadas (pomegranates)		6		31	30	2
Guayas					1	2
Guitarras (guitars)	1					
Habas (broadbeans)	3	1		1	4	
Habas verdes (green broadbeans)					1	
Helotes (green corn on cob)	3	1	4	6	2	
Higos (figs)	2					
Hoja de betabel (chard)		3				
Hoja de limones (lemon leaves)		2				
Hoja de naranja (orange leaves)		1		2		
Huaraches (woven sandals)	1	1	4	1		
Ixtle (maguey halters)		11				
Jalatina (jelly)				1		
Jicamas (a turnipliko root)	5			3	6	
Jitomates (tomatoes)					6	
Juegos de naipes (card games)				5		
Juguetes (playthings, e.g. dolls)		5	2		2	

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*—Continued

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Jugetes de loza (pottery figurines)		3	8	13	1	
Lana (wool)					1	
Lechuga (lettuce)		1				
Limas y limones (limes and lemons)	8	17	7	16	13	7
Loquats				1		
Loza (pottery)	9	1		64	5	2
Macate (maguey fiber string)			1			
Mandils (aprons)	4					
Mantas (blankets)	1					
Manzanas (apples)	22	37	5	16	2	
Maíz (corn)	6		1		2	
Macetas (flowerpots)					1	
Madroño berries						1
Mamey (a fruit)					1	
Máscaras (masks)		2	1			
Maza (maize dough)		1				
Mazorca (maize ears)				1		
Medias (stockings)						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and notions)		1	19	4	8	1
Molineros (chocolate beaters)				1		
Morales (bags)				1		
Mostacillas (beads)	1					
Muebles (furniture)	2					
Naranjas (oranges)	5	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream)		1	1	1	2	2
Nueces (nuts)	3					
Orange plum				1		
Palma tejida (hat braid)[2]					1	
Pan (bread)	6	26	28	29	28	17
Pan de huevo (cake)						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey)			10			
Pan dulce (cookies)				1	1	
Papas (potatoes)	1	8	6	2	5	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	3					
Peluqueros (barbers)				6		
Peras (pears)	18	14				
Pescado (fish)		12	5	1	13	6
Petates (mats)		1		2	4	1
Platanos (bananas)	5	4	1	19	3	2
Plumas (pens)				3		
Pulque					1	
Queso (cheese)	1	17	9	3	8	2
Rebozos (shawls)	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets)		1				
Serapes (blankets)	2	4	2	1	7	8
Servietas (napkins)					1	
Sigras (a fruit)	1					
Silantro semilla (seed for flavoring)	2	5	1	4	4	
Sillas (chairs)				3		
Sombreros (hats)	1	2	1	1	2	2
Sopladores (fire fans)		1				
Sweaters						1
Tamales		19		23		1
Tejocotes (wild crab apples)	5	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing)	2			2		2
Tela de lana (wool yardage)			7			
Tesquisquite		1		2		10
Tomates (small husk tomatoes)	10	36	26	19	8	
Toronja (grapefruit)	2					
Tortillas					5	3
Tortilla baskets					3	1
Tunas (prickly pears)	4		3		4	1
Uskinikin (nut)	1					
Violina (violin)	1					
Velas (candles)			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs)	1				1	
Yellowfruit		1		1		
Yame			1			
Zanhorias (carrots)		1	2			1
Zapatos (shoes)	1	3	8	3	9	7

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

[2] An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurúndas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

438 The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market
443 on Sunday which is not notably different from
a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as
462 this is the market town for La Cañada, prob-

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438 ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans.
443 Rendón, who collected the data, observes that
462 there is a fairly clear sex division in market activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—*Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota*

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Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	5
Ripe tomatoes	6	0
Green chile	0	2
Dry chile	7	7
Cabbage	3	4
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	8
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit	6	8
Peanuts	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	0	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	4
Regular tamales (kurúndas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Soaproot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	4
Pitch pine	2	0
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

511 The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

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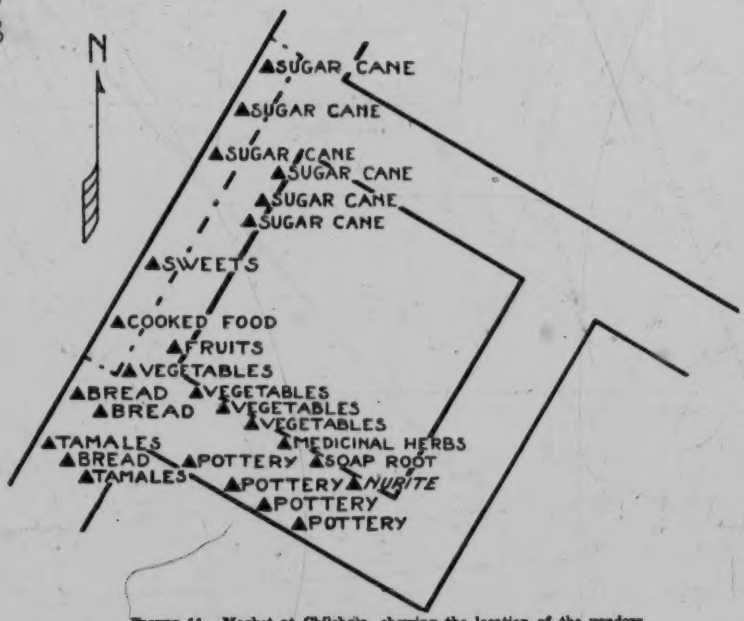

FIGURE 11.—Market at Chilchota, showing the location of the vendors.

[p. 84c]

527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day
527 before, including three women with "a little
443 religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

Some street cleaning began on this day.
527 Trash was burned in the streets and the streets
364 were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day.
527 Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together
796 the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members
[574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the
796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
[443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com-
527 missioners and their assistants went to the
533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[786] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
527 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden
541 to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ridé. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

The procedures described above were re-
527 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory
541 this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

While the market continued to some extent
527 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some
●443 people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

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527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)." Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
543 of bread as money. This procedure continues
198 until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

Often a group of young men will ask per-
527 mission of the municipal authorities to collect the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on mer-
541 chants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores*. Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
527 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who
796 pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo*, nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

The Octava occurs a week after Easter
527 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday
443 only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo*, dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios*. No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
527 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fight-
541 ing hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichataro. The San Juan fiesta is the [439] occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

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245 262 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicuiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

244 262 Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 262 The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 443 262 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

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[p.214b] Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five
places sell meat remaining from Sunday
through most of the week. No distinction is
made in price between meat with bone and
meat without bone, but on request one will be
served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the
buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is pre-
ferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers;
those of swine either are made into cracklings
or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with
chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only
262 semiprofessional, fishing when they have time
and selling the catch only if they have more
than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical
or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black
or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole
de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls)
and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature
corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
curious custom exists in that anyone may help
262 himself to these greens, entering into wheat
fields belonging to others either with or without
permission. Anyone objecting would be severely
censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made
from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed
with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for
this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is
placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred
frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle,
the water drained off, and the flour dried.
Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently
delivered, when it is cooked in water, either
plain or sweetened with honey. The plain
boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[Ent Plate 4]

438
441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

443 **The market (uašájpikuaru, or "the place where people sit").**—Sunday is the most important
438 market day for the Tarascans.[183] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[184] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[185] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text continues top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] [183] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[494] [184] Formerly Parhán was one of the largest *tierra caliente—tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fiesta markets are still held in Parhán however.

[185] Within the last 8 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden busses or taxis to market. Since 1943 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Etrosto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 72]
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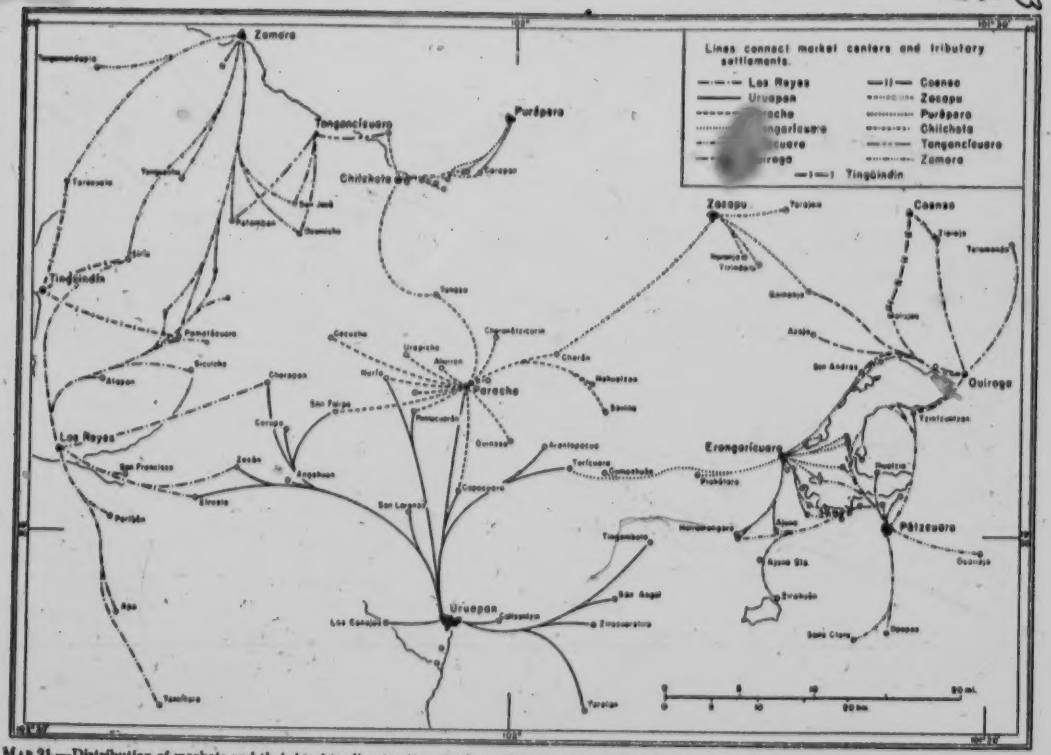
Lines connect market centers and tributory settlements.
Los Reyes
Uruapan
Paracho
Tangancícuaro
Chilchota
Purépero
Zamora
Tingüindín
Zacapu
Coeneo
Quiroga
Erongarícuaro
Pátzcuaro
Tarécuato
Cherán
Nahuatzen
Sevina
Cocucho
Urapicho
Nurio
Ahuiran
Cherapan
San Felipe
Pamacuaro
Quinceo
Arantepacua
Tarécuato
Comachuén
Puréndiro
Capacuaro
San Lorenzo
Los Conejos
Cuanajo
Tingambato
Ario
San Angel
Zirosto
Tarécuato
Tocumbo
Tanhuato
Ario
Pomacécuaro
Sicuicho
Atapan
Eroeto
Parícán
Apo
Tanhuato
Tarécuato
Tocumbo
Tangancícuaro
Chilchota
Purépero
Zacapu
Coeneo
Quiroga
Pátzcuaro
Erongarícuaro
Uruapan
Paracho
Los Reyes
Zamora
Tingüindín
Zacapu
Coeneo
Quiroga
Pátzcuaro
Erongarícuaro
Uruapan
Paracho
Los Reyes
Zamora
Tingüindín
Tangancícuaro
Purépero
Chilchota

443 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practi-
443 cally every village lively trading accompanies the annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
438 some instances such markets are large enough to
796 be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

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443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
[651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[167] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[168] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking [117] storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanicization of the native population.[169]

The professional traders.—The *huacalero* (inspikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last 443 vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaɹakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large 443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many 439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

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[438] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and México. Regional handicrafts were represented as follows:

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Article:	*Origin*	*Venders* (*number*)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
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Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Peribán	1 stall.

[167] Cherán, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[168] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[169] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the *juzgado*, or town hall.

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

Although they do not use the large *huacal*,
443 many women of the Sierra devote most of their
438 time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite
492 of inroads of motor transportation, still account
443 for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into
[177] use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacua, Ziristo, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ayate*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[74-b]

443 Like the *huacalero*, the *arriero* in the Tarascan
492 area has functioned chiefly as a commercial inter-
439 mediary between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra fría*. During the colonial period, however, some mule skinners extended operations into the northern mining districts. Moreover, various mestizo towns in Tarasca became *arriero* centers—strategic points along the main routes where mule trains met, animals were sold and traded, supplies purchased, and merchandise exchanged. Such towns became residences of many muleteers. A series of these centers lies within the *tierra caliente* and includes Apatzingán, Huetamo, and Coyuca. Another series is located within the *tierra templada:* Uruapan, Ario, Tacámbaro. Other centers are found in the *tierra fría:* Cotija, and, formerly, Parangaricutiro and Jiquilpan. Most of these towns still function as *arriero* centers, and although motor transportation is continually replacing the mule and burro, some of them will continue to serve as way stations for fuel and repairs and collecting points for products carried out by trucks.

Since the construction of motor roads in many
443 parts of Tarasca, former *arrieros* and *huacaleros*
494 have begun to use public busses and semipublic trucks to transport merchandise. Pottery vendors, for example, stand for hours along the highway, hailing through-trucks to take them and their goods to Guadalajara, Morelia, or Mexico City. Moreover, heavy sugar and *cascalote* trucks now operate from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes into the *tierra caliente*.

The wholesale buyers represent a modern type
442 of merchant, who with the advent of road construction have begun to penetrate into the Tarascan area. Grain dealers from Morelia, Zamora, and Uruapan now run their trucks into the Sierra towns to buy surplus wheat. Again, many woodworkers in Paracho are on contract to city wholesalers for turned work and guitars, which are collected at intervals in trucks or passenger cars.

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PLATE 14.—Markets and transport. *a*, The Sunday firewood and fish market, Erongarícuaro. The wood vender at left has already bartered a pile of pine sticks for a few fish in the basket. *b*, Pottery section of the Sunday market at Urupan. *c*, The bread section of the Erongarícuaro market on the plaza. *d*, A train of burros bringing pinu palm leaves from the sierra cabaná to Ario de Rosales. *e*, Boats from Janitzio landing on the mud flats of Erongarícuaro for the Sunday market. *f*, Hauling disassembled chairs and tables from Cocupo to the Urupan market.

[End-plate 14]

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
[114] during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan
area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on
the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about
fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to
be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanan-
cha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but ap-
parently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it
had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoa-
443 cán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal
requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of
merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make
the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several
places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second
Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday
has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the
year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious
aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special
church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people be-
cause they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The
clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday
then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had
been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the
present parish priest was in residence.

But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
178 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
533 holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same special-
ized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about
the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the
time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to
have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the
trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 73-a]

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made. 426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [437] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of [423] exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners [556] to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

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[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada, Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

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67. Ibid., 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 265-68.
69. Ibid., 283-4.
70. Ibid., 283.
71. Ibid., 281; Sáenz, 1936, 22.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 151.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1948)1952
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668 of stealing because it distributed the haciendas, it does not propagandize a return to the old order. It is supported by small farmers and even ejidatarios dissatisfied with the course of the land reforms. It promises the ejidatarios to rid them of the new bosses born of the Revolution and to give them as outright private property their ejido plots which now are ultimately owned by the State.

668 465 Since the late 'thirties, the period when land reforms were more or less completed, the real wages in the countryside have been in decline[81] due mainly to wartime inflation. This fact together with the in- [452] ability of the government to provide agricultural credit indicates the difficult situation of the countryside and explains the rapid growth of a protest movement like sinarquismo.[82]

668 The opposition to the agraristas and to the government which had arisen in many Tarascan towns has lately merged with sinarquismo. Sinarquista units function in many villages and many Tarascans are members of the party.

423 181 In the present situation, with the agrarian revolt receded, the Indian village communities, although greatly impaired, show a persistence of an economic foundation which is the basis for the survival of the

81. Whetten, 1948, 282.
82. Gill, 1944; Padilla, 1948; Whetten, 1948, 486-522.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 erature on this subject is adequate,[64] so no
668 extensive background presentation will be
423 necessary here.

The agrarian revolution was an outcome of the concentration of land and the influence of capitalism on the countryside mentioned before in connection with the decay of village communities. It revolved around the fight against the haciendas.

The solution has been the breaking up of the haciendas and the granting of land to the landless under a new type of tenure known as *ejido*.[65] In ejido, lands are given to the community of *ejidatarios* (ejido members), who have the right to use the lands but not to alienate them, ultimate ownership resting in the nation. An agri-
[453] cultural Bank of Ejido Credit was set up in order to finance the exploitation of ejidos.

This change is the end result of many conflicting interests and opposing tendencies which have produced a very complex development. The more militant peasant groups (Villa and Zapata) were crushed by force of arms, and only afterwards were the land reforms of any sizable importance. These reforms, begun in 1915, were intended to restore to the villages the lands illegally acquired by haciendas. Soon the policy was accepted of appropriating haciendas as outright grants of land (ejido) to the landless. A number of laws were enacted, often changed and more often not applied. For a long period, red tape and other delays were the rule before any ejido was finally given. The workers resident in haciendas *(peones acasillados)* were excluded from distribution of land until 1934, the beginning of the Cárdenas administration (1934-1940), during which the land reforms were speeded up and really enforced.

423 The outcome today is that the hacienda has been replaced by two types of ejido: the individual ejido in which every ejidatario receives a lot which he works by himself; and collective ejidos which are worked cooperatively. Collective ejidos were attempted in the 'twenties and a case in Michoacan has been described,[66] but the individual ejido has been the rule. Only during Cárdenas' period were collective ejidos set up in those areas where a highly commercial, large-scale exploitation prevailed in the production of foodstuffs or of raw materials for industry.

64. Tannenbaum, 1929; Simpson, 1937; Whetten, 1948.
65. This ejido is to be distinguished from the commons of colonial villages, also called ejido.
66. Simpson, 1937, Chap. xxv.

423 The individual ejido is a turn back to small exploitation. No technological improvements have been made, no credit is received from the Ejido Bank, and in some cases corn for subsistence is now grown instead of a former commercial crop. Collective ejidos, on the contrary, are financed by the Ejido Bank and are under its ultimate control. This is a good example of the state intervention in production which characterizes the present development of world economy.

[453]

* * *

175 As stated when discussing the decline of the Indian village community in Michoacan, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, a number of haciendas were near the Tarascan region. Some villages had lost most of their lands and included great numbers of landless people. However, this is not typical of Tarascan villages. Most of them were and are villages of farmer-owners and craftsmen. Although most Tarascans had not lost lands to haciendas, private ownership of land prevailed and there was within the village noticeable inequality in wealth. Relatively large, medium and small landowners, sharecroppers, and landless laborers were to be found. In some towns outsiders owned a considerable amount of land. Consequently, the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution, *i. e.*, the fight to get land from the haciendas, have been mainly external to most Tarascan villages, and the agrarian conflict caused by inequality within the village assumed here a peculiar form.

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No good information is available as to the extent to which Tarascans participated in the armed conflicts, although some fought with agrarian revolutionists (Zapatistas and Villistas). The land tenure situation is reflected in the extent to which agrarian reforms have been carried out. Villages near haciendas have received ejidos, but the other villages have not, although agrarian conflicts also arose.

[669]

All the existing ejidos are of the individual type. In only one case (Tarajero) was collective exploitation attempted for some time. The people of Tarajero petitioned for land in 1915, and finally received it in 1924. It was good fertile land in a drained swamp, and, while part of former haciendas, the land had been used for commercial production. The agraristas decided to exploit it collectively. It seems, however, that the directing committee began to appropriate most of the profits derived from the exploitation, reducing the rest of the

[661]

346 plaza but upon an atrium facing the opposite
358 direction. The change of entrance probably was made more than 50 years ago. At about that time the walls of the church were raised considerably and a row of windows placed near the top of the walls. During the revolution the roof was destroyed when the town was burned and was replaced sometime during the 1920's.

The cost of these changes and repairs, as indicated, is borne by voluntary contributions. The labor is paid for and there is no voluntary labor for the upkeep of church structures and property, although there is considerable voluntary work in connection with the ceremonials and the care of the altars and images. In the case of small improvements, the priest asks for donations of some 10 centavos, usually making an announcement from the pulpit. For larger and more extensive repairs or improvements, *comisionados* are named by the priest who go from house to house soliciting larger contributions.

A new idea was introduced, however, by the
358 priest who left Cherán in 1940, an idea which has had interesting economic repercussions. With the completion of the reroofing of the church, many other necessary improvements still remained. With some funds at his disposal, the priest succeeded in rebuilding the pulpit. The priest then announced an inaugural ceremony and issued invitations to become godparents of the pulpit. The invitations were written or printed and stated that the persons were being invited as honorable persons who led good lives. Acceptance involved a payment of not less than 1 peso nor more than 2 pesos. Practically all those invited accepted the invitation. The priest had prepared a large quantity
454 of pottery banks in the shape of pigs, made of
358 the attractive Black ware of Quiroga and Santa Fe. At the inauguration, the priest announced that additional improvements were being planned and that each person should take one of the banks and put a 20-centavo piece in it every 15 or 30 days. Moreover, the person who first
[554] "fattened" his pig, that is, filled it with 20-centavo pieces, would be put in a position of especial sanctity. With this incentive, many people filled their banks rapidly in order to be the first and even those who did it more slowly

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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454 accumulated a substantial contribution without
358 feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

454 This procedure would have amounted to little more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A
[323] regular part of the pottery stocks brought to
[532] Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.[23]

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

793 The priest, of course, is appointed by the Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

[177] [23] The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat nonplussed by the devious, even fantastic, route by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

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322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra effort thus apparently results in an economic
[461] loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work
[462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

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TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*—Continued

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ESTIMATE BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AT HARVEST

Type of land	Yield in *fanegas* per hectare	Remarks
Poor to average land	3	Maize badly damaged by early frost.
Average land	12	Maize slightly damaged by frost.

243 In addition to securing data on yield, i.e., income, for maize, an effort was made to secure
433 data on production costs. General statements
461 as to the amount of time put in on farm work proved worthless. Usually the time given would scarcely provide for a single weeding. The best figures were secured by breaking down the different steps and getting experienced farmers to estimate the time necessary for cultivating 1 hectare. A summary of such data gives the following:

	Days
Labor of owner:	
First plowing	10
Second plowing (at right angles)	10
Sowing	3
First cultivation (with plow)	4
Second cultivation (with plow)	3
First weeding (with sickle or machete)	3
Second weeding (often omitted)	3
Harvest	1
Carrying maize to house (estimated average)	5
Total	42
Hired labor:	
Sowing (2 peons)	3
Harvesting (3 peons)	1

Costs:	
[465] Owner's labor (42 days valued at $0.45 a day outside of planting and harvesting time)	$18.90
2 peons for 3 days	3.00
3 peons for 1 day	1.50
Total	$23.40

On the assumption that a man will own sufficient land to require hired labor, the summary given above includes 9 man days of hired labor at a cost of $4.50 or a total of 51 man days of labor worth $23.40. To this must be added $30 for hire of an ox team if one is not owned, probably $1 in taxes, and $2.50 for the value of the seed corn (one-half *fanega*), or a total of $56.90. If this is about an average piece of land, the yield will be 15 to 20 *fanegas* of shelled

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243 433 461

maize, for which the farmer should receive from $75 to $120, or a profit of $22.10 to $63.10. From this, in theory, should be deducted interest on the investment in land and equipment as well as a depreciation allowance on the equipment. If the land is worth $90 (above average), it would seem fair to allow at least $11 for these charges, which still leaves a profit of $11.10 to $52.10.[23]

As will be seen in later discussions, this makes maize farming on average or better land probably one of the most worth-while businesses in Cherán. Obviously there are elements of risk. Farmers on poor land, moreover, probably get no profits at all on this basis, for labor and expenses would be reduced very little relative to reductions in yield. The second weeding and part of the harvesting expenses might be eliminated. But if the yield is as low as 1½ *fanegas* (as has been reported) a man would get virtually no return at all. If he had his own ox team and did all his own work (with the help of sons or his wife), he might get $4 to $5 worth of maize for his effort after deducting the costs of seed and taxes. From the standpoint of our economy, there is obviously a very considerable net loss.

To view the agricultural situation in Cherán only from the standpoint of our economy, however, would be grossly misleading, for to do so does not take into account numerous cultural factors. The Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits, and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage house. I have already mentioned that harvest workers refused an increase in wages from 50 centavos to $1 if the right to glean were rescinded. Most observers agree that the amount of maize obtained from gleaning in a day is less than can be bought for 50 centavos. At $1 the workman could therefore buy more corn than his wife could obtain by gleaning. The large farmers would get a more thorough harvest and would not have to employ supervisors. On a bookkeeping basis, everyone would benefit. But the harvest hand would not have a load of maize, small though it might be, to carry home from a day's work; he would have only an inedible silver peso in his pocket.

[23] Charges for animals to carry the crop and for watchmen and storage facilities are not included.

243 In the case of the farmer who slaves at pro-
433 ducing a scanty crop on submarginal land,
461 similar considerations are important. The farmer does not count interest and wages; the measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse to feed his wife and children. It is useless to point out that he could earn enough wages for the same amount of labor to buy two or three times as much maize as he can produce, for he will not be convinced.

243 Even in the case of the average or somewhat
433 better than average case cited in detail, the
153 calculations made on the basis of our economic viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, interest, depreciation, and wages do not enter into the farmer's calculation (with the exception of a few large farmers). Rather would the typical farmer calculate that the maize obtained in this case would, with a family of not over five, feed the family for a year by exercising due care. If he had two pieces, each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two locations to plant alternate years, he could count with some security on feeding his family. If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he would probably sell enough wheat to meet the essential cash outlays for his family. Any income from livestock, work in the forest, or as a hired laborer would then go into essentially luxury spending or savings to buy more land. It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

184 In case maize is raised for sale on any scale,
433 however, the farmer encounters new market-
243 ing problems. The local market prefers yellow maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan, on the other hand, prefers white maize, while the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the different major markets, the farmer's income may be affected by the color of maize he has grown.

243 From the statements given above it should
433 not be concluded that the idea of a return for
427 land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists, but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus, farmers with more land than they can conveniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land, and various others may rent land on a share-

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231 amount of labor. Not only must *rastrojo* be
243 cut, but the animals must be visited every 2 or 3 days while in pasture.

427 The question may be raised why horses or
434 mules have not replaced oxen to any extent. Although horses or mules will do at least twice the amount of work in a day, owing to their greater speed and ability to work longer hours, they do not thrive on the corn fodder, wheat straw, and scanty pasturage. Grain feed is also necessary, at least during the working season. In general, horses and mules are more delicate and require more attention, greater skill, and better shelter. Finally, their initial cost is greater and they cannot be slaughtered for meat, as are oxen, when they have outlived their usefulness as draft animals.

Wheat.—Although wheat is the primary cash
243 crop of Cherán, it is seldom grown on lands
433 which will produce good maize. Wheat is often
311 grown on inferior land, often on slopes, but never on really bad lands. Farmers using good land for wheat usually have a surplus of maize lands.

The cultivation of wheat takes a little less
243 labor than does that of maize. Plowing is the
461 same or perhaps a little less (the second plow-
433 ing being shallower). Broadcasting of seed and harrowing equate with maize planting, but it is a one-man job and requires no oxen if the farmer owns a burro. The primitive harvesting with a sickle would seem to call for more labor, but estimates were fairly low. A summary of estimates for cultivating a hectare follows:

Labor:	*Days*	
First plowing	10	
Second plowing	10	
Sowing and harrowing	2	(or less)
Harvesting	4½	
Total labor	26½	
Costs:		
Labor (26½ days at $0.45, value)	$11.92	
Rent of oxen (20 days at $0.75, value)	15.00	
Taxes	1.00	
Seed	1.00	
Total production costs	$28.92	
Interest on capital investment	11.00	
Total cost of cultivation	$39.92	

517

Octava, 4 days
Corpus, 4 days
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
San Juan, 1 day
San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
Wedding, 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

Women, in general, work longer hours at more
462 varied tasks and with numerous interruptions.
While women also attend fiestas and weddings
312 in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are
[482] always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo*, which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 The best picture of women's activities may
462 be presented by giving a number of actual

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461 cases. Women's work varies greatly with the size of the family and the age of the children. 462 Most women had no clear idea of the time spent, and the following figures are guesses given under some pressure.

CASE 1

(3 adults in family.)

	Hours
Going to mill	½
Carrying water (3 ollas in morning, 2 in afternoon)	1 or 2
Making tortillas	1 or 2
Other food preparation	2 or 3
Washing clothes and taking bath on Wednesdays	5
Sweeping (not every day)	½ to 1
Marketing	½
Shelling corn:	
Green	¼
Dry	½
Visiting neighbors	Variable
Resting	Variable
Minimum daily schedule	6
Total waking hours	13

CASE 2

(Family of 8; two girls, one about 8, one about 13. Woman helps in store owned by family in spare time but both girls help take maize to the mill, etc. Following is estimate of the day preceding the interview.)

	Hours
Going to mill	¼
Shelling corn	2
Making tortillas	2
Carrying water (met friends)	2
Washing clothes (Friday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	¼
Marketing (longer if she meets friends)	½
Food preparation	3
Care of children	No idea
Visiting friends—does not go out, friends visit her in store	None
Estimated total on ordinary days (not including work in store and caring for children)	10

CASE 3

(Family of 6; 4 children, all big enough to care for themselves; woman also helps in store.)

	Hours
Mill	½ to 1
Making tortillas	4
Carrying water (3 or 4 ollas)	1
Ironing (Friday or Saturday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	½
Marketing	½
Food preparation	3
Daily minimum, about	10

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In addition to above, washes 1 day a week, 7 hours. Also goes occasionally to Paricutin for an hour to interview a debtor.

Waking hours, about 15

CASE 4

(A widow. Several adults in family; woman assisted by daughter-in-law.)

	Hours
Making tortillas	½
Carrying water (10 ollas with assistance of daughter-in-law)	½
Cooking	1½
Sweeping (twice a week)	¼
Marketing (average)	½
Shelling corn	½
Daily minimum	4 to 5

In addition, washing and bathing on Wednesday consume 6 to 7 hours. On Thursdays the informant goes to the Paraje to gather herbs, about a 2-hour trip each way. From Saturday to Monday the informant is in Uruapan selling the herbs.

CASE 5

(3 adults in family.)

	Hours
Water carrying, 5 to 7 ollas morning and afternoon (estimate)	1
Tortillas, morning and afternoon (total)	2
Shelling corn—buys it shelled	.....
Going to mill	¾ to 1
Marketing	½
Food preparation	½ to 1
Sweeping (once a week)	½
Washing and bathing every Thursday, about	5
Daily minimum, about	5

Despite the few hours appearing in the statement, the informant said she had little time to rest.

CASE 6

(8 people in family.)

	Hours
3 ollas of water, morning and afternoon	½ to 1
Tortillas	1
Going to mill	½ to 1
Shelling corn	½
Sweeping	¾
Food preparation	1
Marketing	½ to 1
Resting	1 to 2
Daily minimum (exclusive of rest period) about	5¼

Visits neighbors a little.
Clothes washing 8 a. m. to 1 p. m., Tuesdays.

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CASE 7

(3 people in family.)

	Hours
Tortillas (½ hour morning and afternoon)	1
Going to mill	½
Carrying water, 3 ollas, twice a day	⅔
Preparing food	½
Marketing	½
Sweeping	¼
Shelling corn	½
Visiting mother daily	1
Care of child	2 to 3
Resting	½
Daily minimum (exclusive of rest periods) about	5

Washing and bath, Fridays, about 4 hours.

CASE 8

(4 people in family.)

	Hours
Tortillas, morning and afternoon, total	1½
Going to mill	¼ to ¾
Carrying water (5 to 7 ollas daily)	⅔
Preparing food	⅔
Sweeping (twice a week)	½
Marketing	½
Shelling corn	⅔
Resting	½ to 1
Visiting, not every day	1
Daily minimum (exclusive of resting and visiting)	5½

Washing and bath, Wednesdays, 9 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m.

None of the women interviewed were too poor to pay for having their maize ground. If they had ground their own maize on the metate, the hours of labor would have been materially increased.

576 In addition to learning the techniques of earning a living and acquiring the necessary sense of responsibility to manage one's affairs, adult life usually requires the learning of a number of rules of behavior. Adults should know that it is never proper to enter a house yard without an invitation, even though it be unfenced. Visitors knock on the gate or call out until an invitation is given. Usually someone comes to the gate to inquire what is wanted, unless the person is very well known. Men are never invited in unless the man of the household is present. If one calls on a person about business, one always stands and talks about other things for a bit first.

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[p. 239]

241 when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

243 Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may [804] be planted. Maize rows are about 1 *vara* (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work [462] is done by men. There is no exchange of labor [476] or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (ćirá'ki) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder (*"rastrojo"*) is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots. [482] [285]

243 464 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. [462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in [407] Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Taratarо, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

Beans.—The soil of Cherán is said not to be 244 good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread 231 in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent 556 of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

Cattle are raised for several economic uses: 231 meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

Relatively few cows are milked, and most 234 families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

23] *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

Honey and wax are usually taken from the
237 hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make
231 them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by
[462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

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294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated
with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
[462] or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

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[p. 43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra [461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work [462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

305 *Barbers.*—Most men in Cherán now have their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

312 *Water carriers.*—In most households the
482 women bring the water from the fountain or aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders.
462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

128 Consideration of food processing in this section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

251 The storage of food is confined primarily to maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
435 The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of $40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, $400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as $25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as $10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community.
423 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
311 and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

The use of forest lands formerly was open to
311 all who paid a small fee to aid the community
656 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

The sex division of labor in Cherán bars
462 women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European —children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

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462 They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

463 The bulk of the population of Cherán falls into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor [464] supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages, 465 especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to $1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

Bearing in mind that most men have some 462 land, the list of occupations in Cherán is exten- 463 sive, as shown in the following tabulation:

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

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463 Hat making (few)
Plank making
462 Shake making
Cutting railroad ties
Charcoal burning
Blanket weaving (few)
Broom-handle making (rare)
Gathering *raiz de paja* (few)
Wild-honey collecting (few)
Bee keeping (few—one woman)
Baking bread (one making *pan dulce*)
Ice cream making (one)
Brickmaking and tilemaking (rare)
Carpentry (few)
Wood turning (rare)
Blacksmithing (rare)
Masonry (few)
Brush making (few)
Painting and plastering (rare)
Fireworks making (one)
Tailoring
Twine making (few)

Women

Embroidering
Belt weaving (few)
Paper-flower making (rare)
Herb gathering (rare)
Gleaning
Cloth weaving (one)
Baking bread
Tailoring
Mat making (rare)

DISTRIBUTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Storekeeping
Trading
Selling at markets
Butchering
Transport

Women

Storekeeping (helpers)
Local food selling
Selling at markets

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Grain threshing
Operating *nixtamal* mills
Barbering (few)
School teaching (few)
Billiard-hall operation (two)
Marriage managing (few)
Water carrying for pay (rare)
All political offices[1]
All formal church offices[1]
All public works[1]
Mayordomias[1]
Musician
Rezadores (men who pray)

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463 Ritual dancing[1]
Sorcery
462

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensi-
464 tive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a
465 return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

Unemployment for laborers usually comes
464 about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angáhuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

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439 to be mentioned pottery from Guanajuato (and even from Oaxaca), dried meat from *tierra caliente*, cattle, and horses. Machinery and tools made in industrial establishments include axes, saws, hoes, hatchets, plow points, engines (for *nixtamal* mills), sewing machines, flat irons, and, quite rarely, radios, phonographs, typewriters, and trucks. The functioning of the principal distributive agencies will now be examined in some detail.

TRADERS

A fair number of men in Cherán who engage 441 in trade are known as *arrieros* or *viajeros*. 439 Whether there is any distinction between the two is uncertain. The impression received—and it is no more than an impression—is that originally the *arrieros* traveled to distant places outside of Tarascan territory, while the *viajeros* traded among the local villages. At present the two terms seem to be used as synonyms.

In the town voting register a number of men are listed as *arrieros*. Nevertheless, so far as could be learned, none of them dedicates all his time to trade. At the same time, there were numerous other men listed as farmers or laborers, yet who make fairly regular trading trips. The main distinction seems to be that a man listed as an *arriero* ordinarily makes about three long trips a year, while other men may make only one. Some men who make fairly regular short trips are not listed as traders. For example, one man who carries palm leaves regularly to the Paracho market is not included.

The main season for trading is from late fall until June, that is, the dry season. The principal routes followed for long trips are to Guerrero, Coalcomán, and Colima. A good many shorter trips may be taken to local fiestas, especially the great fiesta and market at San Juan Parangaricutiro. In addition, some men go to Guadalajara and Celaya for goods to carry to Guerrero. Finally, a long trip usually involves a number of short local trips around Cherán, either to purchase goods for transport to the *tierra caliente* or to dispose of merchandise brought back.

The *arrieros* are all men, with a single ex- [462] ception (reported but not seen). Wives, however, frequently accompany their husbands. Sickness is the greatest hazard. Women are

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Sierra Tarascans

Mestizo

443

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*—Continued

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Jugetes de losa (pottery figurines)		3	8	13	1	
Lana (wool)					1	
Lechuga (lettuce)		1				
Limas y limones (lemons and limes)	8	17	7	16	13	7
Loquats				1		
Losa (pottery)	9	1		64	5	2
Macate (maguey fiber string)			1			
Mandils (aprons)	4					
Mantas (blankets)	1					
Manzanas (apples)	22	37	5	16	2	
Maize (corn)	6		1		2	
Macetas (flowerpots)					1	
Madroño berries						1
Mamey (a fruit)					1	
Mascaras (masks)		2	1			
Maza (maize dough)		1				
Mazorca (maize ears)				1		
Medias (stockings)						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and notions)		1	19	4	8	1
Molineros (chocolate beaters)				1		
Morales (bags)				1		
Mostacillos (beads)	1					
Muebles (furniture)	2					
Naranjas (oranges)	5	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream)		1	1	1	2	2
Nueses (nuts)	3					
Orange plum				1		
Palma tejida (hat braid)[2]					1	
Pan (bread)	6	26	28	29	28	17
Pan de huevo (cake)						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey)			10			
Pan dulce (cookies)				1	1	
Papas (potatoes)	1	8	6	2	5	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	3					
Peluqueros (barbers)				6		
Peras (pears)	18	14				
Pescado (fish)		12	5	1	13	6
Petates (mats)		1		2	4	1
Platanos (bananas)	5	4	1	19	3	2
Plumas (pens)				3		
Pulque					1	
Queso (cheese)	1	17	9	3	8	2
Rebozos (shawls)	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets)		1				
Serapes (blankets)	2	4	2	1	7	8
Servietas (napkins)					1	
Sigras (a fruit)	1					
Silantro semilla (seed for flavoring)	2	5	1	4	4	
Sillas (chairs)				3		
Sombreros (hats)	1	2	1	1	2	2
Sopladores (fire fans)		1				
Sweaters						1
Tamales		19		23		1
Tejocotes (wild crab apples)	5	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing)	2			2		2
Tela de lana (wool yardage)			7			
Tesquisquite		1		2		10
Tomates (small husk tomatoes)	10	36	26	19	8	
Toronja (grapefruit)	2					
Tortillas					5	3
Tortilla baskets					3	1
Tunas (prickly pears)	4		3		4	1
Uakinikin (nut)	1					
Violina (violin)	1					
Velas (candles)			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs)	1				1	
Yellowfruit		1		1		
Yams			1			
Zanhorias (carrots)		1	2			1
Zapatos (shoes)	1	3	8	3	9	7

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

[2] An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurúndas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

438 The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market
443 on Sunday which is not notably different from a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as
462 this is the market town for La Cañada, prob-

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[p.836]

438 ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans.
443 Rendón, who collected the data, observes that
462 there is a fairly clear sex division in market activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—*Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota*

443
438

Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	5
Ripe tomatoes	6	0
Green chile	0	3
Dry chile	7	7
Cabbage	3	4
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	8
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit	6	8
Peanuts	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	0	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	4
Regular tamales (kurúndas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Soaproot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	4
Pitch pine	2	0
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

511 The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

593 Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cul-
[578] tures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

Within the household certain routines and
512 habits are common. Labor is rather strictly
593 divided along sexual lines also. For example,
[462] the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and sups at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

512 unmarried men may not come home until 9 or
517 10 o'clock, when the family is in bed, and they feed themselves with cold food left for them.

On Monday the men and young men go to
512 the fields or to the mountains between 7 and 9 o'clock, after eating a breakfast which always
462 includes tortillas and chile and likely includes remnants of the previous day's meal such as *sopa de tortilla*. If the men are going out all day and the place is distant, they take a lunch. If the place is nearby, wives carry lunch to their menfolk. Women will take maize to the mill and carry whatever water is needed during the morning. They may also buy some vegetables at the market, although most will have done this at the Saturday market. They may shop for meat and other needed items at the store. The main housework will be sweeping and putting the sleeping mats in the "*troje*." Then the woman will start work on the midday meal for herself and children (earlier if she is to take dinner to the fields, which she will do if her husband is working within an hour's walk). This meal is apt to be quite simple if the husband is not home. Some women make tortillas before dinner and again before supper. Others will eat warmed up tortillas for dinner. After dinner, following about an hour's rest, these women will make up a supply of tortillas sufficient to last 24 hours. An older daughter may be set at this work. In any case, probably 2 hours will be put in making tortillas and preparing supper. Men who went for firewood will probably be home as early as 4 o'clock, others not until 5 or 5:30, while those who had to look for a strayed animal or who are delayed for other reasons may come in after dark. The men of the family will eat together; the women and children usually eat together but after the men. Before he eats, a man may have to water and feed his animals, unless there is a small boy who can do it.

After supper a man will often go out on the
517 street for about an hour to loaf and talk to
512 friends. Young men will go out and stay longer; they are usually the last to bed. Small children are put in bed about 8 o'clock.

Some families vary the schedule given above.
512 In a fair number of cases the men of the family rise before the women and go to the fields
462 without breakfast. The woman in this case

512 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds it herself, in the meantime making atole. The
462 men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and
[869] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually
[517] by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 In some ways the activities of men are less varied and complex than those of the women.
462 A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

517 It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor,
159 broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

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517

Octava, 4 days
Corpus, 4 days
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
San Juan, 1 day
San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
Wedding, 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

462 312 Women, in general, work longer hours at more varied tasks and with numerous interruptions. While women also attend fiestas and weddings in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the [482] hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo,* which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 462 The best picture of women's activities may be presented by giving a number of actual

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461 cases. Women's work varies greatly with the size of the family and the age of the children. 462 Most women had no clear idea of the time spent, and the following figures are guesses given under some pressure.

CASE 1

(3 adults in family.)

	Hours
Going to mill	½
Carrying water (3 ollas in morning, 2 in afternoon)	1 or 2
Making tortillas	1 or 2
Other food preparation	2 or 3
Washing clothes and taking bath on Wednesdays	5
Sweeping (not every day)	½ to 1
Marketing	½
Shelling corn:	
Green	¼
Dry	½
Visiting neighbors	Variable
Resting	Variable
Minimum daily schedule	6
Total waking hours	13

CASE 2

(Family of 8; two girls, one about 8, one about 13. Woman helps in store owned by family in spare time but both girls help, take maize to the mill, etc. Following is estimate of the day preceding the interview.)

	Hours
Going to mill	¼
Shelling corn	2
Making tortillas	2
Carrying water (met friends)	2
Washing clothes (Friday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	¼
Marketing (longer if she meets friends)	½
Food preparation	3
Care of children	No idea
Visiting friends—does not go out, friends visit her in store	None
Estimated total on ordinary days (not including work in store and caring for children)	10

CASE 3

(Family of 6; 4 children, all big enough to care for themselves; woman also helps in store.)

	Hours
Mill	½ to 1
Making tortillas	4
Carrying water (3 or 4 ollas)	1
Ironing (Friday or Saturday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	½
Marketing	½
Food preparation	3
Daily minimum, about	10

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461
462

In addition to above, washes 1 day a week, 7 hours. Also goes occasionally to Paricutin for an hour to interview a debtor.

Waking hours, about 15

CASE 4

(A widow. Several adults in family; woman assisted by daughter-in-law.)

	Hours
Making tortillas	½
Carrying water (10 ollas with assistance of daughter-in-law)	½
Cooking	1½
Sweeping (twice a week)	¼
Marketing (average)	½
Shelling corn	½
Daily minimum	4 to 5

In addition, washing and bathing on Wednesday consume 6 to 7 hours. On Thursdays the informant goes to the Paraje to gather herbs, about a 2-hour trip each way. From Saturday to Monday the informant is in Uruapan selling the herbs.

CASE 5

(3 adults in family.)

	Hours
Water carrying, 5 to 7 ollas morning and afternoon (estimate)	1
Tortillas, morning and afternoon (total)	2
Shelling corn—buys it shelled	.....
Going to mill	½ to 1
Marketing	½
Food preparation	½ to 1
Sweeping (once a week)	½
Washing and bathing every Thursday, about	5
Daily minimum, about	5

Despite the few hours appearing in the statement, the informant said she had little time to rest.

CASE 6

(3 people in family.)

	Hours
3 ollas of water, morning and afternoon	½ to 1
Tortillas	1
Going to mill	½ to 1
Shelling corn	½
Sweeping	¼
Food preparation	1
Marketing	½ to 1
Resting	1 to 2
Daily minimum (exclusive of rest period) about	5¼

Visits neighbors a little.
Clothes washing 8 a. m. to 1 p. m., Tuesdays.

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CASE 7

(3 people in family.)

	Hours
461 Tortillas (½ hour morning and afternoon)	1
462 Going to mill	½
Carrying water, 3 ollas, twice a day	⅔
Preparing food	7/12
Marketing	½
Sweeping	¼
Shelling corn	½
Visiting mother daily	1
Care of child	2 to 3
Resting	½
Daily minimum (exclusive of rest periods) about	5

Washing and bath, Fridays, about 4 hours.

CASE 8

(4 people in family.)

	Hours
Tortillas, morning and afternoon, total	1½
Going to mill	¼ to ⅓
Carrying water (5 to 7 ollas daily)	⅔
Preparing food	⅔
Sweeping (twice a week)	½
Marketing	½
Shelling corn	⅔
Resting	½ to 1
Visiting, not every day	1
Daily minimum (exclusive of resting and visiting)	5½

Washing and bath, Wednesdays, 9 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m.

None of the women interviewed were too poor to pay for having their maize ground. If they had ground their own maize on the metate, the hours of labor would have been materially increased.

576 In addition to learning the techniques of earning a living and acquiring the necessary sense of responsibility to manage one's affairs, adult life usually requires the learning of a number of rules of behavior. Adults should know that it is never proper to enter a house yard without an invitation, even though it be unfenced. Visitors knock on the gate or call out until an invitation is given. Usually someone comes to the gate to inquire what is wanted, unless the person is very well known. Men are never invited in unless the man of the household is present. If one calls on a person about business, one always stands and talks about other things for a bit first.

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244 special uses: e. g. because of its sweet flavor, it is eaten only with silacayote (*Cucurbita ficifolia*); in Ihuatzio it is ground with black maize to make pinole.

Lima beans (*P. lunatus*) may have been common formerly in Tarascan agriculture in the *tierra caliente*. In Acahuato, a former Tarascan pueblo (5 km. north of Apatzingán), a climbing brown-seeded lima called *comba* is still grown in the house-lot gardens. According to local informants, it was formerly an important bean in the Tepalcatepec Basin.[72] Moreover, the writer found a wild climbing lima in the hedge rows in the *tierra templada*, near Los Reyes.

Cultivation methods.—Except in some highly developed irrigation districts, most Mexican peasant farmers still use the ancient Indian method of planting beans with maize. In plowland Tarascans customarily alternate plantings of beans and corn along a given row (planted *intercalado*), whereas in hoe land beans and maize seeds are dropped in the same hole.[73] In either case the bean vine uses the maize stock as a climbing support, and imparts nitrogen to the soil. Beans are gathered in late fall or in early winter a few days before the maize harvest. When men are busy at other tasks, women and children [462] gather the bean crop. Women sometimes plant beans with *elote* maize in the ekuáru; or often they plant beans alone, using poles for vine supports.

In many Tarascan pueblos bean production is declining; in some, farmers have ceased its cultivation. They claim that it is cheaper to buy *frijol* rather than to plant it, since the time and labor involved can be used more profitably at other tasks (e. g. lumbering). Others say that the soil lacks sufficient fertility to mature a bean crop. Again, in some sections of the Sierra beans are cultivated (with maize) only in newly cleared *desmontes*, where the ash from burned brush strengthens the soil sufficiently to raise one crop.

Use of frijol.—Beans are used exclusively for [252] human food. They are boiled in *ollas* and served with salt. Tamales filled with beans are not uncommon. The special uses of kokó~~ɸ~~ have been mentioned above.

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[72] Hendrichs (1945–46, vol. 1, pp. 40, 238) reports a bean called "comba" from the Balsas Basin, but identifies it as *P. coccineus*. The "comba" from Acahuato was identified as *P. lunatus* by Dr. R. W. Allard, College of Agriculture, University of California, Davis, Calif.

[73] In both cases the planter carried two bags (*morrales*), one containing maize seed, the other, beans.

243 December. Being more tolerant of poor soils and frost than either maize or wheat, it is customarily grown on the upper slopes. As it is believed that barley improves the soil, it is frequently rotated with maize. Much barley is sown on the high slopes around Cumachuén and Pichátaro, where yellow-brown soils and a short-growing season prevail. Oats are rarely cultivated; small fields were reported only in Pichátaro and Cumachuén.

244 *Other European field crops.*—Broadbeans, lentils, and chickpeas are cultivated chiefly around Lake Pátzcuaro and in the northern plateau pueblos, where they are often grown with maize. [262] Although small quantities are raised in the Sierra, these crops have little place in the native diet.

HORTICULTURE

The house-lot gardens (ekuáruečа).—These have been frequently mentioned above (pl. 7). In contrast to field agriculture, cultivation in the ekuáru is intensive; a large variety of plants (maize, beans, squash, vegetables, and fruits) are raised in each small lot; the soil is replenished by application of refuse from the dwelling and manure from the stable. The ekuáru is cultivated [462] mainly by the women and children of the household; the fields, in contrast, are worked by the men. In the gardens the women, always conservative, have retained the plants that are old in indigenous culture. Moreover, although some of the larger lots are plowed with oxen, most are cultivated with two of the present forms [412] of the tarákua: the wooden *pala* and the metal-bladed *asada*.

The principal garden crop is the *elote* maize, discussed above in connection with corn types. The cultivation of the old beans, such as kokóɸ, small patches of amaranth, and various squashes in the ekuáru, has also been mentioned. The women plant in the garden other indigenous vegetables, such as chayote (apúpu; *Sechium edule*),[38] *tomate* (tóma; *Physalis angulata*), which bears the small green husk-enclosed tomatoes; and, if water is available for irrigation, chiles of various types. The most significant vegetable grown in [262] the Tarascan house gardens, however, is the

[38] The chayote bears annually small squashlike fruits, which are boiled and served with chile. In its third year the plant develops a large tuberous root, which is dug up and boiled (naása) and is often ground on the metate to a flour, which is served as a gruel (ugtú). The plant is reproduced by seed, or rather by planting the entire chayote fruit.

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223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price
438 of beef. It is said not to be liked very well.
262 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village.
[463] Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated
with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted
down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and
then a white varnish (*blanco de España*).
None of these materials was further identified.
The price obtained for hats varies with the
thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing,
and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
[462] time occupation. Women's blouses are some-
times equipped with crocheted yolks. Cro-
cheted bands are also placed on the short blouse
sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

286 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 463 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town [511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards [177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside [439] in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

291 177 *Men's dress.*—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

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295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings
283 during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its
303 entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to
532 order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are
[438] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores,* midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter [347] house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. [651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. Individual sales are usually small, and the [437] portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

Nixtamal mills.—Some seven or eight *nix-* 256 *tamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

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462 They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

The bulk of the population of Cherán falls
463 into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor
[464] supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages,
465 especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to $1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

Bearing in mind that most men have some
462 land, the list of occupations in Cherán is exten-
463 sive, as shown in the following tabulation:

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

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463 Hat making (few)
Plank making
462 Shake making
Cutting railroad ties
Charcoal burning
Blanket weaving (few)
Broom-handle making (rare)
Gathering *raiz de paja* (few)
Wild-honey collecting (few)
Bee keeping (few—one woman)
Baking bread (one making *pan dulce*)
Ice cream making (one)
Brickmaking and tilemaking (rare)
Carpentry (few)
Wood turning (rare)
Blacksmithing (rare)
Masonry (few)
Brush making (few)
Painting and plastering (rare)
Fireworks making (one)
Tailoring
Twine making (few)

Women

Embroidering
Belt weaving (few)
Paper-flower making (rare)
Herb gathering (rare)
Gleaning
Cloth weaving (one)
Baking bread
Tailoring
Mat making (rare)

DISTRIBUTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Storekeeping
Trading
Selling at markets
Butchering
Transport

Women

Storekeeping (helpers)
Local food selling
Selling at markets

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Grain threshing
Operating *nixtamal* mills
Barbering (few)
School teaching (few)
Billiard-hall operation (two)
Marriage managing (few)
Water carrying for pay (rare)
All political offices[1]
All formal church offices[1]
All public works[1]
Mayordomias[1]
Musician
Rezadores (men who pray)

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 Ritual dancing[1]
Sorcery
462

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensi-
464 tive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a
465 return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

Unemployment for laborers usually comes
464 about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angáhuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.93a]

THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in *barrio*—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18–30 (17–30 for *barrio* III)	29	16	62	86	193
31–40	24	13	85	35	157
41–50	17	15	62	52	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	12	26	15	60
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	73	47	124	63	307
Laborer	6	5	119	133	265
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker	.....	2	.....	1	3
Mason	1	.....	3	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2	.....	.....	3
Musician	1	1	2	.....	4
Maestro	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Shoemaker	.....	1	6	1	8
Tilemaker	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

[212] [463]

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 Additional incomplete but interesting data 217 on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 54).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

527 While all the occupations in the town are represented in the fiesta, only the more impor-
463 tant ones take official part. These are the
624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey
527 gatherers take the two images of their patron
237 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

175 fitted into the class system of colonial
621 Mexico.

Every Indian community was also a cul-
[565] tural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

The other main type of social unit in
175 rural Mexico was the privately owned es-
621 tate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural
423 communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

The colonial village community was the
175 primary economic unit, to some extent self-
621 sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the
423 main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the
175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]

[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of
[463] most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they
[438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

For various reasons differences in wealth
175 came to exist within the community: The
556 Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-5.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the
438 economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

Among the declining industries, the
178 most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
●463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 69.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
[534] chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[439] greatly increased in importance. The town
[323] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

178 The declining crafts are among those
463 producing basic necessities, while the growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

423 No matter how important handicrafts
578 may be for the economy of a given village, land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

351/335 are connected by a piece of wood at top and bottom. Almost invariably they have a small gable roof (úmutakata in Angahuan, the name of the storehouses on posts already described). Two pieces are supported by the gate posts at right angles to the gate. The ends of these are connected with two pieces which support rafters. Construction is like that of a gabled house roof in miniature. Sometimes a light floor is laid, and the space is used to store maize husks for tamales or some similar, not very valuable, material. The gate roofs keep the gate from rotting or warping from rain. They are an inevitable part of the Tarascan landscape and may be seen sometimes in open fields over the entrance to the field even though there be no gate (pls. 3, right; 7, lower, left). In the Lake region, they are roofed with tile, a practice sometimes seen elsewhere (pl. 7, middle, right).

In some cases, however, simpler constructions are used. The gate may simply be upright planks resting in a groove at the bottom and held by cord loops at the top. In the fields, gates are often made by planting two posts with holes chopped in each to receive bars. Such gates are sometimes seen in town also. They are called "*agújas*" in Cherán, but in Parícutin they are called jarášurita.

[continued on p. 20b]

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 While a high degree of specialization is characteristic of the Tarascans in comparison with most primitive people, such a term is always relative. Actually almost any man in Cherán is first of all a farmer; only landless men, which means also poor men, are not farmers. Probably most Cherán men are fairly skilled with an ax, sufficiently so to do a reasonably competent job felling a tree, trimming poles, cutting fence posts or ties, and hewing out rough timbers. On the other hand, to make a living at woodworking occupations requires more skill and speed than would be possessed by many men. In the same way, any man might do a fair job of building a dry-stone field wall, but he would not be as fast as a specialist, nor could he put up a masonry wall or lay adobe bricks in a fashion that would meet Cherán standards of fitness. Nevertheless, these facts make an absolutely correct assessment of the

[p. 20a] [continued bottom of page 20b]

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

354 In some house yards there are large domed
[427] ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND
DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

[p. 20b]

463 specialists. The situation in other Sierra towns is similar. In the Lake region as well, nearly every one can make adobes and erect a house of sorts, but good work requires a specialist.

000 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually em-

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 No complete survey of construction types has yet been made but some general data are available.
184 It is clear that many fundamental features of the architecture extend through not only large areas of the Tarascan country but also into adjoining regions settled by Mestizos. The type of masonry construction with tile or shake roofs and wide overhanging eaves extends far beyond the limits of Tarascan settlement, and the wide eaves are characteristic of even such a town as Morelia, the State capitol. In general, the higher, more heavily forested areas from at least as far west as Tingüindin to near Morelia show a predominance of wooden construction, usually with shake roofs. The lower and, in some instances, drier regions show a predominance of masonry-adobe structures with tile roofs and wide eaves. In some cases, shakes replace tile as roofing material. Distribution of the wide-eaved masonry-adobe style extends beyond the present Tarascan boundaries. It ends sharply west of Zamora, and it disappears east of Morelia.

The following tabulation shows the present

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-a]

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33b]

[804] [48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 224 gathering, although now of small importance, is 222 still practiced throughout the area. Apart from ● 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 33b]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56-b]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

Among most people lacking modern transporta-
438 tion facilities and mass production techniques,
472 cottage industries, often termed "native crafts,"
are characteristic of the local economy. Owing
463 to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population [123] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agave fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 Like so many of his material culture elements,
463 the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[123] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 3.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

177 aboriginal and European products and techniques.
463 Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern woodwork the adz and the lathe are probably European [412] and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide [281] have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal. [286] Although the ancient belt loom is used for most cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European tech- [325] niques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

[P. 57-c]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1759
Aeuchutiq	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ahuiran	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Tablecloths. Woodwork: Violins. Turned work.	Weaving (cotton): Mantas. Belts. Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings of cotton thread.	Knitting: Men's cotton stockings.
Angahuan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Arantepacua	Capotes. Brooms.	(?)	(?)	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Aranza	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(Depopulated.)
Arocutin	None.	(?)	(?)	Potato weaving.
Atapan	None.	None.	None.	None.
Azajo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.

See footnote at end of table.

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1780
Cuitzeontzin (Parícutin)	Weaving (cotton): Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).	(?)	Weaving (cotton).
Cupuaro	Woodwork: Brooms handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts.	Woodwork: Boxes.	(?)	Woodwork: Boxes.
Curupan	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Charapan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf.	Weaving (cotton). Woodwork: Rosaries. Chocolate beaters.	Woodwork: Rosaries. Molcajetes.	Weaving (cotton. Woodwork: Rosaries.
Charán	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Napkins. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf. Embroidery work.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork (1742).
Cherán-Atzicuirín	None.	None.	None.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Chilchota	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Cocucho	Pottery.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries.	Woodwork: Rosaries.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries. Other turned work. Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (1742).
Cuanso	Leatherwork: Shoes. Belts. Saddle leather. Pottery.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Comanja	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Conatzo, Los (Parangaricutiro).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).
Curupo	Woodwork: Cabinetmaking. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Boxes. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Phonetic molds. Boxes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Cuanajo	Woodwork: Cabinet work: Boxes.	Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work. Boxes.

See footnote at end of table.

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1933	1930
Cocucho—Continued	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.			
Cuanalaba	Woodwork: Boxes. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars. Woodwork (1932): Saddle frames.
Erongarícuaro	Potato weaving.	(?)	Potato weaving.	(?)
Huécato	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ichán	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tócuaro	Potato weaving. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Jaráchi	Netting. Weaving (cotton): Men's belts.	(?)	(?)	Netting.
Jarácuaro	Hat making. Palm leaf. Weaving. Belts. Adobe making.	Potato weaving.	(?)	Potato weaving.
La Pandda	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nahuatzen	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Cloth. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Leatherwork: Saddles. Belts.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Saddles.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Shoes. Saddles.
Naranja	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Nopátaro	Potato weaving.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nuatzaqui	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Paro	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Hat making: Felt.	Hat making.	Hat making: Felt.
Quanáchio	Clay toys.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Weaving (cotton)
Tanaácuaro	Woodwork: Spoons. Boxes. Hat making: Wheat straw. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).

See footnote at end of table.

[P. 60]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1769
Paracho	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Turned work. Cabinet work. Toys. Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work. Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.
Patamban	Pottery. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Pottery.	Pottery.
Pichátaro	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Rebozos. Woodwork: Cabinet work. Broom handles. Batons. Hat making: Palm leaf. Petate weaving.	Weaving (agave). Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work.
Pomacuarán	None.	Weaving (cotton). Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings.	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (?).
Puácuaro	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Quiroga	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Capeton.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Quirinda	Woodwork: Batons. Turned work. Chairs.	(?)	Woodwork: Batons. Bones.	Woodwork: Batons. Woodwork (1742): Batons. Bones.
San Andrés	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
San Angel	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Santa Fé	Pottery.	(?)	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Batons (painted). Bones (painted). Petate weaving.
San Felipe	Ironwork. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Ironwork.	Ironwork.	Ironwork (also in 1844).
San Jerónimo	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Belts. Blankets.	(?)	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving. Woodwork: Bones.

[1] See footnote at end of table.

[P. 61]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1932	1780
San José	Pottery.	(?)	Leather work: Tanning. Woodwork: Saddle frames.	(?)
San Lorenzo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Santa Tumba	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Sevina	Woodwork: Boxes. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Sicuicho	None.	None.	None.	Weaving (cotton).
Sirio	Woodwork: Spoons. Boxes.	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)
Sopeo	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tacámaro	Potato weaving. Capote making.	Potato weaving.	Potato weaving.	Potato weaving.
Tanaco	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates.	None.	(?)	(?) Pottery (1742). Woodworking (1742). Saddle frames.
Tanaquillo	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Taracuato	Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates. Costales. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Rope making.	(?)	(?)	Weaving (agave).
Tacipeo	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Turcuando	Hat making: Wheat straw. Palm leaf. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Leatherwork: Shoes.	(?)
Trinidaro	Pottery: (Hat making ceased in 1936.)	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Tócuaro	Woodwork: Boxes. Spoons. Masks.	(?)	(?)	None.
Tócuro	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)

See footnote at end of table

[P. 62-a]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1841	1822	1780
Turicuaro	Stonework: Metates. Woodwork: Baizas. Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Capote making.	Stonework: Metates.	Stonework: Metates.	(?)
Tzintzuntzan	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.
Urapicho	Hat making: Palm leaf.	None.	None (?).	(?) Woodwork (1743): Saddle frames.
Uriaho	Petate weaving.	(?)	(?)	Petate weaving.
Zacán	(?)	Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (cotton): Mantas.	(?) Woodwork (1944): Batons. Rope making (1884).
Zirosto	Woodwork: Batons (disappeared since volcano). Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Batons. Spoons. Piloncillo molds. Weaving (cotton)	Woodwork: Batons (painted).	Woodwork: Batons. Woodwork (1944): Batons. Rope making (1884).

[1] Sources: 1944, Basalenque (1888); 1743, Villaseñor y Sánchez (1746–48); 1780, AGN, Historia, vol. 73; 1822, Martínez de Lejarza (1824); 1841, AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 704, Memorias Estadísticas, 1841; 1946, Field observation.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 62b]

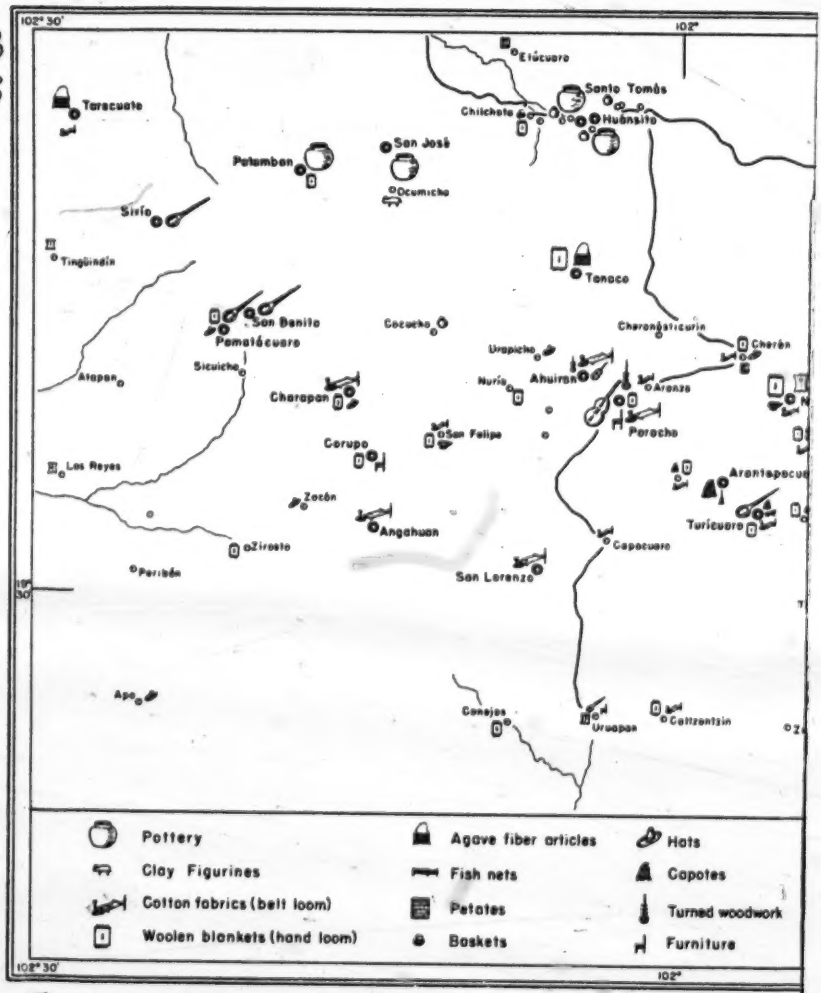
438 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest
463 times, have completely disappeared. The fine
Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the
beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924,
178 pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground
pith of maize stalks, from which various objects
(mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared
in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then disappeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican
kitchens,[138] and tile roofing is used extensively in

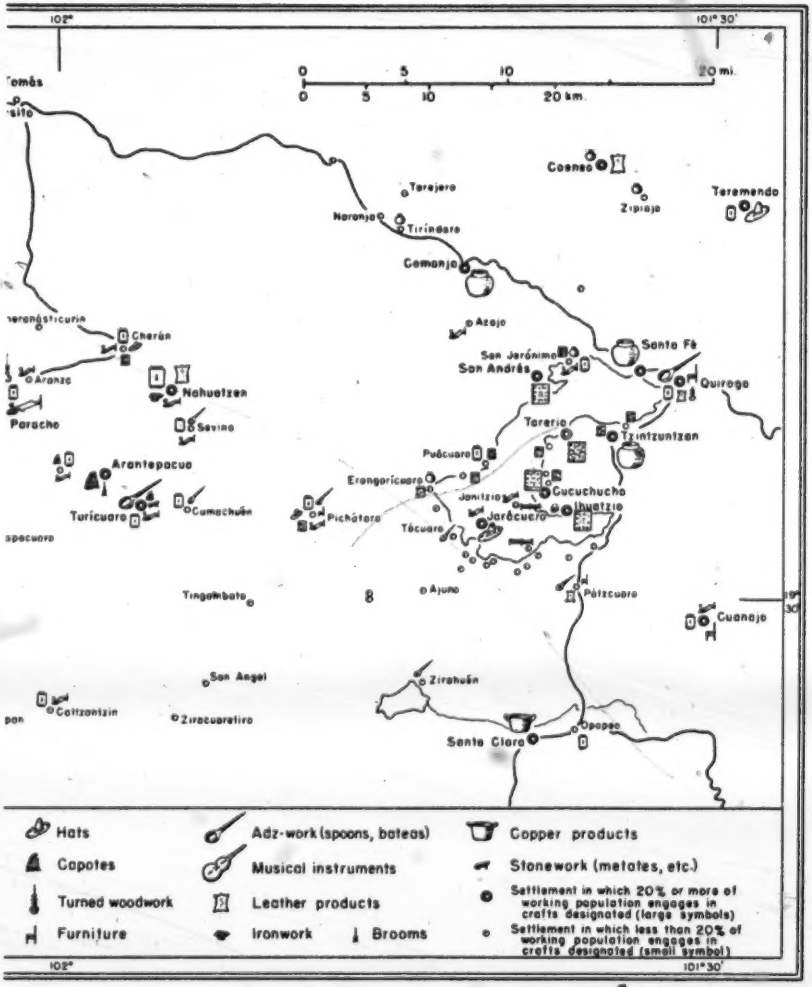
438
463



[Facing page 66; section A]

MAP 30.—Distribution of handicrafts in the m

438
463



...ion of handicrafts in the modern Tarascan area. [Facing page 66; section B]

748936 O - 48 (Face p. 66)

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

000 ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

133 South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of [361] the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of 133 361 the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with 463 438 its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

178 These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, 179 whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

137 This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright ~~000~~ red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

174 Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German [114] scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable [172] sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early [131] date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

648 In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539
The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conques [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 809
577

243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder (*"rastrojo"*) is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-[482] [285] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 484 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

462 They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

The bulk of the population of Cherán falls
463 into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor
[464] supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages,
465 especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to $1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

Bearing in mind that most men have some
462 land, the list of occupations in Cherán is exten-
463 sive, as shown in the following tabulation:

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 Ritual dancing[1]
Sorcery
462

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensi-
464 tive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a
465 return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

Unemployment for laborers usually comes
464 about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angáhuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

Low as wages are, Rendón collected an
465 account which indicates that wages were only
464 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

In addition to paid labor or labor for one's
651 own account, men are required to perform
464 certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also
[602] obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

No data were secured on the relation between
464 labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet
471 with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.15b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This
423 found its legal expression in the *Reforma* and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing
668 communal property. The change, however, went at a different pace in different re-
648 gions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its territory and population, is characterized by a very unequal development of its various regions, thus allowing different types of society and culture to live together even if connected and coordinated into a single nation. The political and legal changes of the late nineteenth century represent only the turning point at which this general trend of change became the dominant political issue and required expression in the nation's legal system.

175 In marginal regions, however, the land-
423 holding village, regardless of how many changes in its organization were required, survived and held its own against the haciendas, in the same way as haciendas had been the dominant type of economy in parts of Mexico at the time when communal ownership of villages was recognized and protected by law. Consequently, in discussing the development of a particular region like Michoacan, further inquiry is essential to determine to what extent and in what manner this national trend of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

175 The villages in the northern and southern
464 areas had to supplement their native economy with work in neighboring haciendas.
177 This seems to have been the main factor leading to the decline and final disappear-

175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

648 In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
656 regarding the distribution of the property of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas,* 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados);* that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 484-6.

175 others being landless. This condition seems
423 to have been present even at the time when land was owned by the village, wherever private property existed within the community. When private ownership became general at the end of the nineteenth century, the differentiation as to wealth within the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are available for the Tarascan area, the existing information shows that inequality in landed property within the villages was prevalent, although in different degrees, in the various Tarascan villages. It has been reported for the Cañada villages,[30] Urapicho,[31] Cherán,[32] Tzintzuntzan,[33] Paracho, Charapan and Jarácuaro[34] either for pre-revolutionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less in some small Cañada villages, which have preserved as communal holding the agricultural lands of the community.[35] In a large agricultural town like Cherán, where laborers come to work in harvest time from neighboring towns,[36] the differences are considerable. A great number of larger landowners rent part of their lands on a share crop basis to other villagers, and there are some completely landless men.[37]

Many Tarascan villages discourage the
[609] selling of land to outsiders, the approval of the town being necessary for such transactions.[38] The increased inequality seems to have been greater in those places where selling to strangers took place. At the advent of the Revolution, this was the case in some Cañada villages where the largest landholders were mestizos from neighboring towns.[39]

The custom by which individuals take
[796] care of financing a given religious festival also led some villagers to sell or pawn and
[426] later lose their lands. Such was the case in Urapicho before the Revolution.[40] In La Cañada this was not only a factor in hastening the loss of lands but also the way by which outsiders got hold of them, for the Indians pawned their lands to moneylenders in mestizo towns.[41]

175 In all towns where there are landless
423 people, the latter go out to work in neigh-
464 boring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
31. Beals, 1946, 131.
32. *Ibid.*, 12, 61-2, 66, 98-9.
33. Foster, 1948, 71-2, 173-3.
34. Field notes.
35. West, 1948, 32-3.
36. Beals, 1946, 61.
37. *Ibid.*, 99.
38. West, 1948, 32.
39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
40. Beals, 1946, 131.
41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.

175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting
621 of the villages into opposite parties in relation to the conflicts unleashed by the
578 Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have
[651] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

"The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 32-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 33; Beals, 1946, 21, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 176-1.

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

438 Handicrafts are very important to the economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape, and are frequently used even if the latter
178 are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 69.

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
191 contributed more than any other factor to the loss
177 of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 13-b]

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
[166] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were estab-
[166] lished *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech[23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
[127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1750, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746–48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1808, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

563 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers
177 and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large
191 Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern plateau. In the former area disease probably [164] decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[35] The mill settlements (*trapiches*, *ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan [164] forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, ex-
191 ploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente*
[177] and the establishment of smelting centers in Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[35] In 1540 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Tuxpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 203).

[Text continues top of P. 17a---Analyst]

314 picked up by trucks from turpentine distilleries in Uruapan and Morelia. Charcoal is a minor commercial forest product made by Tarascans living near mestizo towns. The latter comprise [312] the principal markets for charcoal, which has never entered Tarascan culture.[129] Other minor forest products consist of *ocote* splinters, used for primitive interior illumination;[130] softwoods 313 (madroño, jaboncillo, aile, etc.) for lathe work; pine and fir for cabinet work; etc.

Within the last 50 years the commercial sawmill has penetrated into the Sierra. Lumber companies purchase cutting rights of standing timber from the pueblos and set up a steam- or (when near a power line) electric-powered saw in the midst of the forest.[131] When the suitable timber has been depleted (under Federal inspection), the mill closes down, and the remnant of the forest reverts to the pueblo. Although most [464] companies bring in mestizo labor, many Tarascans from villages nearby obtain seasonal work in the sawmills, thereby supplementing their usually low income. Because of their ephemeral character, the number of mills in the area varies. In 1940 there were five mills in the Sierra proper; in 1946 the number had decreased to three.

During the last 100 years cutting has exceeded natural timber growth in the Sierra. Clearing of new plowland to sustain increased population and commercial lumbering have been the major factors of forest depletion. Moreover, disease has recently destroyed acres of pine in the vicinity of Tarecuato, and volcanic ash has laid waste the forest within a 3-mile radius of Paricutin. Lumbering even by the Tarascan woodsmen is often wasteful. Large trees are sometimes cut and left unattended for years until rot renders the wood useless.[132] Improper tapping for resin and testing for shakes often kill many trees. The sawmills, operating on a much larger scale than the native lumbermen, are even more destructive, and in former years they depleted large sections of Sierra forest. Approximately 50 years ago the timberland in the eastern part of the Sierra east

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[129] The main charcoal-producing towns in the area are San Lorenzo (Uruapan market), Opopeo and Cuanajo (Pátzcuaro market).

[130] The *rancheros* around Pamatácuaro gather much ocote, which the women market in the large mestizo towns bordering the Sierra.

[131] In 1944 the pueblo of San Felipe sold its forest to an Uruapan company for two million pesos. The proceeds were deposited in an Uruapan bank, where they remain communal property.

[132] Such wasteful exploitation was much in evidence in the forest lands of Pamatácuaro on the southern slope of Cerro de Patamban.

233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 465 The average wages of sheepherders are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent misbehavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or [626] carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

301 Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs [435] about $35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

335 Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán 322 except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

The differences in the economic well-being of 511 towns situated only a few miles apart are 465 sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive $1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually 335 consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

[text continues on p. 436]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

462 They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

The bulk of the population of Cherán falls
463 into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor
[464] supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages,
465 especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to $1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

Bearing in mind that most men have some
462 land, the list of occupations in Cherán is exten-
463 sive, as shown in the following tabulation:

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 Ritual dancing[1]
Sorcery
462

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensi-
464 tive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a
465 return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

Unemployment for laborers usually comes
464 about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angáhuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

465 Low as wages are, Rendón collected an
464 account which indicates that wages were only 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

651 In addition to paid labor or labor for one's
464 own account, men are required to perform certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also
[602] obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

464 No data were secured on the relation between labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

471 Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

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[p.65a]

TABLE 1.—*Estimates of maize yields in Cherán*—Continued

243
433

ESTIMATE BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AT HARVEST

Type of land	Yield in *fanegas* per hectare	Remarks
Poor to average land	3	Maize badly damaged by early frost.
Average land	12	Maize slightly damaged by frost.

243 In addition to securing data on yield, i.e., income, for maize, an effort was made to secure
433 data on production costs. General statements
461 as to the amount of time put in on farm work proved worthless. Usually the time given would scarcely provide for a single weeding. The best figures were secured by breaking down the different steps and getting experienced farmers to estimate the time necessary for cultivating 1 hectare. A summary of such data gives the following:

	Days
Labor of owner:	
First plowing	10
Second plowing (at right angles)	10
Sowing	3
First cultivation (with plow)	4
Second cultivation (with plow)	3
First weeding (with sickle or machete)	3
Second weeding (often omitted)	3
Harvest	1
Carrying maize to house (estimated average)	5
Total	42
Hired labor:	
Sowing (2 peons)	3
Harvesting (3 peons)	1

Costs:	
Owner's labor (42 days valued at $0.45 a day outside of planting and harvesting time)	$18.90
2 peons for 3 days	3.00
3 peons for 1 day	1.50
Total	$23.40

[465]

On the assumption that a man will own sufficient land to require hired labor, the summary given above includes 9 man days of hired labor at a cost of $4.50 or a total of 51 man days of labor worth $23.40. To this must be added $30 for hire of an ox team if one is not owned, probably $1 in taxes, and $2.50 for the value of the seed corn (one-half *fanega*), or a total of $56.90. If this is about an average piece of land, the yield will be 15 to 20 *fanegas* of shelled

231 pig takes from 1 to 2½ *fanegas* of maize to
434 fatten, valued at from $5 to $7. According to
size, the animal may bring from $30 to $75, a
[435] gross profit on the fattening process of from
$12.50 to $70.00. This would be 5 to 7 pesos
less if the pig was bought. If an adequate
market were developed, or if sales and trans-
port facilities at a distance were to be devel-
oped, pig raising might be a more important
activity, although an increase in the number of
pigs would decrease the amount of foraging
possible and would require more feeding.

Sheep raising is engaged in by only a few.
236 The reliability of the major informants is sus-
434 pect, but the evidence suggests that sheep rais-
ing is profitable. The major expense is the
initial cost of the flock and the wages of a
shepherd. Sheep are worth $2.50 to $5.00
[435] apiece. Shepherds' wages vary with the size of
the flock, but probably rarely exceed $20 a
[465] month plus a *fanega* of maize and one sheep
for food; most shepherds receive considerably
less, often only $5 a month without food. Often
several small owners merge their flocks and
hire a single shepherd.

Income from sheep is mainly from wool and
payments to have the flocks bedded on farm
land. Sheep average a pound of wool a year
(this seems low but the sheep are of poor
[435] quality), which sells for $1 to $1.25. A fair-
size flock of sheep would bring 50 centavos a
night for fertilizer. A few sheep are sold for
[262] meat outside the village; almost no lamb or
mutton is eaten in Cherán. No data were se-
cured on prices. Mortality on sheep is high,
but again no usable data were obtainable.

A flock of 200 sheep studied represents an
investment of $750 in theory although it prob-
ably was built up by natural increase from a
smaller flock. The shepherd receives $20 a
month, 1 *fanega* of maize worth at least $5, and
a sheep worth, on an average, $3.75, or a total
of $28.75 a month ($345 a year). Wool would
produce $200 to $250 a year. Bedding on farm
lands would produce probably 50 centavos a
night for this flock for 110 days (estimated)
or $55. Total income from these sources would
be $255 to $305 a year. The natural increase
may safely be assumed to be 75 head. Sold at
$2.50 apiece, they would bring in $187.50 a

Plank making:

313 *Tools:*

433 Oak mallet

434 Oak wedges

Ax

Two-handled saw

Expenses:

Haulage (ox team, horse, or even burros)

Forest use tax (now 10 pesos for membership in cooperative)

Production (with good workmen):

3 dozen planks per week

Gross profits:

$0.85 to 1.25 per day per person

Comment: Sawing planks requires two men, hence work is done by teams. The gross profits probably are very nearly all net, as deterioration of equipment is slight. Maintaining an average income of the larger size indicated would require 6 long work days a week for the most skilled workers.

Firewood cutting:

Some men at times cut firewood for sale. A burro load brings $0.25 to $0.30.

Tie cutting:

Data on this subject seem unreliable and are omitted.

Charcoal burning:

314 Beyond the fact that charcoal burners work a 5-day

433 week, no economic data were secured. The little char-

434 coal used in Cherán is sold at 2½ to 3 centavos a kilo delivered.

Carpentry:

395 *Tools:*

433 Mallet, saw, chisels, hammer, ax, adz, plane; value about $20–$30

434 *Products, labor, value:*

As each carpenter's job is unique, only a series of cases can be given, as follows:

[435] (a) Large door takes 4 days (10 to 12 hours daily), lumber cost $4, selling price $17, gross profit $13, daily return (not allowing for interest on capital, etc.) $4.25.

(b) Average door takes 4 days (6 to 7 hours daily) lumber cost $4, selling price $12, gross profit $8, daily return $2.

(c) Average door takes 6 days (but this carpenter has rheumatism and cannot work steadily), selling price $5 a door if lumber is furnished, daily return less than $1.

(d) House building or house moving, $1.50 daily (if done under contract, as usual).

Comment: As only carpenters with other members in the family to get wood, do chores, look after animals, etc. can work more than 6 or 7 hours a day, probably $2 a day is top income. Moreover, as work is not steady and as all seem eager to take house building or house

[465] moving jobs at $1.50, it may be assumed that average wages the year around are less than $1.50.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p,70b]

322 *Wood turning:*

433 *Equipment:*

434 Lathes
Saws
Chisels

Product:

Chocolate beaters

Cost of materials:

No data; the small quantity of madroña wood used is probably a minor factor.

Labor:

[435] About 25 to 30 beaters are made in a day's work. Sale price at 50 centavos per dozen ..... $1–$1.25

Comment: Considering the costs of materials and the time involved in selling the product, returns for labor probably are under $1 a day. Only one man in Cherán follows this trade.

MINERAL PROCESSING AND USE

339 *Brickmaking and tilemaking:*

433 *Labor* (per 1,000 tile or brick):

434

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

Other costs (in kind):

Rent of building and right to dig clay on public lands (paid to *municipio*), 10 percent of product value:

Tile, per 1,000	$3.00
Brick, per 1,000	3.20

Sales prices:

[435]

Tile, per 1,000	$30
Brick, per 1,000	32
Gross profit, tile, per 1,000	27
Daily profit per worker	3

Comment: While brick bring a slightly higher price, there is a greater loss in firing. Consequently, profits are about the same as for tile. The demand for brick or tile is not sufficient to employ two men full time. The wage return is hence misleading, indicating what might be possible if demand provided steady labor. [465] The fact that both tilemakers took jobs on highway construction crews whenever possible at $1 a day suggests that income over a long period of time is much less than is indicated. On the other hand, the tilemakers probably average a higher annual income than do unskilled landless farm laborers in Cherán.

Masonry:

333 *Equipment:*

433 Trowel ("*cuchara*")

434 Short shovel
½-pound iron mallet ("*marro*," maso)
2-pound sledge with pointed ends ("*picadera*")

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.87a]

435 exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure [177] of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Purépero, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have [465] paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.[28] The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

435 178 494 In general, the coming of the highway is bringing higher prices for local products.

[28] It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

668 of stealing because it distributed the haciendas, it does not propagandize a return to the old order. It is supported by small farmers and even ejidatarios dissatisfied with the course of the land reforms. It promises the ejidatarios to rid them of the new bosses born of the Revolution and to give them as outright private property their ejido plots which now are ultimately owned by the State.

668 Since the late 'thirties, the period when land reforms were more or less completed,
465 the real wages in the countryside have been in decline[51] due mainly to wartime inflation. This fact together with the in-
[452] ability of the government to provide agricultural credit indicates the difficult situation of the countryside and explains the rapid growth of a protest movement like sinarquismo.[52]

668 The opposition to the agraristas and to the government which had arisen in many Tarascan towns has lately merged with sinarquismo. Sinarquista units function in many villages and many Tarascans are members of the party.

In the present situation, with the agra-
423 rian revolt receded, the Indian village com-
181 munities, although greatly impaired, show a persistence of an economic foundation which is the basis for the survival of the

51. Whetten, 1948, 262.
52. Gill, 1944; Padilla, 1948; Whetten, 1948, 494-522.

335 465 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually employed on a contract basis. Often the carpenter employs a helper. In addition to their pay, the carpenter and helper are given their food. Adobe or stone structures are also built under contract, but in this case the workmen are not fed.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 184 known distribution of types within Tarascan boundaries:

Mostly wood	*Mostly masonry-adobe*	*All masonry-adobe*
Ahuiran	Cuanajo	Cucuchucho
Angahuan	La Cañada (all towns)	Huecorio
Arantepakua	Puacuaro [2]	Ihuatzio
Aranza	Tarecuato	Janicho
Capacuaro	Uruapan [1] [2]	Jarácuaro [2]
Charapan	Zacápu [1]	Naranja
Cherán	Zamora [1]	Pareo
Cocucho		Pátzcuaro [1]
Corupo		Quiroga
Nahuatzen		Santa Fé
Nurió		Tarejero
Paracho		Tecuena
Parangaricutiro		Tiríndaro
Parícutin		Tzentzénhuaro
Patamban		Tzurumútaro
Pomacuarán		Yunuán
Quinseo		
San Felipe		
San Lorenzo		
Sevina		
Tucutacato		
Tingüindin		
Urapicho		
Zirosto		

[1] Indicates Mestizo town showing influence of styles.
[2] Indicates shake roofs common.

243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder ("*rastrojo*") is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-[482] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the [285] back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 464 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the
652 general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

467 The functioning of government in Cherán is
665 often affected by unofficial organizations and informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanas*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise violent disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

661 The development of this informal organiza-
579 tion grew out of another and earlier organization that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940–41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1126]

661 confidential talks, and even then it is doubtful
whether all the details were abstracted from
579 unwilling witnesses. The story as learned does not seem to call for all the secrecy involved, and this gives weight to the suspicion that the truth of the underlying factors was not secured and that these factors are more operative today than anyone would admit.

At the height of the agrarian movement in Michoacán, the control of the *municipio* was secured by a group of some 30 men calling themselves "agrarians (*agraristas*)." Everyone seemed agreed that there was no genuine agrarian problem in Cherán and that the members of the group had no desire for land but only for power. Perpetuating themselves in office, members of this group at first were tolerated but gradually became more and more overbearing in their attitude. When people finally began to show signs of discontent, the "agrarians" asked the State authorities for aid on the grounds that the people were rebellious. As a result, a detachment of soldiers was stationed in Cherán under the command of a lieutenant to enforce order and the authority of the municipal officials. The young lieutenant apparently soon saw that his troops were perpetuating an illegal and unpopular group in power and tried to get his superiors to make a real investigation, but with no success. The tyranny of the ruling group now became unbearable.

The climax came when a drunken member of the group began firing his revolver on the main streets and threatening people. One of the soldiers endeavored to arrest the man and was shot and killed. The lieutenant now succeeded in having the situation thoroughly investigated, and as a result the detachment of soldiers was withdrawn. The following day occurred the *zafarrancho*. Some 10 to 12 of the "agrarians" were killed and the rest fled the town. In 1940, they were still living in exile in nearby towns.

664 For a time following this, Cherán was
governed by a *presidente militar*, an appointed
665 army officer. Technically, this was true in
467 1940, but the commander rarely even visited the town and all troops had been removed some time before. The present "progressive" government has effectively been in power since the affair. This is also the group which has

467 organized the local branch of the CTM, no
665 doubt a factor in securing the withdrawal of
664 the always unpopular military garrison.

The leader of the progressive group is a man
159 who has not held any official office in the town,
665 Moisés Valenzuela, commander of the *reserva*. An orphan as a child, Valenzuela was aided by a woman he calls his aunt. According to Valenzuela's own story, he left Cherán at 16 and tried to go to the United States. Refused admission for some reason, he fell into bad company and became involved in smuggling liquor across the border during prohibition. Eventually the activities of the group extended to narcotics, Valenzuela was caught and held about 18 months in a Texas jail, after which he was deported. He then entered an army school, learned to read and write and received some further education, eventually becoming some sort of officer. Returning to Cherán during the time of the agrarians, he organized and led the resistance to them, and quite informally arrived in the position of being, as one informant put it, "head man" of Cherán. Locally he is regarded as an influential person over an area extending as far as the State capital, Morelia.

So far as evidence could be found, Valenzuela is an honest man, well-liked in the town. He talked several times of the necessity of going away and earning some money. According to his story, he did not mind giving most of his time for the town, but the time had come when he should look after his wife and children better than he was able to do in Cherán. Certainly he did not live in a pretentious house, and his customary clothing was overalls. His dress, of course, could be assumed for political reasons, but when he made trips to Morelia or Uruapan on community or private business, he certainly dressed little better. It is, of course, quite possible that persons with a different view of Valenzuela were afraid to talk freely. He himself deprecated his position and seemed somewhat amused that the townspeople accorded him as much respect as they did. His own story of his arrest and jail sentence in the United States was told with a somewhat rueful and artless good humor. On the many occasions he was seen with others, he always seemed ready to listen to other points of view and to advance his own without any attempt at domina-

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.12c] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.
565 Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [651] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's responsibility to supply a definite number of [467] laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento*, *mita*, or *coatequil*.

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas*, and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of eco-
621 nomic and cultural autonomy, but they never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading,
621 paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish
565 enterprise, and losing individuals to the growing free lower classes (*castas*), they

5. Sorokin, 1930, I:500.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
[114] during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan
area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on
the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about
fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to
be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanan-
cha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but ap-
parently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it
had in early Colonial days.

The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
796 brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoa-
443 cán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal
requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of
merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make
the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several
places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second
Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday
has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the
year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious
aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special
church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people be-
cause they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The
clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday
then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had
been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the
present parish priest was in residence.

But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
178 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
533 holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same special-
ized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about
the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the
time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to
have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the
trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior. 178 796 [467]

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday. 796 578 [622 662]

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however. 533 796

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day 535 796

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

Low as wages are, Rendón collected an
465 account which indicates that wages were only
464 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

In addition to paid labor or labor for one's
651 own account, men are required to perform
464 certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also
[602] obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

No data were secured on the relation between
464 labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet
471 with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

471 556 Ownership of livestock similarly poses questions. The wealthy man who keeps a considerable number of bulls whose main use seems to be to enhance his social prestige by having the bulls selected for riding at a fiesta may also sell them for beef if he needs money for productive enterprises. Sheep are capital in much the same sense that land is capital. A yoke of oxen or a burro may be used to aid production and are also rented. A horse, on the other hand, is close to a "conspicuous expenditure."

471 Probably the minimal capital required in Cherán is for the production of certain services. A water carrier needs only two 25-liter oil cans, a bit of rope, and a piece of wood to make a [313] yoke. A *tabla* maker (one producing heavy hewn planks or beams) needs only an ax and some oak wedges he cuts out himself, and 10 [474] pesos to join the cooperative (formerly he would have needed only enough to pay the tax for use of communal lands). A digging stick and a knife would suffice to gather *raiz de paja*, while herbs need only a bit of cloth to tie them in. At the other extreme are the owners of threshing machines, *nixtamal* mills, or trucks, the latter requiring a cash outlay of between 8 and 10 thousand pesos.

For the farmer, aside from land, very few capital goods are necessary. Ox teams and plows may be rented and paid for out of the crop; even land may be secured on a sharecrop basis. A special *machete* for weeding is, in fact, the only indispensable tool. Such farming, however, will bring a relatively small return, probably little, if any, more than could be earned by a hired laborer.

At the other extreme, a landowner, farming his own land, should own an ox team, yoke, plow, *machete*, burros, and nets for transporting the crop, adequate storage facilities, and sufficient cash to hire labor at crucial periods such as planting and harvesting. A man so situated will reap the best possible return from his labor.

The major investment of a farmer is in land, storage facilities, and livestock. His ox yoke and plow he may make himself, and the few metal tools needed are not costly. In general, the investment in tools and equipment is much less than that required in manufacturing or some service occupations. A sewing machine

471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [431] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of [423] exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners [556] to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

2:Carrasco F-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 159] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 This fight turned out to be an attack on
423 inalienable landed property in general, in-
668 cluding the Indian communal lands. The purpose was to free those lands thus removed from commerce and throw them to
[565] the free play of the market, creating a class of small farmer-owners with a well developed idea of property which would make for social and economic progress.

175 The abolition of landownership by civil
668 and ecclesiastical corporations was first written into law in 1856 and incorporated
423 into the 1857 constitution during the period of Mexican history known as the *Reforma*.[21] The enforcement of these measures, in so far as they concerned the lands of Indian towns, was usually delayed until the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

175 The Indians' communal lands were al-
423 lotted as private property among the villagers. Once the property title was in individual hands, with the possibility of be-
648 ing sold to anybody, outsiders found the way open to acquire land which, through communal land title, had formerly been reserved for the villagers. The greater economic power of the non-Indians, and frequently unfair practices, allowed them to acquire a great amount of land from Indian villages. The concentration of land in haciendas and the impoverishment of the villages were thus facilitated. This process was accelerated during the Porfirio Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the general economic progress of that period.
[471] The inflow of capital, building of railroads, development of mining and other industries, also led to a rise of land values and an increase of capital seeking to invest in land.[23]

* * *

175 In summary, after the reforms of the end of the nineteenth century, the haciendas
423 grew enormously at the expense of the formerly communal land of the village
668 communities or of land allotted to individual Indians who were not able to keep pos-
648 session. On the other hand, the remaining village communities changed from units of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the expense of the land-holding villages and the change within the villages from communal to private property represented the general national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phipps, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 136.
23. Phipps, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enríquez, 1909, 56-8.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56b]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

Among most people lacking modern transporta-
438 tion facilities and mass production techniques,
472 cottage industries, often termed "native crafts,"
are characteristic of the local economy. Owing
463 to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population[133] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agave fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 Like so many of his material culture elements,
463 the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[133] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 2.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

471 Ownership of livestock similarly poses ques-
556 tions. The wealthy man who keeps a consider-
able number of bulls whose main use seems to be to enhance his social prestige by having the bulls selected for riding at a fiesta may also sell them for beef if he needs money for productive enterprises. Sheep are capital in much the same sense that land is capital. A yoke of oxen or a burro may be used to aid production and are also rented. A horse, on the other hand, is close to a "conspicuous expenditure."

Probably the minimal capital required in
471 Cherán is for the production of certain services. A water carrier needs only two 25-liter oil cans, a bit of rope, and a piece of wood to make a
[313] yoke. A *tabla* maker (one producing heavy hewn planks or beams) needs only an ax and some oak wedges he cuts out himself, and 10
[474] pesos to join the cooperative (formerly he would have needed only enough to pay the tax for use of communal lands). A digging stick and a knife would suffice to gather *raiz de paja*, while herbs need only a bit of cloth to tie them in. At the other extreme are the owners of threshing machines, *nixtamal* mills, or trucks, the latter requiring a cash outlay of between 8 and 10 thousand pesos.

For the farmer, aside from land, very few capital goods are necessary. Ox teams and plows may be rented and paid for out of the crop; even land may be secured on a sharecrop basis. A special *machete* for weeding is, in fact, the only indispensable tool. Such farming, however, will bring a relatively small return, probably little, if any, more than could be earned by a hired laborer.

At the other extreme, a landowner, farming his own land, should own an ox team, yoke, plow, *machete*, burros, and nets for transporting the crop, adequate storage facilities, and sufficient cash to hire labor at crucial periods such as planting and harvesting. A man so situated will reap the best possible return from his labor.

The major investment of a farmer is in land, storage facilities, and livestock. His ox yoke and plow he may make himself, and the few metal tools needed are not costly. In general, the investment in tools and equipment is much less than that required in manufacturing or some service occupations. A sewing machine

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 district commander to arrest all strangers and
625 send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The represent-
632 ative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

632 The collection of funds for use of the forest
651 lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood
632 for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without secur-
313 ing a permit from the forestry service. (As indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to
[474] concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representante* is rea-
632 sonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him as the leader of a bloody riot.

159 As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

474 An entirely different type of organization is the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed [578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still 474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás- 159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically [195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedián, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

474 The organization of the cooperative would give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest 313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the
578 Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

313 All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
656 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
[423] most entirely on public lands considered to belong to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort was open to all residents who had paid a small fee to an administrative committee. The fee was used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently, the Department of Forestry of the Federal Government has restricted exploitation of the forests for any purpose other than the collection of firewood to persons having permits. In Cherán this
[474] apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry has refused to give permits to any other group or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks and beams. Shake making is even more specialized, and men who make shakes may do nothing else except look after whatever farm lands they may own. Only a very poor person would attempt to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
137 tinguished, red (iaɪíni), the heartwood of large trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or wood from young trees. From these woods are made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over 2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or *tablas*.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-handled saw (k'eréri aɪákutarakua). Logs destined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the *vara*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *vara* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

[p. 9a]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 55b] Sierra

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, [439] shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Wood- cutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[128] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[128] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and ranchos, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 23a]

241 when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

243 Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may [804] be planted. Maize rows are about 1 *vara* (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work [462] is done by men. There is no exchange of labor [476] or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (ʻirá,ki) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

632 The general situation of the *municipio* has
634 already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
423 daries, although there are usually disputes with
632 neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[476] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000.
[161] Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished.
361 A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

[p.109a]

604 she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

General behaviors.—All more distant rela-
602 tives are expected to take part in any "labor."
476 This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for
[554] prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obliga-
574 tions are apparent is when a family returns to
602 the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

608 Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

2:Carrasco Ξ-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 27 a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 621 the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 476 Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

175 794 The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuríso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

175 794 575 Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

175 794 575 621 743 This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

362 could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

362 184 Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

[continued on p. 30b]

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

CEREMONIES

342 Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "*combate*," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

342 431 476 On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing.

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL

FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is com-
476 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are
[531] fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Parícutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge-pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

342 owner, the master builder, and his helpers, and the nearer relatives of the house owner are now decorated with festoons of pieces of bread, some in the shape of animals, toasted wheat tortillas, and flowers. These are brought in a procession from the house of a relative. Women carry baskets on their heads and dance in the streets. The musicians accompany the party. The various articles are tied to the women's belts and then are hung about the necks of the men. These strings are called "*cuelgas*" (pl. 8, right). As a special guest, Beals was decorated with the others, and care was taken to explain to him that it was customary to return the belts. The master builder and, particularly, the house owner received several festoons of this kind.

Following this ceremony there was dancing, which lasted until late at night. In the particular [273] ceremony described, the householder drank very little. The next day several of the relatives returned with liquor and insisted that he get drunk with them as he had not drunk the day before.

The other major occasion on which ceremonies 483 occur in connection with houses is when a house is 342 moved from one location to another. A man wishing to move a house to a new location hires a 476 master builder to supervise the work. He also invites all his relatives, who are obligated to come. The women aid in preparing food, while the men take apart the house, carry it to the new location, and erect it again. The house owner takes no part in this work; in fact, he is apt to become drunk and be something of a nuisance. The relatives are fed at midday and again in the evening, but they do not ordinarily drink much until evening. Even then most of them are apt to go home before eating or immediately after eating. Ordinarily, a house will be moved completely in 1 day; sometimes, however, part of the roof will be unfinished, in which case a few men will return the next day to complete the work.

A special feature observed at a house moving, but nowhere else, was the serving of tobacco from the lowlands and corn husks for rolling cigarettes. At all other ceremonies the host frequently passed around cirgarettes, but they were of the usual commercial type.

342 The house is the center of numerous other festivities and ceremonials, but they do not pertain to the house directly. The major occasions are

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

222 237 ing. The combs found here are round and hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravo*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon [752] juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If [481] the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk with a small special-type ax, tying himself with [412] a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
48 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

857 Boys and girls play together a good deal until
524 aged 8 or 10. Varieties of tag games are common. Boys also play among themselves frequently. For small boys at present, small home-made wagons with four wheels, usually with no method of steering, are one of the more popular playthings. Older males in the household make the wagons. Balls made of rags are also used. They are thrown and, at times, are used with a hockeylike game in which the ball is hit with curved wooden sticks. The street is used as a field and the object is to hit the ball past opponents (Beals and Carrasco, 1944). January is a favorite time for this game. Small boys amuse themselves by roping pigs, and about the time of the fiesta of the patron saint they may attempt to ride the pigs.

The most popular boys' game probably is marbles. The common marble game is "follow the leader." It is sometimes played for centavos. The rainy season is the most popular time, because the rain lays the dust and provides clean, hard surfaces. Quite popular is top spinning, which is most played in June and July. Top fighting is a common form. The first player throws his top at a ring. If he misses, his opponent attempts to hit the top with his own. He may split the first top, for the points are sharpened, or win it.

857 Stilts are made, especially in October and
481 November. They are small, peeled pine trees with one of the branches left projecting near the bottom. This is almost exclusively a boy's amusement, but one girl was seen walking on stilts. Hunting birds with sling shots (mostly
[223] of the rubber-band type) is most common in May and June. A ring and pin game, made of
[524] wood in Paracho, is played by all ages.

A favorite sport from March through May is
857 kite flying. Kites of small boys are about 7 by
524 9 inches; those of larger boys are about 2 by 3 feet. They are six-stick kites made with sticks all the same length and requiring a tail. They are commonly in bright colors. Big boys tie razor blades on the tails of their kites and fight each other. They try to maneuver their kites into the top position where they can be dropped and cut the strings of the other kites. There is a slight element of danger in this; one boy got his cheek laid open in 1940.

243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder (*"rastrojo"*) is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-[482] splint burden basket (ŭndis) carried on the [285] back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 464 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the [854] back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 For special occasions, women who can afford them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton [438] *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may [435] cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children [492] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the rebozo. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

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333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

Barbers.—Most men in Cherán now have
305 their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

Water carriers.—In most households the
312 women bring the water from the fountain or
482 aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders.
462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

Consideration of food processing in this
128 section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

The storage of food is confined primarily to
251 maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

796 latter are given to the girl by her relatives. Her father and mother present her with 1 bag and 1 cloth, but the rest, as many as 20 of each, are presented by her grandparents and cousins. At the top of the cross and at the end of each arm are fastened small sprays of green palm. On Palm Sunday this cross is carried by the boy.

The girl carries a stick, usually of oak, about 796 2 yards high. Hung to this is every kind of 482 fruit, especially tropical fruits, all provided by the boy. These may include a bunch of bananas, some coconuts, and perhaps a watermelon. Or the girl may carry a watermelon, together with some honeycombs, on her back. Often she can scarcely carry the load.

There is much competition between the [621] *barrios* in this regard (the only hint of *barrio* competition secured). Each looks to see which girl is most laden with things, which girl has been able to make the largest balls of pinole and decorate them best, and which has the most grandparents and cousins (and hence the most bags and tortilla cloths).

On the afternoon of Palm Sunday all go to 796 the little rise in the road toward Nahuatzen (the road to the hot country) beyond the bridge at the edge of the town, and from there all go together to the church. The boy and girl from each *barrio* have their companions, all relatives. Those relatives of the girl who have given a bag or a cloth and those relatives of the boy who have given a honeycomb for the girl to carry are adorned with the *gorditos*. The four boys together will have hired musicians, and many others come to see and hear. About 4 o'clock they all reach the church; they go inside for a moment and then return home, where they divide the things among the relatives who have helped them or accompanied them. There is no special ceremony in the church on this day.

During Holy Week a Mass is held every day in the church. The Tenebrae are also represented. All the candles are put out. Sulfur is burned and bombs are exploded to represent the lightning. Then the candles are relighted with an ordinary wax match.

Thursday the image of Christ is placed in a cage of bars. It is guarded by a number of persons representing the Jews, who are dressed in common-colored women's dresses and hats

585 The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and four or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the [532] form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

585 Before the exchange of clothing and bread was completed, the godmothers began the 535 dancing. No one was supposed to dance until 608 the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

585 The dancing was interrupted at this point by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men [482] carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

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Octava, 4 days
Corpus, 4 days
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
San Juan, 1 day
San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
Wedding, 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

462 Women, in general, work longer hours at more varied tasks and with numerous interruptions.
312 While women also attend fiestas and weddings in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are [482] always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo*, which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 The best picture of women's activities may
462 be presented by giving a number of actual

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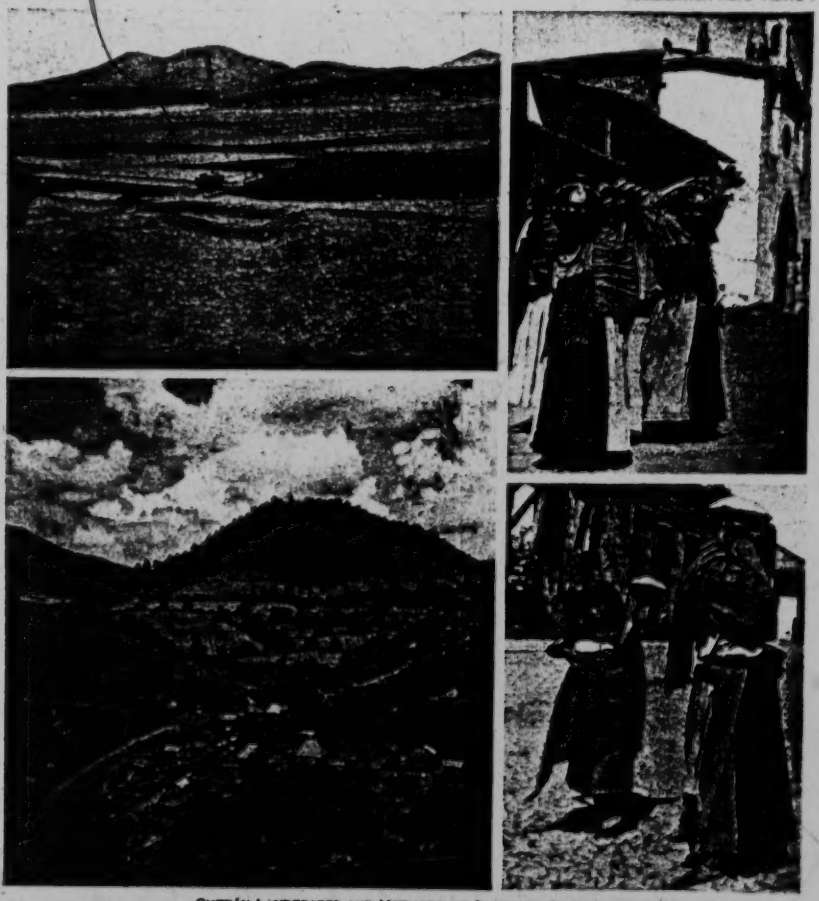

CHERÁN LANDSCAPES AND METHODS OF CARRYING OBJECTS.

Upper (left): The plains below Cherán, the major agricultural area, about 7,000 feet elevation, viewed from the highway, near southeast corner of the town. Darker portions are plowed fields; the remainder not yet plowed. *Upper (right):* Women carrying water in typical manner, with the usual Cherán water jar. A method of wearing the *rebozo* is shown. The church and priest's residence are in background. *Lower (left):* The northwest *barrio* of Cherán. The new highway curves along the edge of the barranca. Typical cultivated fields slope gently up to the cinder cone, which rises 1,000 feet above the town. *Lower (right):* Carrying bowls of masa (corn ground for tortillas) from the mill. Carrying on the head is unusual, but the method used by the girl is common for small objects. The woman's skirt has the thick pleat or rolls.

[End Plate 1]

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WOMEN, CARRYING METHODS, AND HAIR GROOMING.

Upper (left): Woman bargaining for tomatoes, showing typical method of carrying burdens on the back, i. e., by a sling of sacking which supports a basket and passes around the shoulders and across the chest. Her rollo is clearly visible. The man in the short poncho is probably a Mestizo attending the fiesta. *Upper (right):* Woman using *rebozo* in carrying a child. Musicians in background. *Lower (left):* Unmarried young woman of San Lorenzo with rayon apron and light *rebozo* for a fiesta. *Lower (right):* Mother combs her daughter's hair and anoints it with oil or lemon juice (in bowl) to give it a sheen.

[End Plate 2]

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

● 483 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
[602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years
343 or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The
342 simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína
335 tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (aɣájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

[p. 14 b]

342 owner, the master builder, and his helpers, and the nearer relatives of the house owner are now decorated with festoons of pieces of bread, some in the shape of animals, toasted wheat tortillas, and flowers. These are brought in a procession from the house of a relative. Women carry baskets on their heads and dance in the streets. The musicians accompany the party. The various articles are tied to the women's belts and then are hung about the necks of the men. These strings are called "*cuelgas*" (pl. 8, right). As a special guest, Beals was decorated with the others, and care was taken to explain to him that it was customary to return the belts. The master builder and, particularly, the house owner received several festoons of this kind.

Following this ceremony there was dancing, which lasted until late at night. In the particular [273] ceremony described, the householder drank very little. The next day several of the relatives returned with liquor and insisted that he get drunk with them as he had not drunk the day before.

The other major occasion on which ceremonies 483 occur in connection with houses is when a house is 342 moved from one location to another. A man wishing to move a house to a new location hires a 476 master builder to supervise the work. He also invites all his relatives, who are obligated to come. The women aid in preparing food, while the men take apart the house, carry it to the new location, and erect it again. The house owner takes no part in this work; in fact, he is apt to become drunk and be something of a nuisance. The relatives are fed at midday and again in the evening, but they do not ordinarily drink much until evening. Even then most of them are apt to go home before eating or immediately after eating. Ordinarily, a house will be moved completely in 1 day; sometimes, however, part of the roof will be unfinished, in which case a few men will return the next day to complete the work.

A special feature observed at a house moving, but nowhere else, was the serving of tobacco from the lowlands and corn husks for rolling cigarettes. At all other ceremonies the host frequently passed around cirgarettes, but they were of the usual commercial type.

342 The house is the center of numerous other festivities and ceremonials, but they do not pertain to the house directly. The major occasions are

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Upper (left): Simple kitchen under construction in Cherán, "*pie derecho*" type. *Upper (right):* Two roof sections in place in process of moving a Cherán house. *Lower (left):* Arrangement of rafters in Paracho house without ridge pole. *Lower (right):* Old house in Paracho of unusual style. The elaborate carving and absence of capitals of the pillars should be noticed. The walls are of vertical planks rather than the normal horizontal construction.

[End plate 5]

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[p.4b]

000 Calif.; Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Sr. Luis Chávez Orosco, former Chief, Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico; Dr. Gerardo Varela, Director of the Escuela Nacional de Ciencia Biológicas, Mexico; Lic. Gilberto Loyo, Director General of the Census, Mexico; Dr. J. B. Lockey, former Chairman, Board of Research, University of California, Los Angeles; Dr. Vern O. Knudsen, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; and the late Dr. Charles B. Lipman, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

The excellence of the drawings is due to the intelligent cooperation and skill of Virginia More Roediger, who worked not only as an artist but as an illustrator.

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THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

133 have large level tracts, for most of the elevated part of the State is in the so-called "volcanic axis" of Mexico. In many regions, and this is particularly true of the area occupied by the Tarascans, the characteristic sky line is a series of old volcanic cones, often surrounding basins or long depressions, in which more recent low cinder cones frequently occur (pl. 1, upper and lower left). Dozens of peaks have elevations of over 10,000 feet, but only one may exceed 11,000 feet.

To the south and southwest the terrain drops sharply toward a great basin formed by tributaries of the Balsas River. The slope is steep and so thoroughly dissected by streams that, despite the opening of many roads and truck trails in recent years, it still is not possible to reach the Balsas River by road from highland [184] Michoacán. This great basin forms an important portion of Michoacán and is much visited by the Tarascans. Tropical vegetation and [137] climate characterize the basin except for a [132] semiarid section in the west.

The Pacific coast of the State is paralleled by a large range of mountains, the Sierra de

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665 In relation to external politics, most Cherán
666 inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

484 Some interest is also awakened by the dis-
666 covery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

632 Just as the economy of Cherán in general is
651 partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle
[422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

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439 sold locally (usually a minor part) or taken to
441 the weekly Paracho market or to fiestas in nearby towns. Often goods are kept some weeks if there is a prospect of a scarcity developing, or an important fiesta is scheduled.

The majority of the long trips are to Guerrero, usually to Petatlán, where the fiesta of Holy Week attracts the greatest number of Cherán traders. The length of the trip taken depends to some extent on the rapidity with which goods are sold; once stocks are exhausted, traders turn back. One trader reported having reached Acapulco on one of his trips.

Some typical trips follow:

441 M. F. goes on Sunday to Paracho, where he
439 awaits his trading partner from another town. Monday the two go to San Francisco and buy
487 sweetpotatoes. Thursday they arrive in Tepic (Colima) and sell the sweetpotatoes. Friday they go to Guajuya (Jalisco) and buy chiles. Monday they return to Tepic and Saturday M. F. reaches Cherán. The trip involves 12 days' traveling and 2 days' resting, buying, and selling.

The schedule in detail is as follows:

Sunday	Paracho
Monday	San Francisco
Tuesday	Periban
Wednesday	Buena Vista
Thursday	Tepic
Friday	Guajuya
Monday	Tepic
Tuesday	Buena Vista
Wednesday	Periban
Thursday	San Francisco
Friday	Paracho
Saturday	Cherán

Some traders go to Colima proper by way of Zaragoza, but details were not obtained. It is 17 days' travel each way.

M. F. also goes to Coalcomán, carrying pottery from La Cañada which he buys in Cherán or Paracho. The route is the same as far as Tepic. Thence he stops at Obregón, Las Parotas, and Coalcomán. The round trip takes 8 weeks, of which 18 days are spent in traveling.

On his trips to Petatlán, Guerrero, M. F. buys wooden toys from Paracho and pottery from Santo Tomas. Starting on a Thursday, he goes to Pichataro. On Friday (market day) he is in Pátzcuaro and buys garlic, oils, and

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.78a]

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spices (*marjoram, pincente,* etc.) The trip to Petatlán takes a total of 18 days (see itinerary below); San Gerónimo is 5 days farther. A round trip usually takes about 6 weeks.

J. G. also leaves on a Thursday. Leaving his burro at Pátzcuaro, he goes to Quiroga to buy pottery (probably on the bus, as he does not take his burros). Returning to Pátzcuaro, on one trip he bought 500 strings of garlic, 15 liters of oils at $1.50 a liter (salad oil, olive oil, *aceites de razar, malza mantequilla, canaldo, mastral,* and *verbena*), and spices (*pimiente,* rosemary, *mandruje, flor de azalco,* and *manzanilla boraja*), and 2½ dozen wooden spoons of assorted sizes.

At Paso de la Vaca, J. G. began to sell a little, but only enough to buy food (he had run out of money). His itinerary is similar to that of M. F., but he made one more stop. On his return he loaded one burro with dried meat and rode the other because he was sick. For the same reason he spent 8 days at one place. The two itineraries follow:

Arrive	*M. F.*	*J. G.*
Pichataro	Thursday	Thursday
Pátzcuaro	Friday	Friday
Santa Clara	Saturday	Saturday
Ario de Rosales	Sunday	Sunday
Alinonzita	Monday	.....
Corral de Piedras	.....	Monday
Cayaco	Tuesday	Tuesday
Guadaloupe	Wednesday	Wednesday
Río de las Balsas	Thursday	Thursday
Paso de las Vacas	Friday	Friday (began to sell)
Limón	Saturday (began to sell)	
Zopilote	.....	Saturday
Tepehuaje	Sunday	Sunday
Colmenaros	Monday	Monday
La Unión	Tuesday	Tuesday
La Onía (close to Pacific from here on)	Wednesday	Wednesday
Pantla	Thursday	Thursday
Puerto Sijuatanejo	Friday	Friday
Cuicuayul	.....	Saturday
San Geronimito	Saturday	Sunday
Petatlán	Sunday	Monday

San Gerónimo is 5 days' traveling beyond Petatlán; Acapulco is 6 days' traveling from San Gerónimo.

Another example is C. S. C. who makes only one trip a year, a visit to Holy Week in Petatlán, Guerrero. He carries woodwork from

441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery (*"posición"*) is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

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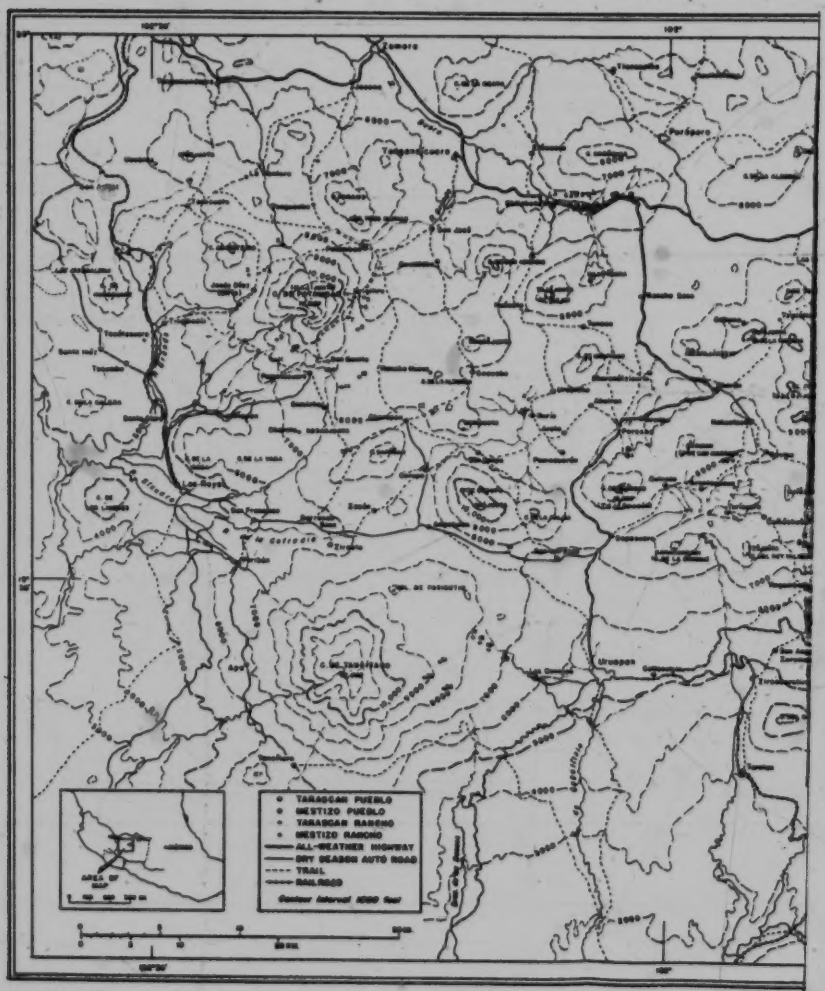

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MAP 1.—Topographic map of the modern Tara

[Facing page 1; section A]

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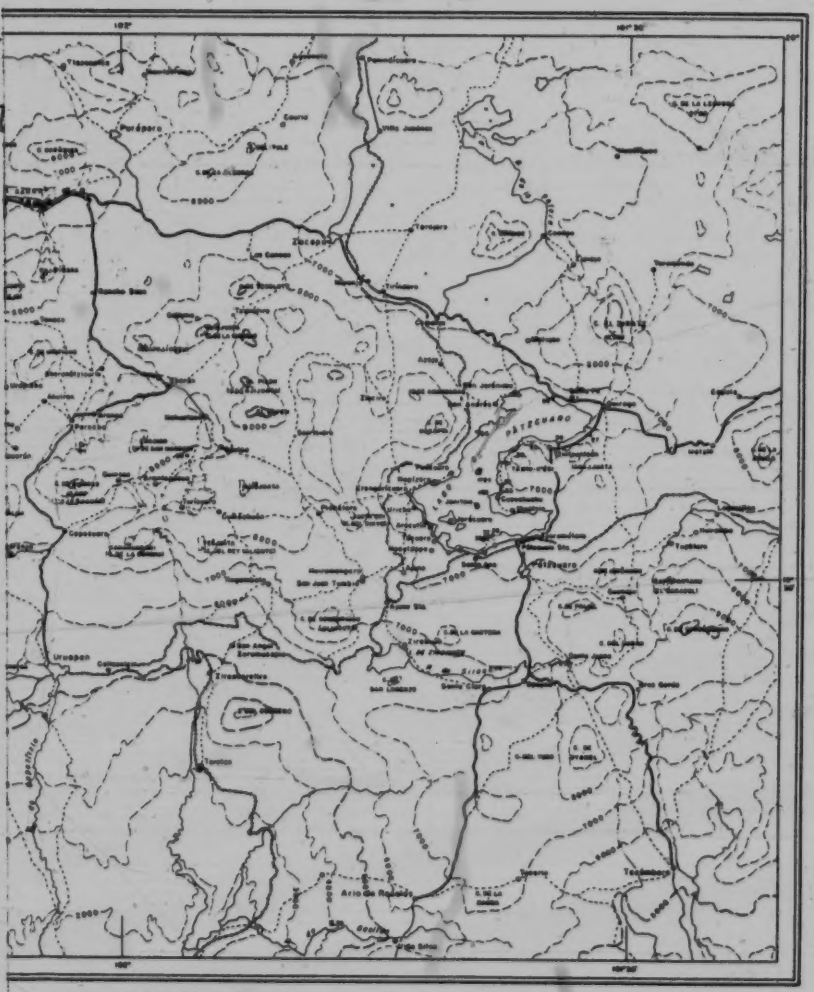

Topographic map of the modern Tarascan area.

[Facing page 1; section B]

191 Tarascan to Spanish was also low. Only one isolated area of solid native speech existed northeast of Apatzingán (the fruit-growing villages of Acahuato and Parácuaro). The 18th-century population figures for the sparsely inhabited, highly dissected hot country south of Morelia are not extant, but it was probably entirely Tarascan in language. In 50 years percentages of native speech had decreased, but the outer limits of the language remained practically unchanged. In 1850, however, only scattered islands of indigenous speech remained: along the Balsas at the southeastern extremity of the old Tarascan area (Tanganhuato, Pungarabato); a disjunct arc extending from the Balsas northeast to near Zitácuaro (San Nicolás, Purechucho, Cutzeo, Pungeo, Tiquicheo, Tuzantla, and Susupuato); the Acahuato-Parácuaro district; and the pueblo of San Juan de los Plátanos, west of Apatzingán (map 10). By 1940 Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* had entirely disappeared; only the small fruit town, San Angel Zurumucapio, represented the last remnant of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. Again, as in the northern plateau, the sudden collapse of native speech in the south came in the first half of the 19th century. There, the Tarascans have lost most heavily territorially, for the hot country, although a colonial area and probably lightly held in terms of population, comprised more than half of the old empire.

The present distribution of Tarascan speech is confined mainly to the *tierra fría*—Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra. These regions, together with La Cañada, appear to be a resistant core in which the Tarascans are making a last stand against complete loss of their native tongue. In the maps of 1750, 1800, and 1850 these regions stand out as the only large purely indigenous part of Tarasca.
191 The failure of Spaniards and their mulatto
177 laborers to settle in the Sierra and in some sections of the Lake district cannot be attributed to inaccessibility, for those areas are open country with few impediments to horse travel.[20] The Sierra was simply unattractive to Spanish exploitation. Neither it nor the Lake area contained mineral wealth. The pine-oak forests, with little palatable grass and numerous predatory animals, offered few attractions for the stockman.

[487] [20] The *camino real* from México to Nueva Galicia, via Pátzcuaro, traversed the center of the Sierra, passing through Pichátaro, Sevina, Nahuátzen, Cherán, and Chilchota.

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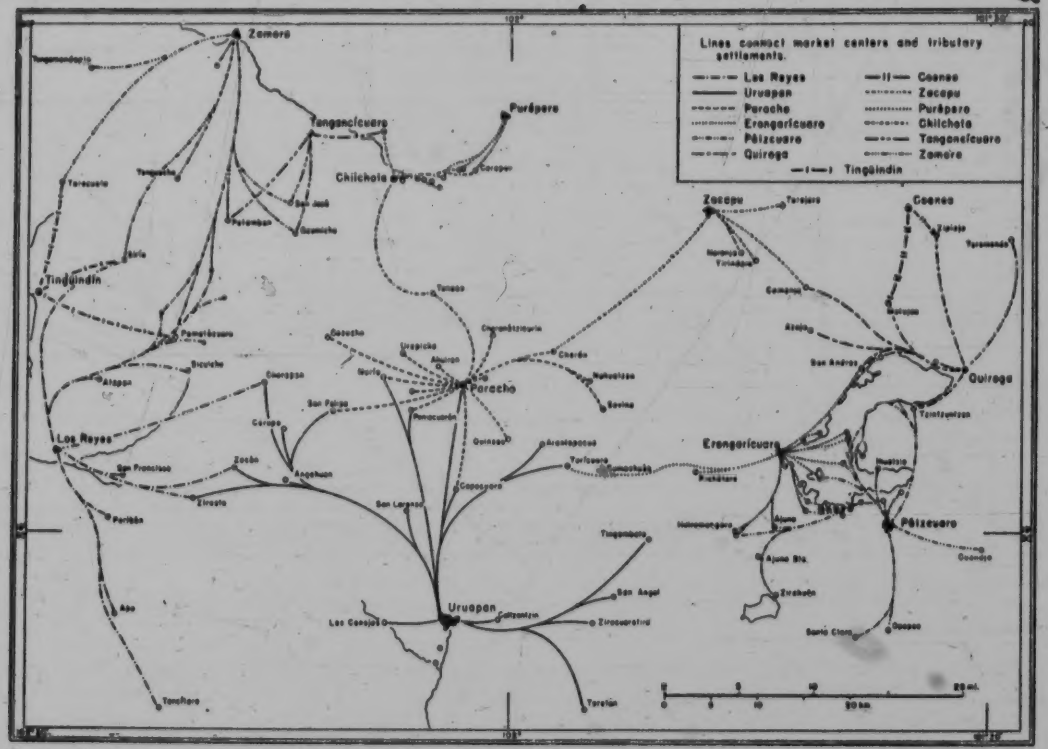
[P. 72]


Lines connect market centers and tributary settlements.
Los Reyes
Uruapan
Paracho
Erongarícuaro
Pátzcuaro
Quiroga
Zacapu
Coeneo
Zamora
Tangancícuaro
Purépero
Chilchota
Tingüindín
Tanhuato
Ario
Tacámbaro
Tiquicheo
Huetamo
Tumbiscatío
Apatzingán
Tepalcatepec
Aguililla
Coalcomán
Pomaro
Lázaro Cárdenas
Arteaga
Caleta de Campos
Maruata
Playa Azul
Melchor Ocampo
Nahuatzen
Cherán
Sevina
Tocumbo
Los Reyes
San Francisco
Zacán
Ario
Tingüindín
Tancítaro
Tocumbo
Tlazazalca
Ecuandureo
Yurécuaro
Jiquilpan
Sahuayo
Cotija
Jacona
Zamora
Tangancícuaro
Purépero
Chilchota
Tarécuato
Tangamandapio
Parácuaro
Nuevo Urecho
Tumbiscatío
Tepalcatepec
Aguililla
Coalcomán
Pomaro
Lázaro Cárdenas
Arteaga
Caleta de Campos
Maruata
Playa Azul
Melchor Ocampo
Nahuatzen
Cherán
Sevina

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] [631] [645] (Ramírez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 618 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[3] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[3] [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

122 Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several 121 reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of 177 the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. [491] In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The 177 non-Tarascan families were more or less tran- 563 sient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from 121 the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p. 1c]

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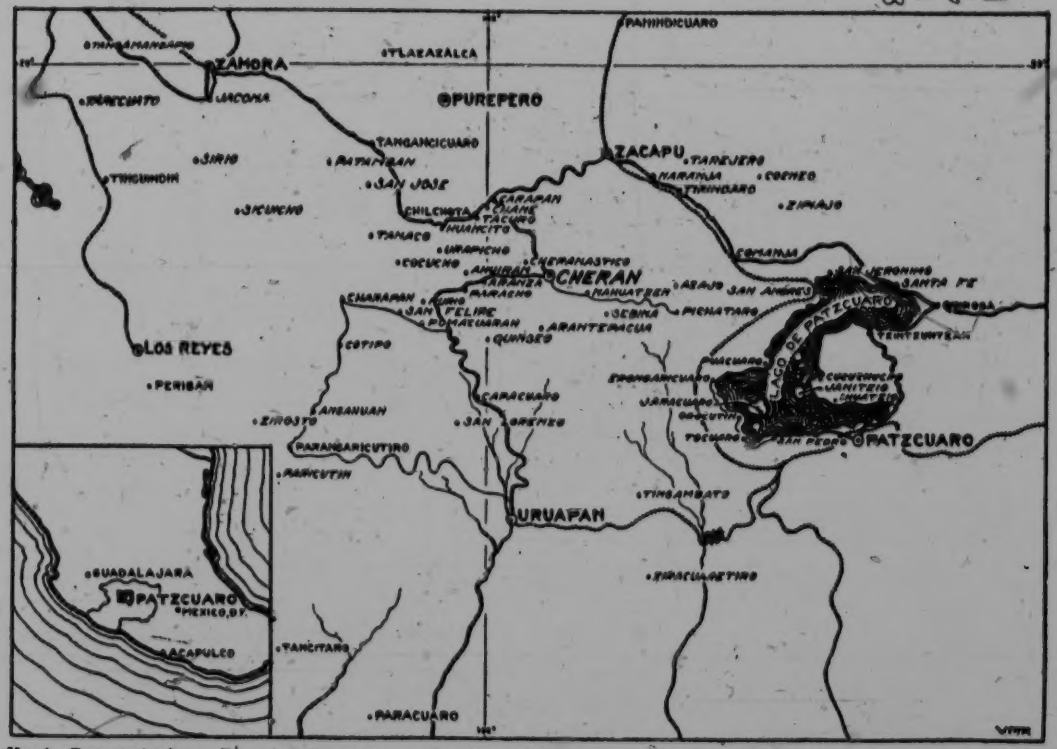

MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in italic are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestizo origin or are primarily Mestizo in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cherán; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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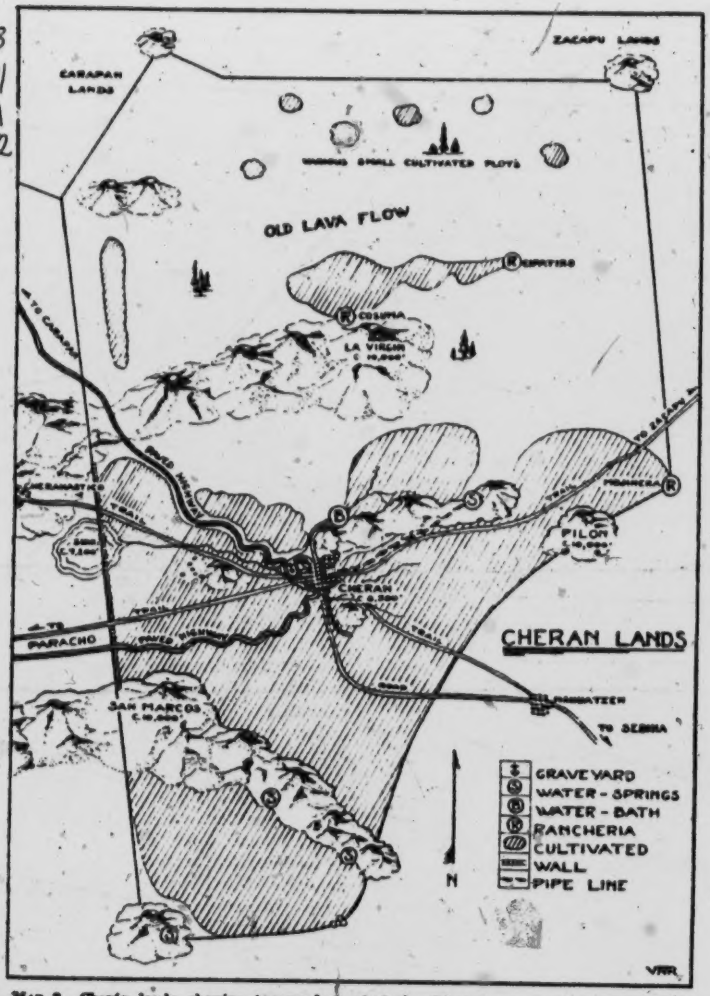

MAP 2.—Cherán lands, showing topography, principal cultivated areas, and various cultural features.

[p. 8]

[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[484] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more attractive as an export crop. The opening of
[491] the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

[767] Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government.
653 Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*, but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

377 This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
632 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
653 tending a power line to the town and supplying
621 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

491 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

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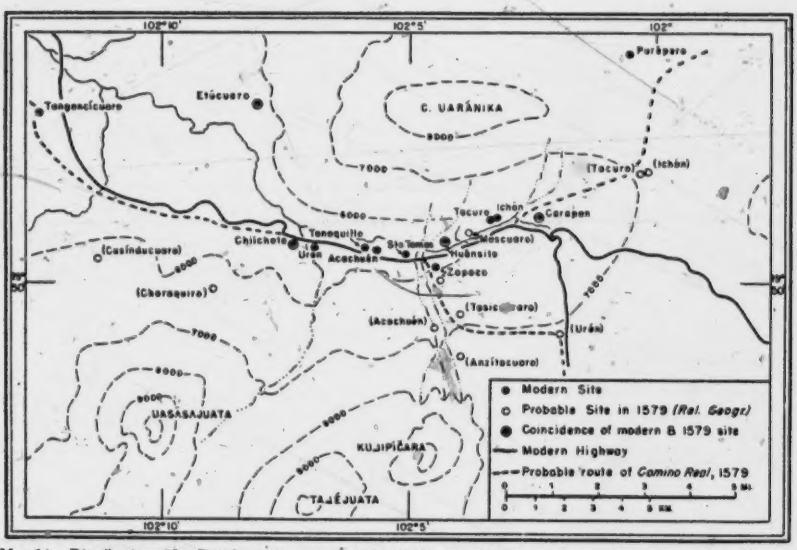

MAP 14.—Distribution of La Cañada settlements, 1580 and 1946. The 1580 data are from Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Relación de Chilchota, 1579. The towns of Tacuro and Ichán still retain their old lands east of Charapan.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 823 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 [539] [361] The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most significant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to furnish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 584 [178] The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 49 [539] The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[184] [5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

317 either from the sides of public roads or from fields, with the permission of the owner. It is dug with pick and shovel, put in bags, and [492] taken into town on muleback.

333 Adobes (adóbi) and adobe mortar are made from any convenient fine earth mixed with manure. In some towns dry pine needles (*"huinomo"*)[6] or wheat or barley straw is used. The mud (adímu) for adobes is mixed in a depression in the ground. Dry earth is first mixed with manure and water is added, in the proportion of 10 loads (*carretilladas*) of earth, half a sack of manure or straw, and 10 five-gallon tins of water. The mud is then mixed with a spade for about 3 hours.

A wooden frame (*marco* or *adobera*), the size of the brick to be made, is now placed on carefully leveled ground. Mud is placed in the frame and pressed down well with the hands to insure complete filling of the space. The frame is now lifted off and washed in preparation for making the next adobe. The adobes are allowed to dry for 8 days, first in the original position and then on edge.

The usual size of adobes is 60 by 40 by 10 cm., or 2½ spans long. Cherán makes this size and also a brick 3 spans in length.

WATER SUPPLY

312 Cherán has a better water supply than most Tarascan towns, but it is still far from adequate. The larger of the barrancas through town often has flowing water, but this is used only for watering animals and washing clothes, as it is not considered pure enough to drink. At one spot, however, there are a number of small springs in the walls of the barranca. These have been improved by building cement tanks to accumulate the rather small flow, and people from the *barrio* of Parícutin and some other nearby residents obtain their water from the springs.

About 10 years ago an aqueduct was built to large springs near the base of the mountain, El Pilón, a distance of 15 km. (9 mi.). A 2-inch pipe line was laid, but the pipe reached only to the edge of town. From the end of the pipe the water is carried to the center of town by an arrangement of hand-hewn wooden

[6] Words regarded in Cherán as Spanish but which either do not appear in dictionaries or have special local meanings are placed in quotation marks.

[104]

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THE FARMING CYCLE

221 241 A clearer picture of the agricultural cycle may be given by a monthly summary.

January: Little to do; second plowing of maize lands may begin.

February: Second plowing of maize lands.

March: Maize planting begins.

April: Maize planting; first cultivation of early maize at end of month; planting of vegetables and maize in *solares*.

May: Wheat harvest; second cultivation of maize.

June: Second cultivation of maize; some wheat threshing (continued in dry weather throughout rest of year).

July: Fairly free month; weeding of maize begins; second cultivation of maize continues.

August: Plowing for wheat.

September: Planting wheat; cutting maize fodder.

October: Plowing for maize; rains usually end; cutting maize fodder; wheat threshing nearly finished.

November: Maize harvest (if lower lands planted); plowing.

December: Maize harvest on higher lands; plowing.

SOIL PREPARATION

241 Land is prepared for field and garden crops (except for small kitchen gardens of cabbage and herbs) by plowing one or more times (pl. 4, upper left). The plow used is usually a wooden type (fig. 3). The Government has given some 30 steel plows to the *municipio*, which lends them to farmers; although these are all in use, they care for only a small part of the plowing.

231 241 492 Regardless of the type of plow, it is almost always drawn by oxen. Mules, and perhaps horses, undoubtedly are used sometimes, but not as frequently as in adjoining Aranza; in the entire season of 1940–41 no single instance was observed on Cherán lands. If the wooden plow is used, the long plow beam is attached to the ox yoke directly. Steel plows are attached to the ox yoke by a chain. An ox goad of wood, often with a chisellike metal butt (for sticking in the ground), is employed.

[427] A great many farmers own oxen; if they do not, they must rent them at 75 centavos to 1 peso a day, depending on the demand. If drivers are hired, 50 centavos a day is usual. On the other hand, if a man has rented his land on shares, he must make sure his tenants plow at the right time. Usually land is plowed twice before planting, but the depth rarely exceeds 6 inches.

243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder (*"rastrojo"*) is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-[482] [285] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 464 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

243 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are
492 rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented
[427] or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize or money equal to the rent is usually made. Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

The time of the harvest varies in different
243 places. If the "plain" west of town is planted,
632 the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

As the harvest is a time of joint work, even
243 though not communal in character, it also is a
527 rather festive and social occasion. Moreover,
692 many workmen have more money than at any
273 other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

In 1940 the following schedule of harvests
243 was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

White maize and yellow maize are stored un-
251 shelled in the lofts of "*trojes*." Little effort is
243 taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

231 492 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

231 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán [184] but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in [435] adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

[232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

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236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same as those of the Mestizos. Although in other [184] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, [241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

231 the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the
231 more common animals in Cherán. Often kept
492 in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not
[262] castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the
[281] hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or
231 perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals"
[552] such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, sheepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Parícutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squir-
[224] rels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

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[9,770]

Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[827] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[664] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; how-
[674] ever, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capácuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products ("*tornillo*") from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery (*"posición"*) is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta
541 begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not,
[427] it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In
[534] 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

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PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

339 In some towns, dried pine needles ("*huinomo*"), wheat, or oat straw are used in place of manure.
[192] In the Sierra, adobes are called adóbi; in Ihuatzio, on Lake Pátzcuaro, isuárukata.

STONE

316 Masonry is made of assorted-sized rocks brought
333 from a quarry in the west side of the cinder cone on the northwest edge of town. The stone is a porous soft reddish lava, easily broken or dressed roughly with a hammer. It is carried from the
[497] quarry on burros. The rocks are used for all types of masonry walls. Usually large sizes are employed near the bottom and to make the external faces of the wall; smaller stones are used to fill up the spaces, and usually all external surfaces are filled with small stone spalls set in the mud mortar.

316 Large stones used for foundations are a hard gray lava from the arroyo north of town or from the slopes of a cinder cone northeast of town.
[324] The same rock is employed for finished pieces of
[continued on p. 10b]

TYPES OF STRUCTURES

WOODEN STRUCTURES

343 Three main kinds of wooden structures are built. These are the "*troje*," or house (trója; in Angahuan, ɛarímba), really a storehouse in use, the kitchen (kosína), and sheds used for storing fodder or sheltering animals. Normally, a mas-
[335] ter carpenter is employed; he usually works for an agreed price and hires a helper.

The "*troje*" is a rectangular structure, nearly square, consisting of one room with a loft over it (fig. 3; pl. 2, upper). The door is always in one of the long walls and there is usually an overhang of the roof, supported on pillars, forming a veranda on this side. Usually the flooring of the first floor is extended to form a floor for the veranda (fig. 3; pl. 4, lower, left).

343 The "*troje*," or house, is elevated on large stones
335 (or stone pillars in some towns), usually 9 in number, one at each corner, one in the middle of each side, and one at the center of the floor. Upon the stones go four interlocking foundation beams, "*polines*"[3] (pɛ́ɛkua), and a crosspiece destined to support the middle of the floor, the "*atravesaño de*
[continued bottom page 10b]

[3] Also "*parian*," because they are usually made of heartwood (*ɛatin*).

243 is often retarded until the following December or January.

Fodder, consisting of that part of the maize
246 plant above the ears, is cut in September, when
251 the plant is still green and the ears well formed. In the Sierra, fodder is often stored on platforms constructed in trees. Normally it is taken to the village and placed in sheds or on log platforms in the house lot (pl. 5).

243 Since the late fall maize harvest of Cherán, described by Beals (1946, pp. 24–25), is typical of most of modern Tarasca, no attempt will be made to repeat the data here. In only one area—the
[493] Zacapu Basin—are four-wheeled wagons (*guallines* made of the frame and wheels of abandoned autos) used to haul maize from the fields to the village. In all other areas burros haul the ears
[492] in sacks (*costales*) or nets. Ears of maize are
251 stored in the lofts of the main house; shelled corn is never stored. The ekuaru corn that is kept for seed and food is hung by the husks in bunches (*piña*, sandáŋgata) or in rows over poles inside the house or on the veranda.

242 *Crop rotation and fallowing.*—Except in ex-
243 ceptionally fertile lands, field maizé is rarely grown for two consecutive years on the same ground. In the basin plains of the Sierra, corn is often planted without fallow in spots refreshed by annual deposits of alluvium, as at the base of alluvial fans and in sink areas in the center of basins. The soils of the recently drained lacustrine plain of Zacapu are so rich that they support annual maize crops without rotation or application of fertilizer. Generally in the Sierra, maize fields in the basin plains and lower slopes are fallowed for 10 or 12 months every other year. In such fields only maize is planted. Usually during a given year, half of the plains land belonging to a village and a portion of the slopes are fallowed, the rest being planted; when the village possesses more than one basin plain, cultivation and fallow are alternated from one to the other. Ordinarily in the *desmontes* and *jollas* wheat or barley are rotated with maize (one year wheat, one year maize, one year fallow). In the temporal lands surrounding the Sierra customarily two crops per year, one of maize, the other of wheat or barley, are obtained from a given piece of ground. The land is then fallowed 8 to 12 months. (Wheat planted in November, harvested following April or May; maize planted in June, harvested in

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house [439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Wood- cutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[139] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[139] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and ranchos, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

Although they do not use the large *huacal*,
443 many women of the Sierra devote most of their
438 time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite
492 of inroads of motor transportation, still account
443 for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced
[177] services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacan, Ziristo, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ayate*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

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[74-b]

443 Like the *huacalero*, the *arriero* in the Tarascan area has functioned chiefly as a commercial inter-
● 492 mediary between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra*
439 *fría*. During the colonial period, however, some mule skinners extended operations into the northern mining districts. Moreover, various mestizo towns in Tarasca became *arriero* centers—strategic points along the main routes where mule trains met, animals were sold and traded, supplies purchased, and merchandise exchanged. Such towns became residences of many muleteers. A series of these centers lies within the *tierra caliente* and includes Apatzingán, Huetamo, and Coyuca. Another series is located within the *tierra templada:* Uruapan, Ario, Tacámbaro. Other centers are found in the *tierra fría:* Cotija, and, formerly, Parangaricutiro and Jiquilpan. Most of these towns still function as *arriero* centers, and although motor transportation is continually replacing the mule and burro, some of them will continue to serve as way stations for fuel and repairs and collecting points for products carried out by trucks.

443 Since the construction of motor roads in many parts of Tarasca, former *arrieros* and *huacaleros*
494 have begun to use public busses and semipublic trucks to transport merchandise. Pottery vendors, for example, stand for hours along the highway, hailing through-trucks to take them and their goods to Guadalajara, Morelia, or Mexico City. Moreover, heavy sugar and *cascalote* trucks now operate from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes into the *tierra caliente*.

The wholesale buyers represent a modern type
442 of merchant, who with the advent of road construction have begun to penetrate into the Tarascan area. Grain dealers from Morelia, Zamora, and Uruapan now run their trucks into the Sierra towns to buy surplus wheat. Again, many woodworkers in Paracho are on contract to city wholesalers for turned work and guitars, which are collected at intervals in trucks or passenger cars.

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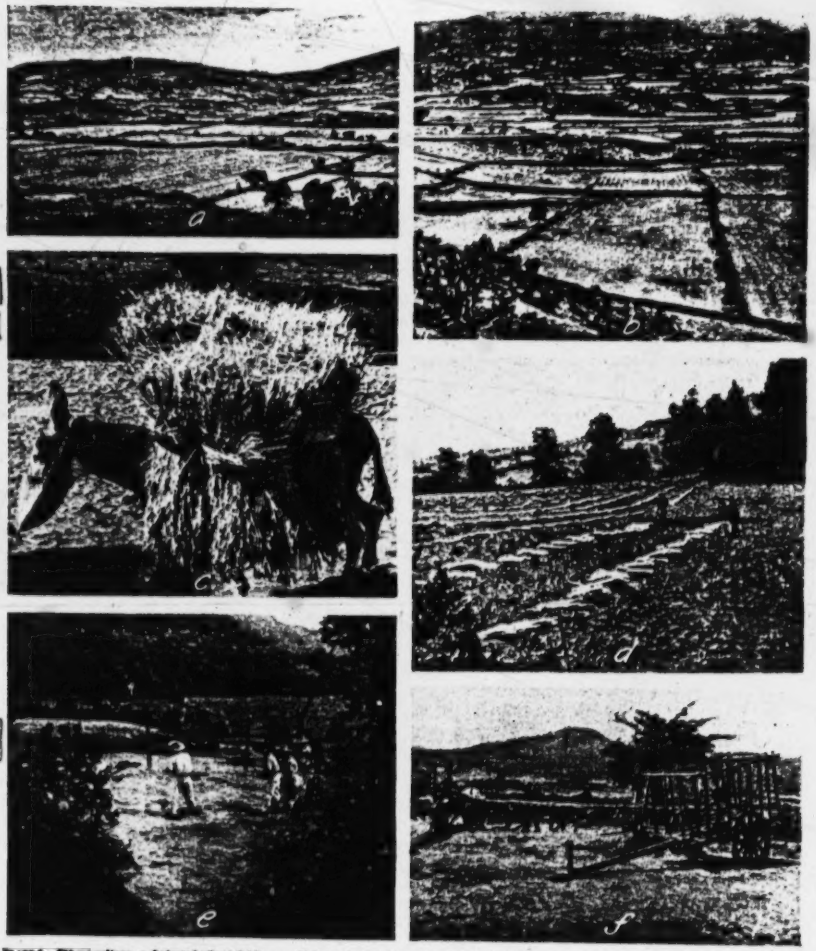

PLATE 6.—Wheat culture. *a*, Irrigated wheat fields near Chilcota, La Cañada. *b*, Temporal wheat fields on the northern edge of the Sierra, near Tirindaro. *c*, Method of hauling wheat bundles to the threshing floor, Apo. *d*, Cutting wheat with the sickle, near Pátzcuaro. *e*, Threshing wheat with flails, Sirio. *f*, Threshing wheat in the ox with horses, at Cocucuaja. The *carreta* (right) is used in many parts of Tarasco to haul wheat bundles and maize fodder.

[End-plate 6]

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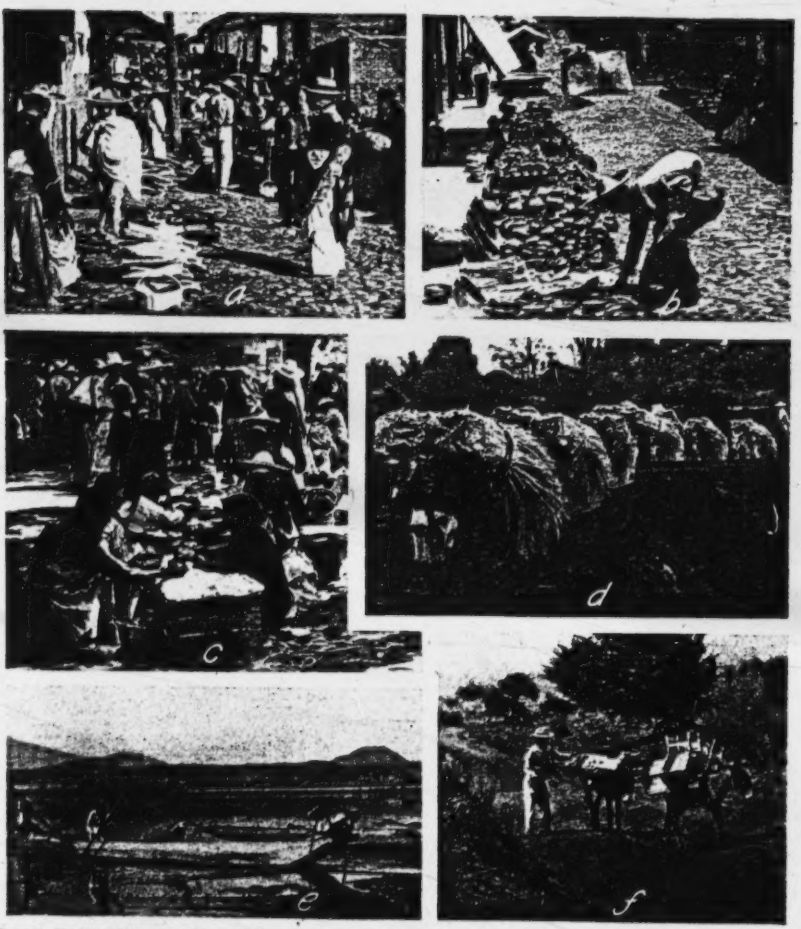

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PLATE 14.—Markets and transport. *a*, The Sunday firewood and fish market, Erongarícuaro. The wood vendor at left has already bartered a pile of pine sticks for a few fish in the basket. *b*, Pottery section of the Sunday market at Uruapan. *c*, The bread section of the Erongarícuaro market on the plaza. *d*, A train of burros bringing pinu palm leaves from the Sierra cabaner to Ario de Rosales. *e*, Boats from Janitzio landing on the mud flats at Erongarícuaro for the Sunday market. *f*, Hauling disassembled chairs and tables from Cocupo to the Uruapan market.

[End-plate 14]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[176] *Upper,* Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower,* Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder ("*rastrojo*") is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

[482] [285]

243 464 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čaránda).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

243 is often retarded until the following December or January.

Fodder, consisting of that part of the maize
246 plant above the ears, is cut in September, when
251 the plant is still green and the ears well formed. In the Sierra, fodder is often stored on platforms constructed in trees. Normally it is taken to the village and placed in sheds or on log platforms in the house lot (pl. 5).

243 Since the late fall maize harvest of Cherán, described by Beals (1946, pp. 24–25), is typical of most of modern Tarasca, no attempt will be made to repeat the data here. In only one area—the
[493] Zacapu Basin—are four-wheeled wagons (*guallines* made of the frame and wheels of abandoned autos) used to haul maize from the fields to the village. In all other areas burros haul the ears
[492] in sacks (*costales*) or nets. Ears of maize are
251 stored in the lofts of the main house; shelled corn is never stored. The ekuaru corn that is kept for seed and food is hung by the husks in bunches (*piña*, sandáŋgata) or in rows over poles inside the house or on the veranda.

242 *Crop rotation and fallowing.*—Except in ex-
243 ceptionally fertile lands, field maize is rarely grown for two consecutive years on the same ground. In the basin plains of the Sierra, corn is often planted without fallow in spots refreshed by annual deposits of alluvium, as at the base of alluvial fans and in sink areas in the center of basins. The soils of the recently drained lacustrine plain of Zacapu are so rich that they support annual maize crops without rotation or application of fertilizer. Generally in the Sierra, maize fields in the basin plains and lower slopes are fallowed for 10 or 12 months every other year. In such fields only maize is planted. Usually during a given year, half of the plains land belonging to a village and a portion of the slopes are fallowed, the rest being planted; when the village possesses more than one basin plain, cultivation and fallow are alternated from one to the other. Ordinarily in the *desmontes* and *jollas* wheat or barley are rotated with maize (one year wheat, one year maize, one year fallow). In the temporal lands surrounding the Sierra customarily two crops per year, one of maize, the other of wheat or barley, are obtained from a given piece of ground. The land is then fallowed 8 to 12 months. (Wheat planted in November, harvested following April or May; maize planted in June, harvested in

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house [439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Wood-cutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[128] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[128] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and *rancho*, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

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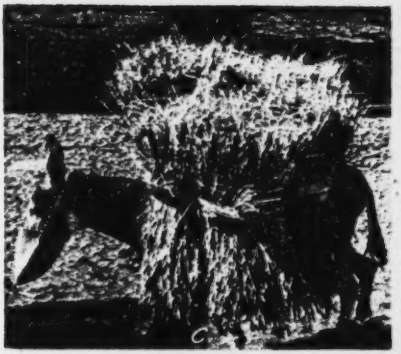

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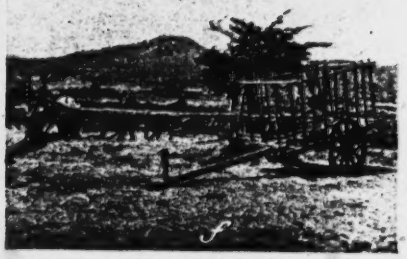

PLATE 6.—Wheat culture. *a*, Irrigated wheat fields near Chilacata, La Cañada. *b*, Temporal wheat fields on the northern edge of the Sierra, near Tirindaro. *c*, Method of hauling wheat bundles to the threshing floor, Ajo. *d*, Cutting wheat with the sickle, near Fichdaro. *e*, Threshing wheat with flails, Sirio. *f*, Threshing wheat in the *era* with horses, at Comanja. The *carreta* (right) is used in many parts of Tarasco to haul wheat bundles and maize fodder.

[End-plate 6]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 3] NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.
Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.76a]

439 rero or even from the Pacific Ocean. Even men who are not regular traders will go on local market. Finally, it should be noted that individuals often visit markets, especially those in Paracho or during fiestas at nearby towns, [494] and make purchases of needed goods. Especially since the highway has brought bus service to the town, for important purchases a man may even go to Uruapan. It is not uncommon for well-to-do men, for example, to have garments made to order by the tailors in Uruapan.

It is impossible to compile from present data a complete list of the products imported into Cherán. The list extends from chile and beans to horses and sewing machines. Many articles are available only on special occasions. For example, the almost universally used type of water jar in Cherán is made only in Patamban, and is offered for sale only on the occasion of the fiesta of the patron saint in October. Householders must anticipate their yearly needs of these fragile (but quite long-lived) articles at this time; otherwise they are forced to attend a fiesta in some other town and pick up a different plain style of jar made in Uruapan or La Cañada.

Nearly all goods sold in the stores are im-
438 ported (except occasional local products such as clothing). A considerable list of these goods is given in the discussion of price (p. 88). Tarascan products imported include fish and tules from the Lake area; hat braid of palm straw, chairs, tables, beds, and various wooden objects from Paracho; pottery from Santa Fe, Quiroga, Patamban, La Cañada, and the "hot country," or *tierra caliente* (the last is non-Tarascan); axes from Tingambato; knives, machetes, plow points, and jewelry from Nahuatzen; oils, garlic, spices, and vegetables from Zacapu and the Lake region; *rebozos* and cloth from Paracho, Nahuatzen, and elsewhere; pigs from La Cañada; beans from the Lake region; chiles from various places; and a variety of fruits. The latter include bananas, coconuts (from non-Tarascan sources), sweet and sour lemons, oranges, guavas, mameys, plums, mangoes, watermelons, cantaloups, avocados, zapotes of all sorts, and cherimoyas.

439 From non-Tarascan sources, but still outside the more conventional commercial channels, are

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.772]

Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[927] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[164] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; how-
[674] ever, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products ("*tornillo*") from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery ("*posición*") is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero.*

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

494 left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into
556 Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do
494 men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves.
[661] Although trucks are not supposed to carry passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns
443 in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos.
[511] It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.87a]

435 exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure [177] of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Purépero, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have [465] paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.[26] The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

435 178 494 In general, the coming of the highway is bringing higher prices for local products.

[26] It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.876]

178 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods
435 and products. Although little evidence is yet
494 visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .25
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00–13.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Rais de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra calients*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

556 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and
423 agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

556 In terms of individual wealth, the basic
422 Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico. Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

438
441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

443 **The market (uašájpiknaru, or "the place where**
438 people sit").—Sunday is the most important market day for the Tarascans.[182] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[183] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Puréparo, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[184] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text continues top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] [182] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[183] Formerly Parícbán was one of the largest *tierra caliente—tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fiesta markets are still held in Parícbán however.

[184] [494] Within the last 5 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden busses or taxis to market. Since 1943 smaller transport has been extended to Charapan, Ihrosto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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443 Like the *huacalero*, the *arriero* in the Tarascan
492 area has functioned chiefly as a commercial inter-
439 mediary between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra fría*. During the colonial period, however, some mule skinners extended operations into the northern mining districts. Moreover, various mestizo towns in Tarasca became *arriero* centers—strategic points along the main routes where mule trains met, animals were sold and traded, supplies purchased, and merchandise exchanged. Such towns became residences of many muleteers. A series of these centers lies within the *tierra caliente* and includes Apatzingán, Huetamo, and Coyuca. Another series is located within the *tierra templada:* Uruapan, Ario, Tacámbaro. Other centers are found in the *tierra fría:* Cotija, and, formerly, Parangaricutiro and Jiquilpan. Most of these towns still function as *arriero* centers, and although motor transportation is continually replacing the mule and burro, some of them will continue to serve as way stations for fuel and repairs and collecting points for products carried out by trucks.

443 Since the construction of motor roads in many
494 parts of Tarasca, former *arrieros* and *huacaleros* have begun to use public busses and semipublic trucks to transport merchandise. Pottery vendors, for example, stand for hours along the highway, hailing through-trucks to take them and their goods to Guadalajara, Morelia, or Mexico City. Moreover, heavy sugar and *cascalote* trucks now operate from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes into the *tierra caliente*.

The wholesale buyers represent a modern type
442 of merchant, who with the advent of road construction have begun to penetrate into the Tarascan area. Grain dealers from Morelia, Zamora, and Uruapan now run their trucks into the Sierra towns to buy surplus wheat. Again, many woodworkers in Paracho are on contract to city wholesalers for turned work and guitars, which are collected at intervals in trucks or passenger cars.

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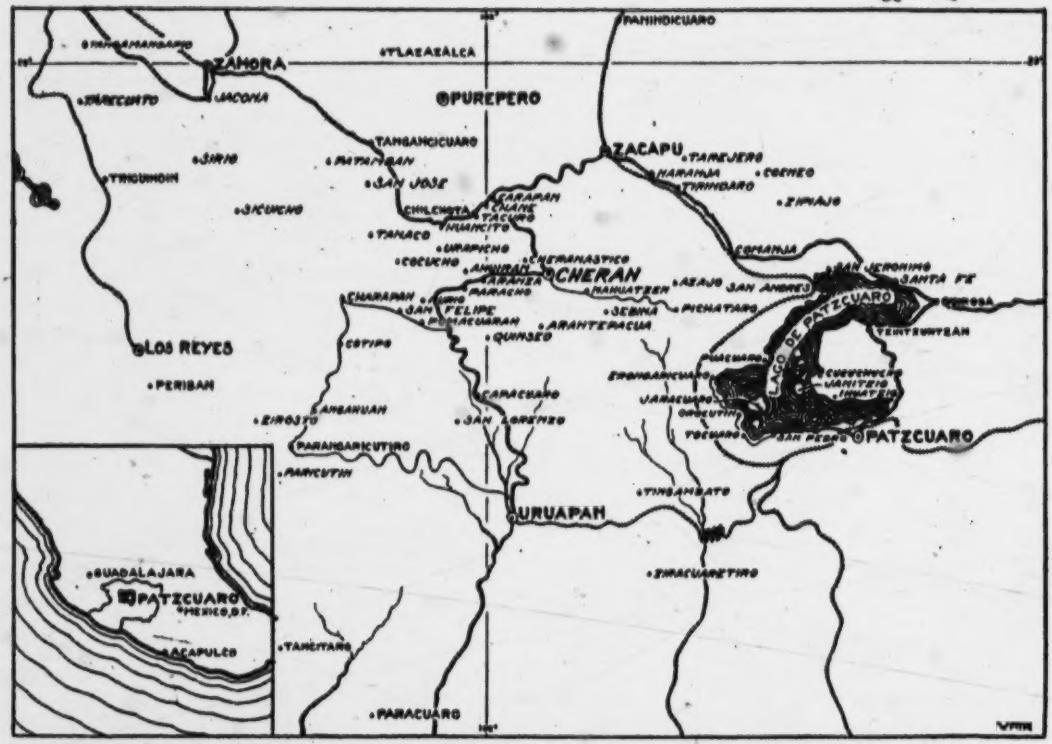

MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in italic are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestiso origin or are primarily Mestiso in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cheran; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

[p.6]

Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[827] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[164] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; how-
[674] ever, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products ("*tornillo*") from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, [439] shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Wood-cutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[128] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[128] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and *rancho*, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

Fishing techniques and associated tools.—
227 Fishing with native Tarascan nets predominates in Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén. Both the net and the hook were employed in pre-Conquest times,[121] but at present the latter is of secondary importance. The large *chinchorros* (uarúka) and the smaller čerémekuas are the only nets used today. The former is a seine, employed for catching *pescado blanco* and *trucha* in midlake, while the latter, a gill net with a fine mesh, is placed along shore to trap the small č'arári and k'uerépu [122] (pl. 8). Prior to the introduction of the *trucha* the picturesque *mariposa* or butterfly nets (k'orueča) were commonly employed for catching t'írů. Owing to the near extinction of this fish, these nets are no longer seen, except in Janitzio, where they are displayed to tourists. The hand net (*cuchara*, uirípu, ćiúru) has likewise practically disappeared. All nets used by the Pátzcuaro fisherman are home-woven.

Other fishing tools include the spear (*arpón*, atárakua), now used to kill *trucha* in shallow water, and the hook (*anzuelo*, jupíkata-tárakua).[123] Shore traps are occasionally used by a few fishers of Uricho and Puácuaro. Fish poisons are not employed. To improve habitat conditions of open-water fish, such as *pescado blanco*, portions of the lake bottom are often cleared of aquatic grasses (*zacate*, pućúrini) with the uarómatárakua, a pole 3 m. long with a sickle attached to the end.

501 An indispensible fishing tool and means of water transport is the Tarascan canoe, a flat-bottom dugout hewn from a pine or fir log. Owing to the

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226 [121] According to the Relación de Michoacán, Tarascan officials oversaw the net fishermen and those who fished with hooks (p. 16). Moreover, ". . . *de noche pescan con red y de día con anzuelo*" (p. 149).

[122] The *chinchorro* often measures 100 to 150 m. long and 8 m. wide. In the center is a pocket (*bolsa*) of fine mesh. Four people are necessary to handle the net in midlake, and it is usually operated from one boat. The net is manipulated by ropes (anćitatárakueča), 50 to 60 m. long attached to its two ends. Once the net is cast, it is formed in a semicircle and slowly pulled forward and upward, while the catch settles into the *bolsa*. The čerémekua is usually 6 to 8 m. long and 40 cm. wide. This net is used somewhat like a trap. It is fastened to poles in shallow water near the shore and left for 2 or 3 hours. When lifted, the net usually contains several small littoral fish, their heads caught in the fine mesh. This type of čerémekua can be operated by one person. A longer čerémekua (often 100 m. in length) with a coarser mesh is sometimes used to catch *pescado blanco* in deep water offshore. Like the smaller variety, it is operated by one person, who attaches the top of the net to log floats and one end to his canoe. The net and boat are permitted to drift in midlake usually through the night, while the attendant gathers in the trapped fish from time to time.

[123] The atárakua is composed of a stalk of *carrizo* 4 m. long, to the end of which is attached a long barbed-iron point (60 cm. long). The spear is buried either above or beneath the water. Regarding the use of the *anzuelo*, the cord supporting the hook is usually attached to a piece of *carrizo* or *ciate*, 1 m. long, a series of which is permitted to float on the water. A strike is indicated by the tilting of the stick, which is hurriedly picked up by the boatman.

501 drying up of lakes in the northern and western sections of Tarasca, the distribution of the dugout has decreased in area during the last 100 years. At the present time the Tarascan boat is used on Lakes Pátzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Chapala; two old dugouts on the small pond at Tarejero represent the remnants of the once extensive canoe traffic in the Zacapu lagoon.[124] Most of the Lake [438] Pátzcuaro boats are made in the Sierra settlements of Cumachuén, Capacuaro, and in the highlands to the south, mainly around the *rancho* of Santa Juana. The boats are dragged to the lake shore, where they sell for 100 to more than 600 pesos each. They are said to last for 3 to 5 years before becoming waterlogged. Two sizes of boats are seen on Lake Pátzcuaro—the small ičáruta for two to four persons, used for shore fishing, and the larger tepári, which carries from four to eight individuals and is employed in midlake fishing and for transport.[125] The smaller boat is paddled with the *pala* or šótakua, which has a round blade of pine (25 × 28 cm.) attached to a handle of oak or *tejocote* varying in length from 30 cm. (for children) to over 2 m. The larger canoes are both paddled and rowed. Sierra folk from Cumachuén and Capacuaro manufacture oars and paddles, which they market in Erongarícuaro and Pátzcuaro.

226 **Fishing methods.**—In most parts of the lake, fishing is done in the early morning hours between 5 and 10 o'clock. Fishing is seasonal, most activity occurring during the dry season (November to May). *Chinchorreros* usually operate in groups of four; often blood relations, the group divides the catch equally. An owner of a net and boat often hires *peones* to help with the *chinchorro*, paying wages or dividing the catch. The wife and children occasionally help set the čerémekua along the shore, and often women aid with the *chinchorro*. Midlake fishing is open to all inhabitants of the Lake area, who pay a federal license of 1.50 pesos annually. By custom, however, the people of a particular settlement have exclusive fishing rights along the shore of their lands; those from other pueblos may not fish the shores of

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[124] As late as 1872 heavy canoe traffic is described between Tarejero and Zacapu (Pérez Hernández, 1872, p. 119). Late in the 16th century small reed *balsas* were used on Lake Chapala (Ponce Relacion, vol. 2, pp. 18–20).

[125] Measurements of the dugouts: The ičáruta has a length of 2.5 m. to 6.5 m., width of 60 cm., and depth of 40 cm.; the tepári ranges from 6.5 to 11 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 50 cm. deep.

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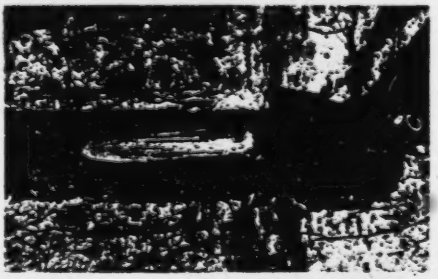

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PLATE 8.—Pacific Coast fresh-water exploitation. *a*, Chinkorro nets drying on La Posada Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. *b*, The small Mexicanos dugout, Lake Xochimilco. Note paddles attached to rear of canoe. *c*, Tribal method of gathering reeds (near Chimalpa). The reeds have been tied into the stay vessel attached to the tree. *d*, The small dugout on grid net, drying (Janitzio). *e*, Boring packs in mixed plantation, Lake Xochimilco. *f*, Burning stubble near Ocumicho. *g*, Cut-over land between Revilla and Tuxtepec, now in maize fields and pasture. *h*, Wood, southern slope of Cerro de Pátzcuaro, near Pátzcuaro.

[End-plate 8]

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[501]

[492]

PLATE 14.—Markets and transport. *a*, The Sunday firewood and fish market, Erongarícuaro. The wood vendor at left has already bartered a pile of pinecones for a few fish in the basket. *b*, Pottery section of the Sunday market at Uruapan. *c*, The bread section of the Erongarícuaro market on the plaza. *d*, A train of burros bringing yucu palm leaves from the *tierra caliente* to Ario de Rosales. *e*, Boats from Janitzio landing on the mud flats at Erongarícuaro for the Sunday market. *f*, Hauling disassembled chairs and tables from Cerupo to the Uruapan market.

[End-plate 14]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

286 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 463 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town [511] knows how to fit a garment, and as standards [177] approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside [439] in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

291 177 *Men's dress.*—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

301 Miscellaneous cheap products of the markets may be worn, but the proper type every woman desires is a large hollow crescentic ornament with wires from each end passing through the perforation in the ear. These are of gold or silver, gold being preferred. A gold pair costs [435] about $35.00.

WOODWORKING TECHNIQUES

335 Carpentry, including house building, is the only wood manufacturing process in Cherán 322 except that of a single man who turns out chocolate beaters and that of a family who make broom handles. Aside from house building, carpenters mainly make doors for houses and kitchens, gates in fences, and trap doors. While several carpenters can do other kinds of woodwork, they rarely make furniture, as Cherán carpenters do not feel they can compete with those of nearby Paracho.

511 The differences in the economic well-being of towns situated only a few miles apart are 465 sharply underscored by this situation. Paracho is a "poor" village with inadequate lands. A considerable percentage of the population gain their livelihood as hired laborers, traders, carpenters, and weavers. Furniture makers in Paracho receive ordinarily 50 centavos for a chair, which takes perhaps a day to make. Carpenters from Cherán, most of whom are also landowners, feel this is a quite inadequate return. Data from Cherán indicate carpenters receive $1.50 or more a day for their labor. It may be that the traditional specialization of labor may have some influence upon the Cherán carpenter's unwillingness to make furniture, but differences in economic standards undoubtedly play a part.

335 Carpenters have a shop in their yard, usually consisting of a shed with one or two sides closed. Under this is a work bench of heavy planks. The tools are a saw, mallet, chisels, adz, hammer, and plane. Usually the metal parts only are purchased, and handles and plane boxes are made by the carpenter.

As the majority of Cherán houses are of wood, another important activity of carpenters is house building. Only the simplest house construction would be undertaken without the aid of a carpenter, and even the roofing of a stone or adobe structure likewise calls for a

[text continues on p. 436]

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272 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring
265 and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

262 A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

262 One of the poorest families in town, con-
511 sisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½
556 liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

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262 511 556 straits as the one mentioned above, would probably spend, in addition, 1 or 2 centavos daily for sugar, consumed in cinnamon tea, or 3 to 6 ounces of brown sugar for use in *atole blanco.* Atole would occasionally be made of milk, 3 to 5 centavos worth being bought. Such a family [758] would drink milk only in case of illness, when a sick person might get a pint or a little more each day.

A "middle class" family, consisting of 8 persons (2 adults, 6 children aged 4 to 16), eats about 3½ liters of maize daily, about 3½ pounds of meat (a peso's worth) a week, and 10 centavos worth of cheese daily. In addition, about 25 centavos a day would be spent for other foods. (The data on the three diets given above were all collected by Sra. Silvia Rendón.)

What appeared to be two reliable quantitative records, covering 2-week periods, were obtained, the first for a wealthy family and the second for an average family. They are as follows:

Diet records of two families for 2-week period

1. Wealthy family, Don Hilaro Xhemba (10 persons in household):

Maize	111 liters
Meat	13 pounds
Cheese	2 pounds
Fruit	[1]$ 2.54
Milk	1.54
Chiles (about ½ dozen)	.03
Bread (15 pieces, whole wheat, about 4½ inches diameter, 1¼ inches thick)	.75
Beans (brown or red; little less than 3 liters)	.41
Fish (probably about ½ pound dried fish)	.21
Total expenditure	$12.50

2. Average family, Melquiades Romero (2 adults and 5 children):

Maize	75 liters
Meat	12 pounds
Fruit	[2]$0.96

[1] This amount seems high. It would be the cost of 50 to 75 oranges, small to medium size, but undoubtedly it was not all spent for oranges; in fact, it was much more probably spent for bananas, pears, and perhaps apples or peaches.

[2] Perhaps spent for 20 to 30 small to medium oranges, but probably mostly for bananas, peaches, pears, and apples.

In both cases recorded above, vegetables undoubtedly came out of the family garden and are not listed. Probably, from the distribution of purchases, this would mean cabbage daily, perhaps half a leaf per person, boiled with the

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[p.55a]

Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada Tarascans

262 meat. At this time of year there may have
511 been a few meals with immature squash or wild
556 herbs from the woods, stewed with perhaps a little milk or cheese and lard.

Evelyn Payne Hatcher kindly consented to
146 attempt an analysis of the diet of Cherán.
262 The results are full of guesswork, but they
556 are at least suggestive. The results show
511 that if yellow maize was used almost exclusively, the diet of a wealthy family would contain no outright deficiencies and in many respects provide more than the usual recommended minimum amounts of various vitamins and proteins and calories. A very poor family, on the other hand, would show a striking deficiency in vitamin B_1 and an inadequate caloric intake. Both diets would give a marked deficiency of vitamin A if white corn were used instead of yellow corn. Despite the inadequacy of the data, there seems little reason to doubt that in some cases, particularly among poor families, deficiencies in the diet are sufficiently large to have a pronounced effect upon behavior and cultural participation (Beals and Hatcher, 1943).

COMPARATIVE NOTES

262 Some interesting comparisons are afforded by
556 data from other towns. The most complete
511 information was secured from Chilchota in La Cañada.

Chilchota is a Mestizoized Indian town, i. e., the bulk of the population is of Indian descent but a number of Mestizos have moved in, the native language is scarcely spoken any longer, and the people regard themselves as non-Indian. Customs are closely similar to those in the nearby Indian towns, however. Following are some menus collected by Silvia Rendón (for Cherán menus, see Beals and Hatcher, 1943):

Chilchota menus

Luncheons (taken about 10 or 11 a. m.; no breakfast in this case):

Average household:

Broiled beef
Boiled beans
Black atole
Chile sauce
Tortillas

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.55b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Chile sauce
Tortillas
511 Coffee (black)
556 Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Very poor household:
Greens of wheat plants (boiled)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Pork cooked with chile
Fried beans
Tortillas

Fried pork
Boiled beans
Milk
Tortillas

Pork cooked in chile sauce (mole?)
Fried beans
Tortillas
Black coffee

Dinners (2 p. m. or later):
Average household:
Meat broth with cabbage (cooked)
Meat (beef) from which broth was made
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Meat broth with cabbage
Boiled beans
Rice, cooked in water

Pork broth (with rice and bitter *tunas* or prickly pears)
Rice boiled in water
Beans
Tortillas

Fried rice with tomatoes
Pork in chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Broth
Meat from the broth
Beans boiled with chile and silantro
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Meat broth
Meat (different from that from which broth was made) cooked with chile
Beans
Tortillas

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P'Sole] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Suppers (about 7 o'clock in the evening):
511
556

Average household:

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Milk

Very poor household:

Beans
Posole (hominy, probably with a little boiled meat)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Broiled meat
Milk

Fairly common suppers are tamales (with or without meat) and atole or coffee or a piece of bread (a whole-wheat bread slightly seasoned) and a cup of tea made from the herb nurite or a type of orange leaf.

In all cases quantities are probably small, except of tortillas. Rarely would more than one piece of bread be eaten, perhaps 2 to 3 ounces at most; perhaps half a cup to a cup of beans; meat, if broiled or boiled, two pieces about 1½ inches in greatest dimension—if in sauce, perhaps a couple of tablespoonfuls with the sauce.[19]

With substitution of different foods, these would represent Cherán menus on the whole, although there would not be so much meat with breakfast-luncheon, but rather atole, while the meat broth and meat would more commonly be served together.

At the Indian town of Sopoco in La Cañada, the following midday meals were observed:

[19] See Appendix 1 for more data on Chilchota.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.56b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)—Possibly because Capacuaro is a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, gophers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

262 184

Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

[264]

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričûskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

256 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* pro-
243 duces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds
434 of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or
438 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 One agricultural activity for which few data
438 were obtained is fruit growing. No informa-
434 tion was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

Another view of farming activity may be
434 gained by examining the income of individual
241 farmers. These data are probably somewhat
511 unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

241 maize. Case 3 owns a store run by his chil-
434 dren, but he regards himself as a farmer by
511 preference. Even without his store, he would be well off by Cherán standards, although not a "rich man." In 1940 he produced nearly enough maize for his family and sold over $300 worth of wheat. In 1941 he probably was able to sell not less than 35 *fanegas* of maize above his family's food needs (less if he raised pigs or fattened beef for butchering). Case 4 is a widow. Her land is cultivated by a nephew, but under what circumstances is not known. If the nephew lives with her, the amount of maize is a little inadequate; on the other hand, if she lives alone, the quantity is more than enough for one person.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 It is virtually impossible to secure useful
434 data on labor costs or profits in relation to animals. Under agriculture I have mentioned some of the facts about oxen. No data were collected on chicken raising; probably no one in Cherán knows how much grain he feeds chickens or how many eggs a year he gets.
[435] Prices vary from 2 to 6 centavos per egg. The situation about pigs is little better.

Virtually everyone keeps pigs; no one has any idea of the total amount of grain fed except during the fattening period. Shoats have little value and are frequently given away. Data on labor are lacking, yet the labor cost cannot be negligible when the animal is being fattened and its pen is cleaned frequently. A

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TABLE 2.—*Data on farm income*

[Data for 1940, claimed; for 1941, estimated.]

Case No.	Land cultivated			Yield			Value of crops[2]		Total income for year		Combined income for 1940-41
	Number of parcels	Number of hectares	Value	Crop	1940	1941	1940	1941	1940	1941	
1[1]	2	2	$140	Maize	20 fanegas		$100-140		$100-140		$150-240
	1			do		10-15 fanegas		50-100		50-100	
2[1]	1	4	350	Maize	35 fanegas		175-200		175-200		175-200
	1	Town lot		Pears	10-100's	8-100's					
3	1	8	1,250	Wheat	17½ cargas		638-671		449-561		733-1,231
	1	1		Maize	7½ fanegas		40				
	1	1½		do	7½ fanegas		40				
	1	Town lot[3]		Peaches	25-100's	25-100's	10	10		253-670	
	1	3½		Maize		55-110 fanegas		275-660			
4	1	½	120	Wheat	1 carga		25		80		135
	1	½		Maize	9 fanegas		55				
	1	½		do		9 fanegas		55		55	

[1] Values of fodder or wheat straw not included.
[2] Land rented; crop values represent owner's share (one-half).
[3] Cost of threshing deducted.
[4] Value not included in $1,250.

[p. 68c]

494 left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into
556 Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do
494 men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves.
[661] Although trucks are not supposed to carry passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns
443 in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos.
[511] It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

438 ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans.
443 Rendón, who collected the data, observes that
there is a fairly clear sex division in market
462 activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—*Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota*

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Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	5
Ripe tomatoes	6	0
Green chile	0	3
Dry chile	7	7
Cabbage	3	4
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	8
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit	6	8
Peanuts	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	0	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	4
Regular tamales (kurúndas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Soaproot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	4
Pitch pine	2	0
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

511 The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

511 riage, and to a lesser extent with birth and death. A very significant consumption of goods occurs in connection with religious activities, particularly in relation to the *mayordomías* Less important, perhaps, is consumption in connection with governmental activities. All of these, nevertheless, are subordinate in importance to consumption by family groups.

The major product consumed by the family is maize. In the vast majority of cases most of, if not all, the maize consumed is produced by the family. The same is true of a number of supplementary items in the diet such as fruit, cabbage, and other vegetables. On the other hand, beans, meat, cheese, and fish, important constituents of the diet, are usually purchased. Maize consumption is about one-half liter a day per person (averaging the consumption of all ages). Much greater quan-

511 tities may be consumed in connection with any festal occasion. Consumption of any other items will depend upon the amount of money available.

The major food consumption of the family has already been analyzed (Beals and Hatcher, 1943). In monetary terms it has been shown that great differences exist. Food expenditures vary from 11.6 to 17.8 centavos a day per person. In general, a very poor family with its own maize supply will spend 5 to 10 centavos in chiles a week, 3 to 5 centavos in cheese every 3 or 4 days, 1 or 2 centavos in sugar or brown sugar daily, and perhaps occasionally 5 to 8 centavos in beans. Unless the family is quite poverty-stricken, about 2 centavos a day is spent in having the maize ground in a *nixtamal* mill. Among families in slightly better circumstances, about a peso a week is

[text continues on top of p. 85a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.85a]

511 spent on meat. Families not regarded as poor might spend as little as 60 centavos a day on food for a family of six (two adults and four children). Checked in several ways, although obviously the quantitative data are inadequate, it appears that most prosperous (but not wealthy) families with sufficient land to produce all their own maize may spend less than 1 peso a day. It is estimated by some that this amount also includes the cost of all clothing and some maintenance of buildings but would not include special expenses, such as replacing animals, giving fiestas, holding funerals, etc. Frankly, this seems hard to believe.[25]

An approach to consumption (in terms of peso values), based on such quantitative data as it was possible to collect, indicates a much higher consumption rate for the normal Cherán family. Taking, for convenience, a family of five, the following seems a reasonably close approximation of consumption and expenditure:

	Per day	*Per year*
Home-produced goods consumed:		
Maize, 2½ liters daily	$0.15	$54.75
Vegetables and fruit	.10	36.50
Firewood	.08	29.20
Total value		$120.45
Goods requiring cash expenditure:		
Expenditures at store and butcher shop	$1.00	$365.00
Man's clothing (a rough estimate of minimum requirements for work clothing plus some "dress" clothing)		27.00
Woman's clothing (one typical woman's outfit of Tarascan type clothing, plus a couple of cotton dresses a year)		60.00
Clothing for 3 small children		15.00
Total cash expenditure a year		467.00
Total value of goods consumed a year		$587.45

In addition to the above ordinary expendi-

[25] In Mestizo Chilchota, Repdón collected the following data: For a family of two adults and four children, 6 to 22 years, food expenditures were said to be 75 centavos to 1 peso daily, mostly for meat, the remainder for beans, lard, pitch pine, chiles, tomatoes, salt, lime, and other things. The maize consumed is grown. Another family of four adults and one child of 5 years spent about a peso a day. Another family of four adults and three children, 8 to 14 years, spent a peso to a peso and a half daily. In all cases the major expenditure was said to be for meat, with beans coming second. All grew their own maize. Unlike those in Cherán, all these families consumed coffee once and sometimes twice a day.

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

511 tures, there will also be less frequent ones. In the life time of the average family, a house and kitchen will have to be bought or built. By usual Cherán standards, this will mean a capital expenditure of $170 to $450. Animals must be replaced from time to time, an item difficult to estimate, but probably involving capital expenditures of around $200 every 10 years as a minimum.

Periodic expenditures will also include a blanket every few years at about $20, reroofing of house and kitchen every 10 years or so at a cost of about $40, an occasional *mayordomía*, and the expenses of weddings, births, and deaths. Finally, there are taxes on property and contributions to the church. All these are impossible to estimate accurately with the available data. A *mayordomía*, for example, may [796] vary from an outlay of perhaps $15 or $20 for Mass, candles, and ornaments for the altar in the house to a cash expenditure of about $500 for the *mayordomía* of Nochebuena plus extensive use of maize and butchering of animals etc. belonging to the *mayordomo*. Weddings likewise may vary enormously according to economic resources, but may run up as high as $500 in cash outlay. In addition, there are the innumerable occasions when one must participate in weddings, roofing or house-moving fiestas, etc., each of which involves more or less expensive gifts aside from possible contributions of labor.

The above factors suggest that a Cherán family of five in about average circumstances makes a total outlay on consumption goods of not less than $500 a year if such capital expenditures as housing are allowed for. This does not include the value of home-produced foods. Many families unquestionably have a much smaller cash outlay than the amount suggested, but, equally certainly, some families spend more. Furthermore, these estimates assume that the family has inherited all the land it needs and is not making any expenditures for land purchases.

The preceding considerations suggest that insufficient attention has been paid to the quantity of exports and the movement of money in Cherán economy. Such data are difficult but not impossible to secure, although a considerable margin of error must be expected.

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511 The motivations of consumption appear several. Primary is the need of food, shelter,
181 and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case
[626] the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

556 In general, wealthy people do not display their wealth ostentatiously except through
511 undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.86b]

556 Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more
511 violent revolutionary days are close enough
[669] that people conceal their wealth rather than display it. That this was not always the case is evidenced by the considerable number of ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy before the revolution. Today wealthy men live modestly. Their table differs primarily in quantity rather than in quality from that of the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule, than do other women, and on special occasions they display more and better jewelry. There
[357] are few servants in Cherán, and their place is taken by dependent relatives or orphans who are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a moro dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

435 The values of the major commodities and services in Cherán are expressed in monetary terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

In addition to a house and kitchen, which
343 constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen.
593 Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in
342 the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

When children come, the acquisitive activities
593 of the family become even more important.
556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as
● 581 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

As solid citizens the family members will
593 also have additional responsibilities. At least
556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as
554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

435 351 The main supplementary structures to be considered are fences, gates, and sheds. The only fences involving expenditure are those of masonry-adobe. Costs are the same per meter as for a house wall.

The gate will vary in cost. Often it may consist of only a few planks, which may be second-hand material secured without cost, or even merely a pole or two laid horizontally across the opening. A well-made *zagudn* gate bought from a carpenter will cost about 17 pesos and up, depending on size. The balance of the gate, including the roof over it, will usually be constructed by the house owner. Ordinarily, the few shakes needed will be left over from house building or may be secured for a few cents.

435 343 Sheds are usually built by the householder. A sizable shed roof might require a bundle of shakes costing 5 pesos. No nails would be used, the shakes being held down by rough-hewn strips of pine and stones.

COMPARISON OF COSTS

435 342 It is clear from the foregoing data that a masonry-adobe structure is as cheap or slightly cheaper than a wooden house, or "*troje.*" It also has more storage space. On the other hand, it requires somewhat more care in upkeep and also more expense to make it look "right" to the Tarascan. The interior, for example, should have a coat of plaster of either adobe or lime and sand. Preferably, so should the exterior. Both should also be whitewashed or kalsomined. None of these costs are included in the estimates.

435 342 An interesting comparison is made in table 5 of the costs of the following four categories of Tarascan houses:

511 (*a*) What the Tarascan would conceive to be the minimal shelter, which would be far below the Tarascan standard of decency.

(*b*) Housing considered a poor standard but not impossible.

(*c*) A respectable standard for a small family.

(*d*) A high standard for a small family.

Only people of some wealth normally use masonry-adobe structures; consequently, only in this category have I shown costs for this type of housing, without including any "frills" for decoration or finishing.

[p. 27b]

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TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "*tarío*" kitchen	25–50
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosina, or one "*tarío*" kitchen and one small "*troje*."	175–200
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosina or "*tarío*" kitchen and one medium "*troje*."	375–500
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosina and two good "*trojes*."	550–600
	One trója kosina and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on p. 28 b]

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

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Only in a general way is there correlation between house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28 b]

435 342 511 a relative or friend to permit him to use a bit of land—as many do—the cost of minimal shelter could be as low as $11. By begging scraps, even this figure could be reduced. Such a housing situation would, however, be regarded as "frightful" by all Tarascans.

At the other end of the scale, there are numerous Cherán residents who have much more costly establishments than those represented under *d*. Relatively few are in the condition of *b;* the great majority of Cherán residents would fall in category *c* and a fair proportion in category *d*. The discussion of house use will illustrate this point.

RELATION OF HOUSES TO

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 556 2. A special occupation, such as storekeeping, may be followed.

3. There may be definite social pretensions. Of these three causes, the last seems least operative. Wealth is a necessary prerequisite to anything more elaborate than class *d* housing but wealth is often concealed. Numerous families in class *d* are far from wealthy by Cherán standards.

These judgments are somewhat subjective, but case material could be cited to support them.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
511 cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United
113 States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources
262 of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than
556 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than mi-
511 nimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vita-
min B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories.

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it
[184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 ment of Agriculture Circular N° 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard,
113 **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin N° 707, 1939: and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

TABLE II

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
meat	10.4	52	117	5.7	.16	1.9	1.35	875
cheese	1.6	900	7	—	.25	.37	.52	179
bread	1	70	30	0	—	.1	.02	100
bananas	5.5	230	28	7	.07	.66	.11	154
milk	16	700	75	10	.60	.28	.32	310
lard	.5	—	—	—	—	—	H.5	127
beans	5	40	71	0	—	1.1	.08	495
oranges	12	117	100	107	.32	.11	.02	175
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
chiles	.7	616	—	38	—	—	—	
Totals (without maize)		3,835 [1]	433	207.7	1.50	5.01	2.42	2,685
maize (yellow)	192	23,600	2,840	—	2.07	19.2	8.26	20,280
Total		27,585	3,318	207.7	3.57	24.21	10.68	22,965
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, wealthy family.

[1] This would be the quantity of vitamin A with white maize.

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10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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TABLE III

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	121	14,890	1,750	—	1.2	12.1	5.2	12,780
chiles	7.5	6,600	—	400	—	—	—	75
beans	1.5	10	33	—	—	.33	.02	250
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
Totals		23,120	1,807	420	1.52	12.91	5.86	13,363
(with white maize)		8,230	—					
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, very poor family.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 3a]

126 Usually, field notes were classified, typed in triplicate, and filed according to a modification of the system of the Outline of Cultural Materials prepared by George P. Murdock and others for use in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University (Murdock and others, 1938). In this way it was possible for all workers to find immediately what had already been collected on a subject and to discover discrepancies in accounts when these existed. The system also served to show deficiencies in the data.

Certain other problems in field methods arose. 123 Cherán habits place some obstacles in the way of field work. The main occupations of the town are farming and forest exploitation. In [512] the former case, men are usually in the fields all day, often at points several miles distant from town. In the latter instance, men may be away from town for 4 or 5 days at a time. In certain seasons the town is almost deserted during the day. As women will not talk with strange men [609] in the absence of their husbands, it often took many visits to find at home a man we wished to query on some specific point. In addition, yards are surrounded by high walls and it is customary to greet visitors at the yard gate and converse with them on the street. Consequently, it is difficult to gain much insight into home life. Only women can get free access into the houses, and it is unfortunate that Sra. Rendón could not have spent full time in the field. Certain aspects of this study would then have been much better than they are.

In general, the method followed was first to discuss a topic with Sr. Chávez in detail, obtaining from him as complete an account as possible. In some cases Sr. Chávez also wrote supplementary accounts. Efforts were always made to get the names of specific people who were involved. Once we had obtained what might be considered Sr. Chávez's view of a particular aspect of the culture, this was sometimes checked with Sr. Rangel. On other occasions we started with Sr. Rangel and checked with Sr. Chávez. An effort was then made to visit and talk with a large number of the people concerned. For example, after securing Sr. Chávez' account of childbirth, a list of all the professional midwives in town was secured. These were all then visited by Dr. Palacios and interviewed intensively. Some were inter-

593 Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cul-
[578] tures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

512 Within the household certain routines and habits are common. Labor is rather strictly
593 divided along sexual lines also. For example, the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the
[462] morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and sups at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
on one mat with a single blanket. Small chil-
● 512 dren under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the
parents; above that age they sleep on separate
mats and have a separate blanket.

The general weekly routine of the family of
512 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent
517 the typical Cherán families, is about as follows.
On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at
6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or
wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home
and sweep the courtyard and street in front of
the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock
Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church
and plaza or on the streets talking to their
friends before going home for breakfast.
After breakfasting, the young men get towels
[515] and go to the bathing place in one of the
barrancas (about a mile from town) and bathe.
The older men go out and loaf about the streets
all morning, talking to friends and acquaint-
ances. Older men bathe less often, but also
usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12
the younger men return home, eat again, pick
up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or
[132] rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the
streets to meet their friends again. Women
may go out after dinner and visit neighbors.
Small children, it might be noted, do not go to
Mass but play around the house and nearby
streets all day. A young unmarried man may
hang around the corner near the house of some
girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is
also interested, she will go out after water
several times during the day and the two will
talk on the streets. If they are clever and the
girl's family is either not very strict or not
very suspicious, they may manage to talk
together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many
women, some men, and many of the young people.
After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for steal-
[584] ing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the
fall, the young man may be involved in helping
his friends. Or he may simply walk along in
the direction his girl is going in the hope of
having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively,
he may talk on the streets with friends or go to
one of the billiard parlors. Although people
eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

512 unmarried men may not come home until 9 or
517 10 o'clock, when the family is in bed, and they feed themselves with cold food left for them.

512 On Monday the men and young men go to the fields or to the mountains between 7 and 9
462 o'clock, after eating a breakfast which always includes tortillas and chile and likely includes remnants of the previous day's meal such as *sopa de tortilla*. If the men are going out all day and the place is distant, they take a lunch. If the place is nearby, wives carry lunch to their menfolk. Women will take maize to the mill and carry whatever water is needed during the morning. They may also buy some vegetables at the market, although most will have done this at the Saturday market. They may shop for meat and other needed items at the store. The main housework will be sweeping and putting the sleeping mats in the "*troje*." Then the woman will start work on the midday meal for herself and children (earlier if she is to take dinner to the fields, which she will do if her husband is working within an hour's walk). This meal is apt to be quite simple if the husband is not home. Some women make tortillas before dinner and again before supper. Others will eat warmed up tortillas for dinner. After dinner, following about an hour's rest, these women will make up a supply of tortillas sufficient to last 24 hours. An older daughter may be set at this work. In any case, probably 2 hours will be put in making tortillas and preparing supper. Men who went for firewood will probably be home as early as 4 o'clock, others not until 5 or 5:30, while those who had to look for a strayed animal or who are delayed for other reasons may come in after dark. The men of the family will eat together; the women and children usually eat together but after the men. Before he eats, a man may have to water and feed his animals, unless there is a small boy who can do it.

517 After supper a man will often go out on the street for about an hour to loaf and talk to
512 friends. Young men will go out and stay longer; they are usually the last to bed. Small children are put in bed about 8 o'clock.

512 Some families vary the schedule given above. In a fair number of cases the men of the family rise before the women and go to the fields
462 without breakfast. The woman in this case

512 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds
462 it herself, in the meantime making atole. The men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and
[869] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually
[517] by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 In some ways the activities of men are less varied and complex than those of the women.
462 A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

517 It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor,
159 broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

354 The kitchen always has a hearth on the ground, usually made with six stones (parángua), arranged as in figure 15. Infrequently, the hearth or stove is of clay (fig. 16). Space is provided for three fire places, one (fig. 15, *b*) for the *comal* or tortilla baking dish, and two (*a–a*) for cooking pots. This hearth is usually at one side of the structure. [973] Near the fire a branched stick (čuríŋgu) is set in the ground; on this stick pitch-pine splinters (k'uerámu) are burned for light at night. At the back of the kitchen are one or two shelves, 415 "*tinajera*," (plátu jatákua). On the upper are 352 the old ollas and large vessels. On the bottom are new ollas (pureči), plates (plátu), jars (iɛ́amatarakua), wooden spoons (iojésa), and knives (kučó). Below the shelves on the ground, are the three-legged metates (iauári), *molcajetes* (jiúmatakua), *comales* (eróksa), and large water jugs (k'amúkua), including one set on a fiber ring (uanɛ́ari) containing drinking water. Also on the ground are baskets (ɛ́akiáta), tortilla baskets ("tascal," kuatása), and gourds (uzáni). Either on the floor or on the shelf may be wooden bowls (batieča), other types of baskets (ɛ́akiáta kanímu and šúndi, "*chúndi*"), and fire fans (p'unítatara- [439] kua). All the manufactured articles are imported.

352 The metate, when in use, is placed on a plank [513] beside the fire. At night, it is removed and mats are spread out for sleeping.

[p. 22 b]

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

STORAGE

343 The Cherán house is really a storehouse. The
251 loft and, sometimes, the lower floor are employed for storage of crops and food reserves. The lower floor is used for the storage of clothing, furniture not in immediate use, and for the family altar and the image of the saint. On occasion, it may be used as a sleeping room for guests. Supplementary sheds also may be used for crop storage, especially for fodder for animals.

SLEEPING AND COOKING

362 Cooking and eating is all done in the kitchen.
574 Guests may be fed in the kitchen, outside, on the house veranda, or in the house. Female visitors are usually entertained in the kitchen. Male visitors are more apt to be entertained outdoors or on the house veranda, depending on the weather.

362 In mountain towns, sleeping is always in the
513

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
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USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

362 kitchen. With few exceptions, the entire family
513 sleeps on mats about the fire. Cold weather and lack of bedding are given as the reasons for this. Even where a masonry-adobe structure with a bed exists, the family normally sleeps in the kitchen.

On ceremonial occasions modifications occur.
362 The house to some extent becomes a center of activities, while cooking will move into the open or under supplementary sheds. These occasions are not many. In the main, family life takes place outdoors when the weather permits; in the kitchen when it does not. The term "house" in practice is a euphemism, and some members of the family may not enter the structure for days at a time.

592 HOUSE SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

362 A survey of Cherán houses was made to deter-
125 mine the relationship between size of buildings

593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
512 on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

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512 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent
517 the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
●515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes [515] bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are [533] bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [526] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers 535 dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* 796 of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of curípo and kurúndas. The fiesta is called tzíndakua.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing [533] *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

574 with whom especially friendly relations exist, nor-
609 mally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

351 So far as is known, customs in other mountain
574 towns are similar in all respects except for the attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences
184 are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 The major insect pests are fleas. In some vil-
136 lages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is
164 impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to
[515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

608 of the bride and groom together with all their brothers,
585 sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the
[516] bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre.*" One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari ka auándaɹu anápueskari ka uéke dióʒa éskakʒa no méni ambé arijperoka. Na čúskuskiá kumba." Meantime the t'aɹépiti is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

608 To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished,
[782] she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.[31]

In some parts of Mexico—for example,
[171] among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

[31] In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Cherán.

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WOMEN, CARRYING METHODS, AND HAIR GROOMING.

Upper (left): Woman bargaining for tomatoes, showing typical method of carrying burdens on the back, i. e., by a sling of sacking which supports a basket and passes around the shoulders and across the chest. Her rollo is clearly visible. The man in the short pants is probably a Mestizo attending the fiesta. *Upper (right)*: Woman using rebozo in carrying a child. Mestizos in background. *Lower (left)*: Unmarried young woman of San Lorenzo with rayon apron and light rebozo for a fiesta. *Lower (right)*: Mother combs her daughter's hair and anoints it with oil or banana juice (in bowl) to give it a sheen.

[End Plate 2]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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137
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PLOWING, DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS, LOG HEWING, AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustin, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[End Plate 4]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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[415]

ROOFING FIESTA AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Men eating at a house-roofing fiesta; baskets of tortillas, jars of water, and dishes of salt lie on the ground. Remaining photographs, a Cherán wedding. *Upper (right):* Preparing to distribute bread, while one of the godmothers oversees the work. *Lower (left):* Bringing in paper ornaments for distribution. *Right (middle):* The godmothers and close relatives of the groom. *Lower (right):* Tying a ribbon in a godmother's hair.

[End Plate 7]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánpakua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tirípatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.²) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buy[illegible] partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.[1]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-vara (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[1] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 3-inch planks, which are sawed.

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PLATE 9.—Cuanajo: Pottery making at Cuanajo. *a*, Vessel being started from a single dash of clay. The vessel is worked on top of the mouth of a broken olla. *b*, and *c*, Bottom portion of vessel being shaped. *d*, Piece of clay being rolled out on board. *e* and *f*, Sides of vessel are built up by adding pieces of rolled clay.

[End plate-9]

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PLATE 10.—Cocucho: Pottery molding at Cocucho (continued). *g* and *h*, Rolled pieces of clay are worked into sides of vessel. *i*, Sides of vessel are smoothed with cornsh. *j* and *k*, Lip of vessel being shaped. *l*, The finished vile. The vessel was made in about 35 minutes.

[End-plate 10]

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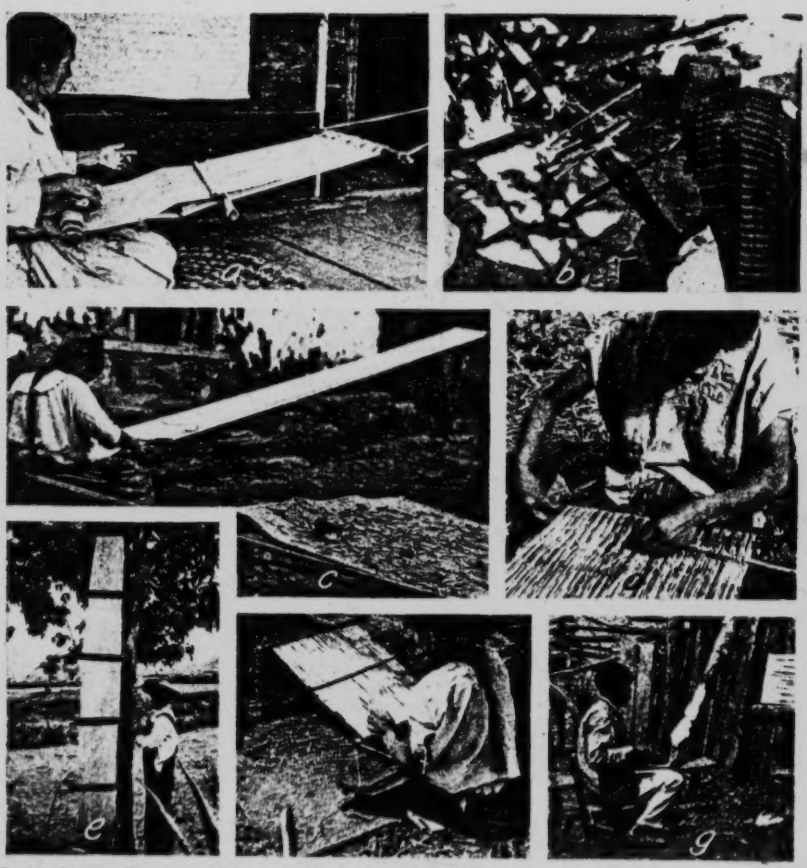

PLATE 11.—Textiles. *a*, Weaving cotton cloth for aprons on the native belt loom, Cherapan. *b*, Weaving women's belts (*fajas*), Amijo. The belts vary in width from 1½ to 3 inches, carry various designs, and each is of several brilliant colors. *c*, Weaving men's sashes of white cotton thread, Jamitzio. C'uréri is drying on the petate, lower right. *d*, Weaving a morral of agave fiber, Tarecuato. *e*, Stretching woven pieces of agave fiber, Tarecuato. Each piece is doubled over to make a morral. *f*, Weaving agave fiber on the belt loom, Tarecuato. *g*, Spinning agave fiber with the malacate, Tarecuato.

[End-plate 11]

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PLATE 12.—Textiles. *a*, A stripe of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many potato makers own their own milpas, but sometimes portions of the bracken are leased to tule reliers, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into manojos and stacked in shocks. *c*, Weaving petates, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making enpotes, Arantepacua. Work is done inside the kichen. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the tubs of water at left. *e*, Embroidering a huipil, or blouse, Tarécuato. *f*, Baskets woven at Ihuatzio. The large one (left), called *tuke*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The flat round basket is called *t'ákiti* and is used to carry fish and tamales. The twilled basket is a *tinamit* (the Tarascans call it "*zamán*") for tortillas. The handled basket at the right (simply named "*canasta*") is for carrying eggs, *pámacito*, and often fish.

[End-plate 12]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 2]

NU34 Tarasco NU34

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Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[196] *Upper,* Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[403] *Lower,* Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.

593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
512 on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

512 The general weekly routine of the family of
517 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels
[515] and go to the bathing place in one of the *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or
[132] rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people. After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for steal-
[584] ing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

512 unmarried men may not come home until 9 or
517 10 o'clock, when the family is in bed, and they feed themselves with cold food left for them.

On Monday the men and young men go to
512 the fields or to the mountains between 7 and 9
462 o'clock, after eating a breakfast which always includes tortillas and chile and likely includes remnants of the previous day's meal such as *sopa de tortilla*. If the men are going out all day and the place is distant, they take a lunch. If the place is nearby, wives carry lunch to their menfolk. Women will take maize to the mill and carry whatever water is needed during the morning. They may also buy some vegetables at the market, although most will have done this at the Saturday market. They may shop for meat and other needed items at the store. The main housework will be sweeping and putting the sleeping mats in the "*troje*." Then the woman will start work on the midday meal for herself and children (earlier if she is to take dinner to the fields, which she will do if her husband is working within an hour's walk). This meal is apt to be quite simple if the husband is not home. Some women make tortillas before dinner and again before supper. Others will eat warmed up tortillas for dinner. After dinner, following about an hour's rest, these women will make up a supply of tortillas sufficient to last 24 hours. An older daughter may be set at this work. In any case, probably 2 hours will be put in making tortillas and preparing supper. Men who went for firewood will probably be home as early as 4 o'clock, others not until 5 or 5:30, while those who had to look for a strayed animal or who are delayed for other reasons may come in after dark. The men of the family will eat together; the women and children usually eat together but after the men. Before he eats, a man may have to water and feed his animals, unless there is a small boy who can do it.

After supper a man will often go out on the
517 street for about an hour to loaf and talk to
512 friends. Young men will go out and stay longer; they are usually the last to bed. Small children are put in bed about 8 o'clock.

Some families vary the schedule given above.
512 In a fair number of cases the men of the family rise before the women and go to the fields
462 without breakfast. The woman in this case

512 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds
462 it herself, in the meantime making atole. The men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and [869] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually [517] by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 In some ways the activities of men are less
462 varied and complex than those of the women. A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

It would be a mistake to assume, however,
517 that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor,
159 broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

517 159 574 Agustín arrived in Cherán from the United States on January 25, 1940. For 17 days he did not eat at home. There were no fiestas but he was "taken around." He was brought chocolate and bread before he got up. February 5 there was a wedding, which he attended for a while in the evening and part of the next day. February 6 was Carnival and he went on horseback to Nahuatzen, where he followed the music about for a time. In March, during Holy Week, he went to church Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. He spent some time watching the *Judíos* chase small boys with their spears. The boys blew whistles to annoy them. Between Carnival and Holy Week there were several weddings, but he did not attend any of them for more than an hour or two. At the fiesta of the Octava following Holy Week he spent 4 days going about with the musicians. He spent 3 days at a fiesta in Nahuatzen, coming home each night. At Corpus he spent 4 days, following the music and visiting various parties. He spent 1 day at the *carguero's* house on the day of San José, April 10. After Corpus he spent a whole day at one wedding and an hour or two at another. On San Juan's day, June 24, he spent the whole day watching the horse racing and other activities. On the day of San Pedro in June he ate posole at various houses and walked around all day. In August he spent 2 more days at another fiesta in Nahuatzen and spent an evening and a day in connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves. He also attended three weddings, spending an entire day at each. In September he visited the Ahuiran fiesta for 1 day. In October he spent 4 days at the fiesta of the patron saint in Cherán. A half day was spent at the Huansito fiesta in La Cañada. The Day of the Dead was almost all spent at the graveyard and at people's homes. In December he danced with the *negrito* dancers for 4 days and in January danced with the *viejos* or *Europeos* for 4 days (he did not count any of the practice time which was in the evenings). In January he spent 1 day at a wedding..

517 Another informant, between 40 and 50 years of age, spent the following time in fiestas:

Carnival, 2-3 hours
Wedding, 1 day
Holy Week, 3 days at church

517

Octava, 4 days
Corpus, 4 days
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
San Juan, 1 day
San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
Wedding, 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

462 Women, in general, work longer hours at more varied tasks and with numerous interruptions.
312 While women also attend fiestas and weddings in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the
[482] hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo,* which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 The best picture of women's activities may
462 be presented by giving a number of actual

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.200a]

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will
517 always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums.
517 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well
525 patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5
[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

Tastes are fixed even in some matters of
291 dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

291 unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in
521 Cherán is simply talking. Both men and
517 women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for
538 amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

The transition from adult to old age is not
887 a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents
886 whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 269] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

796 Different towns have reputations for
535 giving dances in which they excel, and these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an advanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is held and people come in pilgrimage, com-
517 bining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

222 mestizo towns nearby for the manufacture of scrubbing brushes. This activity is not peculiar to Tarascans, for it is carried on by both mestizos and Indians in high altitudes of the Mesa Central where the grass grows in abundance.

263 Before the eruption of Paricutin in 1943, honey
222 gathering was an important collecting activity in the Sierra. The heavy fall of volcanic ash killed or drove away all wild bees in the area, terminating the ancient trade of the *panaleros*, or honey gatherers. Formerly there were 15 *panaleros* in Urapicho, and several in Cherán and Tanaco. In the spring of 1946 it was rumored in some pueblos farthest from the volcano that a few swarms of bees were returning. (See Beals, 1946, pp. 13–14, for a description of honey collecting in the Sierra.)

HUNTING ACTIVITIES

224 In pre-Conquest times hunting formed a significant part of the food quest among the Tarascans. Deer, rabbit, and grouse were hunted in the Sierra, while migratory waterfowl, chiefly ducks, were taken in the Lake area (Relación de Michoacán, p. 15). Today only duck hunting on Lake Pátzcuaro still has economic importance, and there it is limited chiefly to fishers—the islanders and some *rancheros* on the Tanu-k'eri Peninsula. Nine varieties of migratory ducks (principally of the genera *Nyroca*, *Marcca*, and *Nettica*) are recognized by the fishermen. Customarily bird hunting starts on the Día de los Muertos fiestas (October 31 and November 1), when as many as 100 ducks are killed by a single hunter, and continues until the departure of the flocks in late March. The p'atámu, or spear propelled with the
411 throwing stick (ɨapáki, or the Nahuatl *atlatl*), is still employed by many duck hunters. The spear, with a *carrizo* handle 3 m. long, carries 3 points, called the *fogs* (k'enśéta), each 7 cm. in length (fig. 5). Old flintlocks (*carabinas de chispas*) are also used by the Urandén islanders, but many modern hunters from Janitzio possess modern shotguns. Ducks are eaten in the Lake pueblos and many are sold in Pátzcuaro. Waterfowl are hunted by Tarascans likewise in the Zacapu Basin.

224 In the Sierra, hunting is looked upon as a
[517] pastime by most modern Indians. Men and boys often hunt deer, squirrels, and rabbits with flintlocks and some modern rifles. Game, however, is largely depleted in the Sierra. Beals

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 52b--Amiss]

291 unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

521 Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in
517 Cherán is simply talking. Both men and women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

538 With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

887 The transition from adult to old age is not
886 a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.306]

233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 465 The average wages of sheepherders are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent misbehavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or [626] carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

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292
535 "demons" were dressed in black, wearing a
796 crown of feathers on the back of the head, with a black veil over most of the face. The devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*. Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers. Two small boys represented angels (one, Michael, with a sword), but the majority were dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes, and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

535 The performance begins with a long *relato*
796 by the devils in which they talk about a journey they are ~~going~~ to make, the curious things they are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a *ranchero* dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros* supervise the two files of children. Then there is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers give their crooks to friends or relatives and dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of children alone or occasionally with the hermits. The devils and the hermits, on the other hand, constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one another. Occasionally one or two of the devils will capture a hermit and force him to dance along with them. Also, from time to time the hermits use their whips to keep the children from crowding in too much on the dancers.

[522] The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One was seen "praying" before the church with his hands together but with both thumbs to his nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd with their whips or if they identified the offender, would pursue him with their whips—and sometimes used them if the stones had been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of the church before the saints' images, which are brought out of the church for this. Then the dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after which they dance. Then they go to various houses and dance. The householders give them fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts. Then they return to the house of the *carguero* to eat once more.

582 aged 20. The instance is regarded as exceptional and as undesirable. As a rule, the boy
587 discusses his choice with his parents or with
584 one of his uncles. Although no specific data could be secured on the subject, from the facts
604 that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
583 does the marriage not follow. Her parents, however much opposed they may be, must
522 always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authori-
583 ties should force a youth to marry a girl after he has stolen her. If they do not, the authori-
[661] ties are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p.m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

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576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress.
[864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave mis-
736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
[195] when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 About 25 percent of the boys go to school at ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are
871 ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

Actual participation in adult work begins at
868 about 8 years for boys. At this age they accompany their fathers to the woods and help
857 carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

857 Boys and girls play together a good deal until aged 8 or 10. Varieties of tag games are com-
● 524 mon. Boys also play among themselves frequently. For small boys at present, small home-made wagons with four wheels, usually with no method of steering, are one of the more popular playthings. Older males in the household make the wagons. Balls made of rags are also used. They are thrown and, at times, are used with a hockeylike game in which the ball is hit with curved wooden sticks. The street is used as a field and the object is to hit the ball past opponents (Beals and Carrasco, 1944). January is a favorite time for this game. Small boys amuse themselves by roping pigs, and about the time of the fiesta of the patron saint they may attempt to ride the pigs.

The most popular boys' game probably is marbles. The common marble game is "follow the leader." It is sometimes played for centavos. The rainy season is the most popular time, because the rain lays the dust and provides clean, hard surfaces. Quite popular is top spinning, which is most played in June and July. Top fighting is a common form. The first player throws his top at a ring. If he misses, his opponent attempts to hit the top with his own. He may split the first top, for the points are sharpened, or win it.

857 Stilts are made, especially in October and November. They are small, peeled pine trees
481 with one of the branches left projecting near the bottom. This is almost exclusively a boy's amusement, but one girl was seen walking on stilts. Hunting birds with sling shots (mostly
[223] of the rubber-band type) is most common in May and June. A ring and pin game, made of
[524] wood in Paracho, is played by all ages.

A favorite sport from March through May is
857 kite flying. Kites of small boys are about 7 by 9 inches; those of larger boys are about 2 by
524 3 feet. They are six-stick kites made with sticks all the same length and requiring a tail. They are commonly in bright colors. Big boys tie razor blades on the tails of their kites and fight each other. They try to maneuver their kites into the top position where they can be dropped and cut the strings of the other kites. There is a slight element of danger in this; one boy got his cheek laid open in 1940.

796 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in
624 Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in
[524] advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents
[431] of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them čapatas. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual
796 bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

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FIG. 1

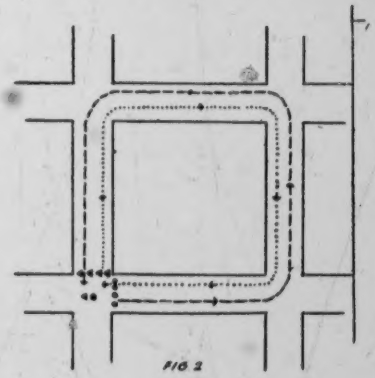

FIG. 2

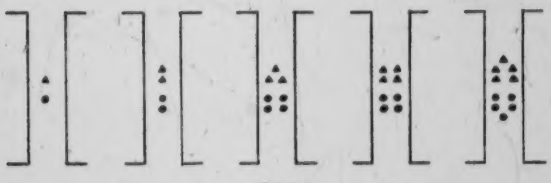

FIG. 3

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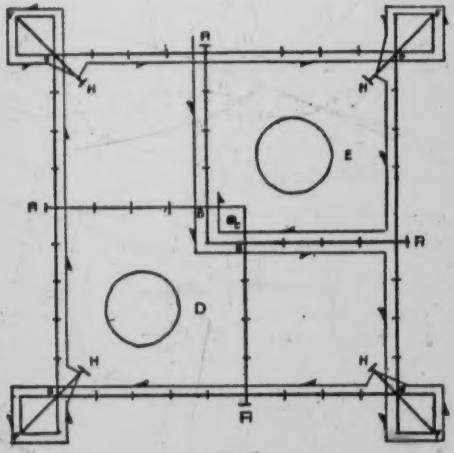

FIG. 4

Figure 1. Sticks used in *udsukuni*.
Figure 2. Arrangement of course around a town block of *udsukuni*. Players are shown at the starting position.
Figure 3. Various arrangements of players for *aldsukuni*.
Figure 4. The board used for *kolicatdkua* or quince. The lighter line with arrows indicates the course followed by the pieces of one player. The letters are referred to in the text.

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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883]

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Kolíṗs atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskákua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurínṗkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *ra* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "l" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *kolíṗs* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

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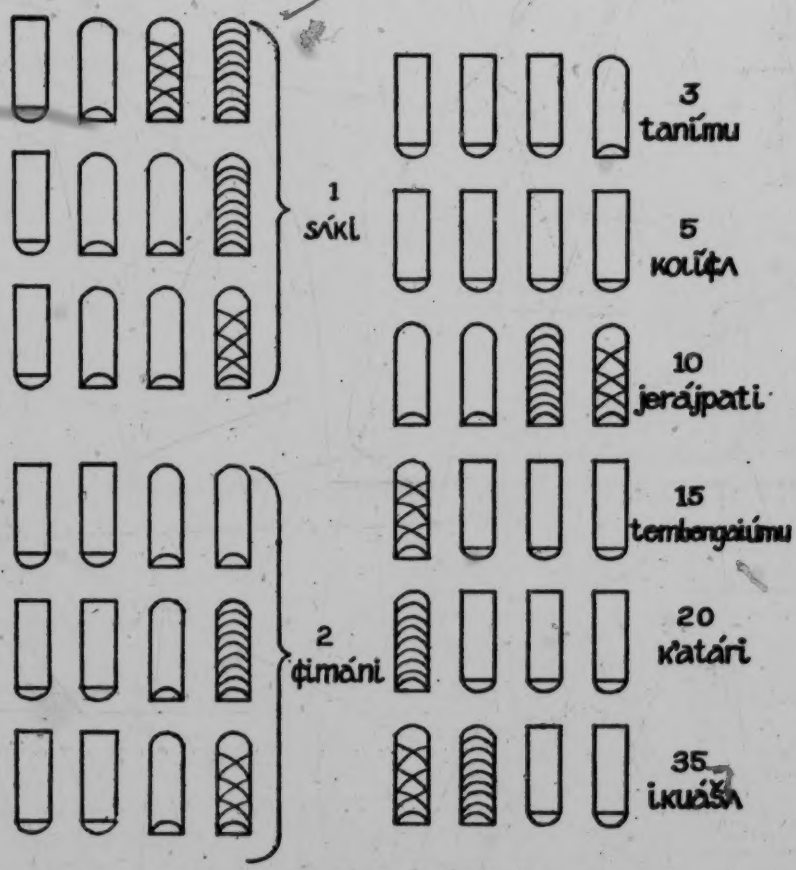

Figure 5. Scoring methods used for *helicstáhus* or quince.

route this may happen. In this case the second arrival "kills" the first, which then must begin again at A. Until put in play again a "killed" piece must stay in circles D or E according to the player to whom it belongs.

Points F are called *anájţikun* or summit. Once a piece makes the circuit of a loop at the corner of the board, it does not touch point G a second time, but goes instead to point H, *shandándani*. In this way there is no possibility of confusion as to whether a piece is entering or leaving the loop.

To complete the course each piece enters the interior track a second time. If the piece safely reaches any spot past point B it is regarded as having finished the circuit. The player who first gets all four of his pieces past B wins the game.

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The dice are called *kolípatárakua*. They are half round on one side, flat on the other and are about a palm breadth in length. Usually two sticks are split in half to make the four dice. The round side of one die is painted with parallel lines, while a second is painted with crossed lines. Figure 5 shows the markings and methods of scoring.

The game is played especially during the rainy season. On the eve of the feast of Assumption, August 15, it is played in the house of the caretakers of the saint or *cargueros*. On the day of the fifteenth it is played in the plaza. On this occasion money bets are often made.

Móskukua (*pieces*). This game is played by two players, each with twelve pieces which are placed on the board as shown in figure 6. The pieces may be

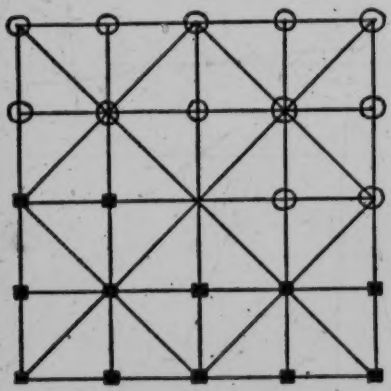

Figure 6. Starting arrangement of pieces for *móskukua*.

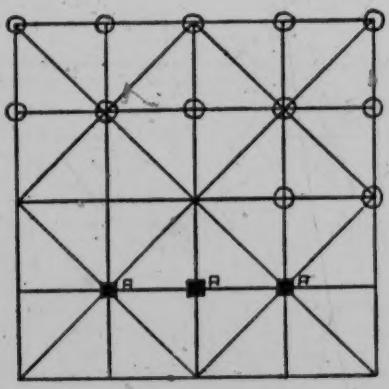

Figure 7. Starting arrangement of pieces for *kuato*.

advanced one space at a time unless there is an opponent's piece on the same line with a vacant space behind. In this case the piece jumps two spaces and "eats" the opponent's piece, putting it out of play. The player whose pieces are all eaten loses the game.

This game is also played during the rainy season and especially on the fourteenth and fifteenth of August, the feast of Assumption.

Kuato. This is the well known Mexican game of Coyote and Hens. It is played on the same board as *móskukua*. Twelve hens and one coyote are placed on the board as shown in figure 7. The coyote may be placed at any of the three spots marked A. The hens seek to encircle the coyote so the piece may not be moved. The coyote, on the other hand, seeks to eat all the hens, jumping over a piece and eating it whenever there is a vacant space behind a hen. There are no special times for playing this game.

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When others of the more isolated and conservative Tarascan towns are studied, probably more games will come to light. In the more progressive towns, games seem to be almost totally lacking, except such Mexican innovations as card games. For example, at Cherán, which was the subject of intensive study, the only game encountered was *atáɹukuni* if one except the various European games of modern character. Even *atáɹukuni* is now rarely played and few of the young people known it.

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871 diets, better health practices, or higher stan-
182 dards of community organization. Formal education is still not geared to the needs and problems of Cherán life and is and will remain relatively ineffective until it becomes of obvious utility to the average Cherán resident. In other words, until the educational process is conceived of first of all from the standpoint of Cherán culture, instead of from the standpoint of national needs or theories, it will not be effective. And when education becomes geared to Cherán needs, paradoxically, it can then be effectively geared to national objectives.

YOUTH

882 The period of youth is very short in Cherán for most persons and there is no clearly defined lower limit to it. Boys seem to be regarded as youths when they are able to do a man's work or to be self-supporting but have not yet married. Marriage puts a termination to the period, although the young married man may still be under the tutelage of his parents. Still, after marriage a boy will be consulted in all family affairs; before marriage he normally will not be consulted unless he is much older than the age at which most Cherán youths are married. By 15 practically every Cherán youth is either earning his own living in part by working for wages or is working regularly on the family estate, taking a full man's shar of the labors. In individual cases this may be true of youths as young as 12. Unmarried youths of 16 to 18 do not spend much of their
883 free time at home; indeed, they may not even eat at home regularly. They tend to hang around the streets in gangs in their spare time. They spend a good deal of time in one of the
[529] two billiard parlors which modern civilization has brought to Cherán, where they may gamble
● [525] on billiards at 50 centavos a game, or may be drawn into card games, or may begin drinking. However, few of the youngsters go around the saloons very much, nor are many of them prone to drink excessively. In such groups will be concerted many of the "stealings" which are the preliminaries to marriage. At this period
882 boys in general are rather antisocial and appear to have some conflict with their parents. They feel they are growing up very fast and are impressed by the age gap which separates them

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will
517 always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums.
517 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well
525 patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger men. The billiard games are also patronized
517 primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5
[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

Tastes are fixed even in some matters of
291 dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

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527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

While all the occupations in the town are
527 represented in the fiesta, only the more impor-
463 tant ones take official part. These are the
624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey
527 gatherers take the two images of their patron
237 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on
527 Saturday, but the main events take place on
543 Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make quantities of miniature breads about an inch
[436] and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday,
527 Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
543 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a special high-pitched cry used on no other occa-
198 sion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Arijeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

[p.218a]
La Cañada

796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes [515] bathe early in the morning. The youths pro- [533] vide musicians, who play while the girls are bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a rail is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [526] try to seize the rail with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The game is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers 535 dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* 796 of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the regidor. The *roseros* give a supper of curipo and kurindas. The fiesta is called tzindakua.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing [533] *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

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GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

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ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angahuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangaricutiri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 609–618.

[4] Ralph L. Beals, *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1740* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow: 171 526 [101]

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua ʃandri*. 526 [237]

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgue*. An official called the *kiéni*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéni*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7] [624] [796]

Akúpperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atásutákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Antiguerno de Asuntos Indígenas. [104]

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period. [171]

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FIG. 1

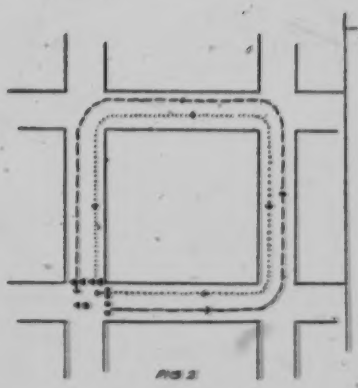

FIG. 2

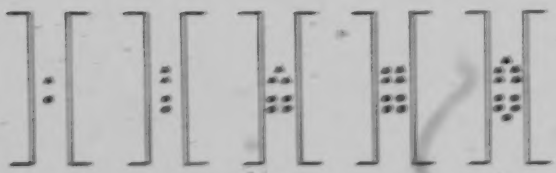

FIG. 3

[524]

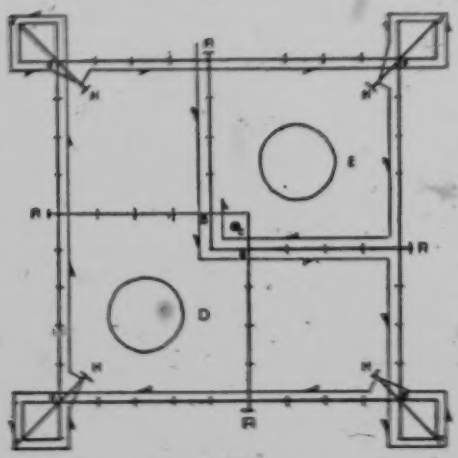

FIG. 4

Figure 1. Sticks used in *ulamdani*.
Figure 2. Arrangement of course around a town block of *ulamdani*. Players are shown at the starting position.
Figure 3. Various arrangements of players for *ulamdani*.
Figure 4. The board used for *kokuntiba ta-quince*. The lighter line with arrows indicates the course followed by the pieces of one player. The letters are referred to in the text.

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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883]

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizinized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Koltſa atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskúkua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurtsſkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *ra* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "I" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *koltſa* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

243 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are
492 rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented
or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize
[427] or money equal to the rent is usually made.
Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

The time of the harvest varies in different
243 places. If the "plain" west of town is planted,
632 the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

As the harvest is a time of joint work, even
243 though not communal in character, it also is a
527 rather festive and social occasion. Moreover,
692 many workmen have more money than at any
273 other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

In 1940 the following schedule of harvests
243 was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

White maize and yellow maize are stored un-
251 shelled in the lofts of *"trojes."* Little effort is
243 taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

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264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

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[p.116b]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the aces.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

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[p. 120a]

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

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[p. 120b]

FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT

●527 624 The fiesta of the patron saint, San Francisco, is held for 4 days, beginning the first Sunday after October 4. Usually after the Fiesta of San Luís in Nahuatzen August 25, *comisionados* are named by the mayor (on August 20 in 1940) and are notified by formal letters delivered by the police. Only persons out of town or those providing very good reasons may refuse to accept the post. The major duties are distributed by *barrio*, and for each *barrio* a head commissioner is named who selects a group of from 5 to 15 assistants. The duties in 1940 were distributed as follows: *Barrios* II and III each had to provide a band, *barrio* I provided the fireworks or *castillo*, and *barrio* IV provided the wax (*la cera*). The *barrio* IV duty really meant that it paid for the Mass and for the special candles burned. These duties are rotated so that in the course of 4 years, for example, each *barrio* will have provided the fireworks. The commissioners collect a sum varying from 80 centavos to perhaps a little more than a *peso* from each householder in the *barrio*, which they may use for their expenses. [686] Anyone refusing to pay may be thrown in jail. The costs are not entirely equal for the different *barrios*, and, owing to the discrepancy in size of the different *barrios*, the individual contributions demanded also vary. The commissioners seem to have complete responsibility for collecting and expending funds, but if expenses are greater than the amount collected, the commissioners must make up the sum out of their own pockets.

In addition to the commissioners named for the above purposes, young men are commissioned for each *barrio* who have to provide poles and posts and reconstruct the bull ring or *toril*. Finally, four commissioners are named for the moros or dancers connected with this fiesta. Each commissioner has to find a dancer, provide him with his costume, and feed and look after the dancer throughout the fiesta. The duties of the commissioners will now be discussed in more detail as they functioned in 1940.

The commissioners for the *barrios* in 1940 were Mateo Ocampo, *barrio* I, fireworks; Florentín Rafaél, *barrio* II, music; Fernando

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[p.121a]

527 624 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates were that the main *castillo* would cost [389] $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 624 533 The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to
624 help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
533 sioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 One commissioner for the moros is named
624 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and does not collect money, paying the entire ex-
535 pense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing
[558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 The four commissioners for the bull ring are
624 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None
358 of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta
541 begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not,
[427] it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In
[534] 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

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527 during September. Each *barrio* piled its logs somewhere in the *barrio* as they were accumulated and took them to the bull ring only when the number was complete.[35]

527 On September 27 lengthy discussions took place concerning the erection of a grandstand 417 for spectators. This is usually done, but there appear to be no set arrangements. In the discussion, it developed that one year the seats had collapsed because the posts were not well set and no cross bracing was employed. One person was hurt; the only reason more were not hurt was that the entire stand went over as a unit instead of one end collapsing. It was agreed that cross bracing should be used (but it was not).

It was finally decided to persuade individuals to take responsibility for putting up the seats. There was some difficulty about this, as the persons approached were suspicious that they would be taxed so heavily that any profits from admission charges would be wiped out. When told that the *municipio* would not tax the concession, the builders at first refused to believe it and kept asking to be told in advance what the tax would be. Moisés Valencia, the town "boss," finally had to persuade them. Intense activity now started on the part of the builder (one man finally undertook the task of erecting all the stands) and his assistants, collecting materials and hauling them to the bull ring behind the church. Boards were borrowed from some dealers in town for making the actual seats, but logs had to be cut and hauled for the framework.

[347] On September 28 carpenters began erecting the first stand or booth on the plaza. Several wooden booths were erected in the following days, mostly for selling soft drinks or ice cream.

527 On October 1 the transportable parts of the *castillo* or fireworks were brought in two lots. Rockets were fired off upon their arrival. The fireworks maker and an assistant set up shop in part of the old chapel used by the tilemakers. Later, when the pole for the big *castillo* or set piece was brought in, part of the operations

[35] About 3 weeks before the fiesta a great deal of activity began in painting, plastering, and furbishing up houses, especially those on the plaza and on nearby streets. This went on right up to the time of the fiesta. The mayor took some part in suggesting improvements, but most of the householders made them on their own initiative.

527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day
527 before, including three women with "a little
443 religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

Some street cleaning began on this day.
527 Trash was burned in the streets and the streets
364 were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day.
527 Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together
796 the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members
[574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the 796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a.m. a High Mass. [793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be [443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A [265] gambling game was set up. The booths for [275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on [548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of [443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round [529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com- 527 missioners and their assistants went to the 533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the municipio, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
389 various volunteers working under the direction of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by any means. The fireworks maker is always
[686] held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The
527 first band appeared and began to play about
533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner. About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls
[541] were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

527 town and were waiting both for the proper
533 time and for the last finishing touches to be put
[541] on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

527 The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This
541 was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The moros followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the moros departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

527 The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
541 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

527 The procedures described above were re-
541 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

527 While the market continued to some extent
443 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

While all the occupations in the town are 527 represented in the fiesta, only the more impor- 463 tant ones take official part. These are the 624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey 527 gatherers take the two images of their patron 287 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

527 The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on Saturday, but the main events take place on
543 Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make quantities of miniature breads about an inch
[436] and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
543 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a special high-pitched cry used on no other occa-
198 sion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Aríjeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

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527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
198 of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 Often a group of young men will ask permission of the municipal authorities to collect
541 the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on Thursday. I could not find out definitely who
796 pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 The Octava occurs a week after Easter Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday
443 only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fighting. Usually a group interested in cock fight-
541 ing hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

A special food for Easter week is
796 tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
[262] boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *cohetes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

Although most private fiestas are described
342 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of
574 a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

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438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
796 tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *carguerosor mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

256 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included.
402 Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not
433 driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for
434 splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 *Barbers:*
434

Prices:	
Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 *Musicians:*
434

Wages:	
For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 *Painters, plasterers:*
434

Daily wage	$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 *Billiard parlors:*
433
434

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 *Butchers:*
433
434

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	$80–$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the
796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
[443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
●[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com-
527 missioners and their assistants went to the
533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

871 diets, better health practices, or higher stan-
882 dards of community organization. Formal education is still not geared to the needs and problems of Cherán life and is and will remain relatively ineffective until it becomes of obvious utility to the average Cherán resident. In other words, until the educational process is conceived of first of all from the standpoint of Cherán culture, instead of from the standpoint of national needs or theories, it will not be effective. And when education becomes geared to Cherán needs, paradoxically, it can then be effectively geared to national objectives.

YOUTH

882 The period of youth is very short in Cherán for most persons and there is no clearly defined lower limit to it. Boys seem to be regarded as youths when they are able to do a man's work or to be self-supporting but have not yet married. Marriage puts a termination to the period, although the young married man may still be under the tutelage of his parents. Still, after marriage a boy will be consulted in all family affairs; before marriage he normally will not be consulted unless he is much older than the age at which most Cherán youths are married. By 15 practically every Cherán youth is either earning his own living in part by working for wages or is working regularly on the family estate, taking a full man's share of the labors. In individual cases this may be true of youths as young as 12. Unmarried
883 youths of 16 to 18 do not spend much of their free time at home; indeed, they may not even eat at home regularly. They tend to hang around the streets in gangs in their spare time. They spend a good deal of time in one of the
[529] two billiard parlors which modern civilization has brought to Cherán, where they may gamble
[525] on billiards at 50 centavos a game, or may be drawn into card games, or may begin drinking. However, few of the youngsters go around the saloons very much, nor are many of them prone to drink excessively. In such groups will be concerted many of the "stealings" which are the preliminaries to marriage. At this period
882 boys in general are rather antisocial and appear to have some conflict with their parents. They feel they are growing up very fast and are impressed by the age gap which separates them

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.
The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

Sewing machine
3 or 4 hat blocks
Wooden paddle for blocking
Smooth stone for blocking
Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
Iron punch for ventilators
Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
294 first treated with glue, then successively coated
386 with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.—A
286 number of women ornament women's blouses
531 or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
[462] time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

296 of petticoats are made by one woman, although
531 this technique is primarily found in Nahuatzen. The proportion of women doing this work seems significantly smaller in the third *cuartel* or *barrio* when compared with the other *cuartels*.

The crochet may be replaced by embroidery or drawn work, especially on finer materials such as linen or rayon. Designs either come "from one's head" or patterns may be bought in market. Usually the poorest designs come from the market, but no evidence was found either to indicate preservation of traditional patterns on the part of those not using commercial patterns, or to indicate creativeness in designs. Blouses decorated with crochet involve 1 week's part-time work, and embroidered or drawn-work blouses, from 1 to 3 weeks.

286 *Blanket weaving.*—About four men in Cherán weave blankets. These men buy raw wool, and wash, clean, card, and spin the wool, and do the weaving. White, brown, and black colors are usually natural wool colors. For blue, the
[386] only other common color, the weaver dyes white wool with indigo. A urine mordant is used. To produce a gray thread, white, black, and blue wool are mixed together before carding. Raw wool is washed and cleaned, losing about one-third its weight in the process.

293 Carding is done with commercial steel cards which cost $8.00 a set and last about 3 years.
[435] A handful of wool is placed on one card and the other is drawn across it several times. The wool is then folded on one of the cards and the process repeated. If wool of two or more colors is being mixed, the rectangles of carded wool are torn into pieces, mixed together, and carded a second time in order to give a more uniform color.

Spinning is done with a wheel (fig. 6). The edges of a rectangle of carded wool are folded along the long side. The rectangle is then pulled apart down the middle except at one end, giving a strip of carded wool about 1½ inches wide. One end is thrown over the left arm and the other end fed into the yarn with the left hand while the wheel is turned with the right. When 6 to 8 inches are lightly twisted, the yarn is stretched to from 24 to 30 inches, given a tighter twist, and then wound on the spindle (fig. 6). [Text continued on page 36 b]

343 quent on the roofs of kitchens. If the much
335 inferior pine shake is used, the nails usually are not driven all the way in and a length of wire is run from one nail to another, a turn being given about each nail (fig. 8, *c*). This may be done with fir shakes also, in which case the nails are driven all the way in after wiring.

The door is usually carefully made and is bought from a master carpenter. The hinges and latch are usually of metal, although the hardware may be crude. If a well-made door cannot be afforded, however, the door may consist merely of loose upright planks fitting in grooves at top and bottom.

A hinged trapdoor is placed in the opening to the loft. This is usually a well-built door bought from a carpenter and fastened by a stout padlock. A ladder gives access to the door. Sometimes the ladder is a notched log (kékua).

Thirty days is considered the minimum construction time for a house.

Some further general comments on houses, or
343 "*trojes*," may be made. Houses with carved
● 531 ornament are called "*trojes labradas*." The parts
335 decorated may include the beam over the front pillars, the piece over the door, capitals, the upper part of the pillars, and "cornices," or special pieces along the upper walls. A "*troje labrada*" usually is carefully made throughout. Undecorated houses, "*trojes lisas*," may be made crudely with only ax and adze as tools. Small "*trojes lisas*" are virtually the only ones to lack a veranda. Occasionally, heavy planks are not used for the ceiling. Instead, light boards are laid over several cross beams, which also support the "*planchas*," or frames, holding the roof.

343 The size of the "*troje*" is taken from the length
335 of the rear wall. Other dimensions vary according to table 1. Lengths in the table are in *varas*.

TABLE 1.—*Proportions of the houses, or "trojes"*

Length of long side	Length of short side	Height of wall	Rafters	Length of rafters	Shakes
Varas	*Varas*	*Varas*	*Number*	*Varas*	*Number*
5	4½	2½	14	3	400
6	5½	2¾	14	4½	500
7	6½	3	14	5	1,000
8	7½	3	15	6	1,100
9	8	3½	15	6	1,500

[p. 14a]

362 184 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 431 476 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When they arrive, they give the householder or his wife a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife. [576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 264 476 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguardiente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is completed, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking is done. [262] The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are fed there. [531] A cross with an arch over it, decorated with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets, [438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

531 **Embroidery and sewing.**—In the Sierra villages of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran, 438 Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro. 286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180). [439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus- 294 try was introduced probably in early colonial [177] days.[145] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurío (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.) 294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of 438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[145] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 63.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

322 [438] late beaters, and *malacates*, were made in Charapan and Cocucho, but this activity has now disappeared. Most of the turned objects are shaped from madroño wood (panáŋksa). Carving is done by pressing variously shaped steel chisels and gouges against the whirling block of wood. [531] In Paracho, designs are painted and burned into objects, and the surface lacquered or varnished. [177] The wheel lathe, an early Spanish introduction, is used by most cabinetmakers in the area for turning wood.

Cabinet work.—As mentioned earlier, cabinet work was rapidly adopted by Tarascan craftsmen in the early colonial period. In the 17th and 18th centuries inventories of miners' and merchants' household goods in west-central and northern Mexico rarely fail to mention chairs, tables, boxes "de Mechoacán." The majority of present Tarascan towns has at least one cabinetmaker who partially satisfies local demand for furniture. In [438] Paracho, Corupo, and Cuanajo—the Tarascan furniture centers—carpenters make chairs, tables, bed frames. Cuanajo is famed for its wooden chests, which are marketed in all parts of Michoacán. Most furniture is made from pine wood with simple tools (saw, mallet, plane, chisel, gouge). As mentioned above, chair and table legs are turned on the wheel lathe (fig. 6). The more common jointing techniques used include mor-

942

[531]

PLATE 3.—Mission types. *a*, Front view of tuqi from jacale house lot, Quiroga. *b*, Back view of tuqi from the street, Shadito. Note the plain wall (jacalero) to left of house. *c*, Elaborately carved door, Chupicuaro. *d*, Plaster housed in a plastered mission-place, Cuanajo. *e*, Detailed plaster frieze leading to lake-tuqi, Chupicuaro. *f*, Eroded gate, Shadito. *g*, Tuqi at Pátzcuaro. Note roof frame.

[End-plate 3]

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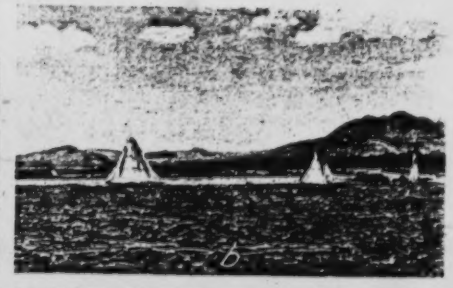

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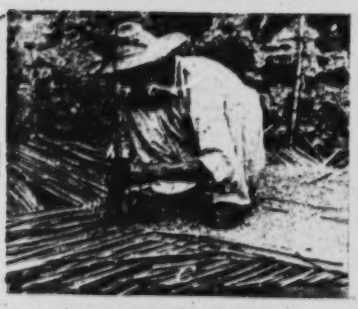

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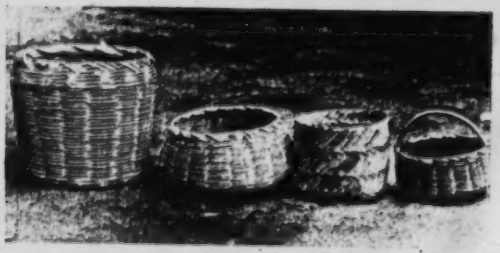

PLATE 12.—TEXTILES. *a*, A milpa of tule along the shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, between San Jerónimo and San Andrés. Many potato makers own their own milpas, but somewhere portions of the bruhos are leased to tule sellers, who harvest the reeds and distribute them to various villages around the lake. *b*, Harvesting tule, Jarácuaro Island, Lake Pátzcuaro. After partially drying in the sun, the reeds are bundled into sacques and stacked in shocks. *c*, Weaving petates, Ihuatzio. Note the wooden mallet on the mat near the man's hands. *d*, Making sopetas, Arantepacua. Work is done inside the kitchen. Note the hearth, lower left. Palm leaves are kept moist by dipping them in the holes of water of left. *e*, Handwriting a basket, or hamper, Tzintzuntzan. *f*, Baskets woven of Tamacuo. The large one (left), called *hukie*, is used to carry bread and fruit. It is usually transported on the back in the *ayate*. The flat round basket is called *d'ahkita* and is used to carry fish and tamales. The twilled basket in a tripod (the Tzintzuntzan call it "*tanaki*") for tortillas. The handled basket at the right (simply named "*canasta*") is for carrying eggs, pitaxahia, and other fish.

[End-plate 12]

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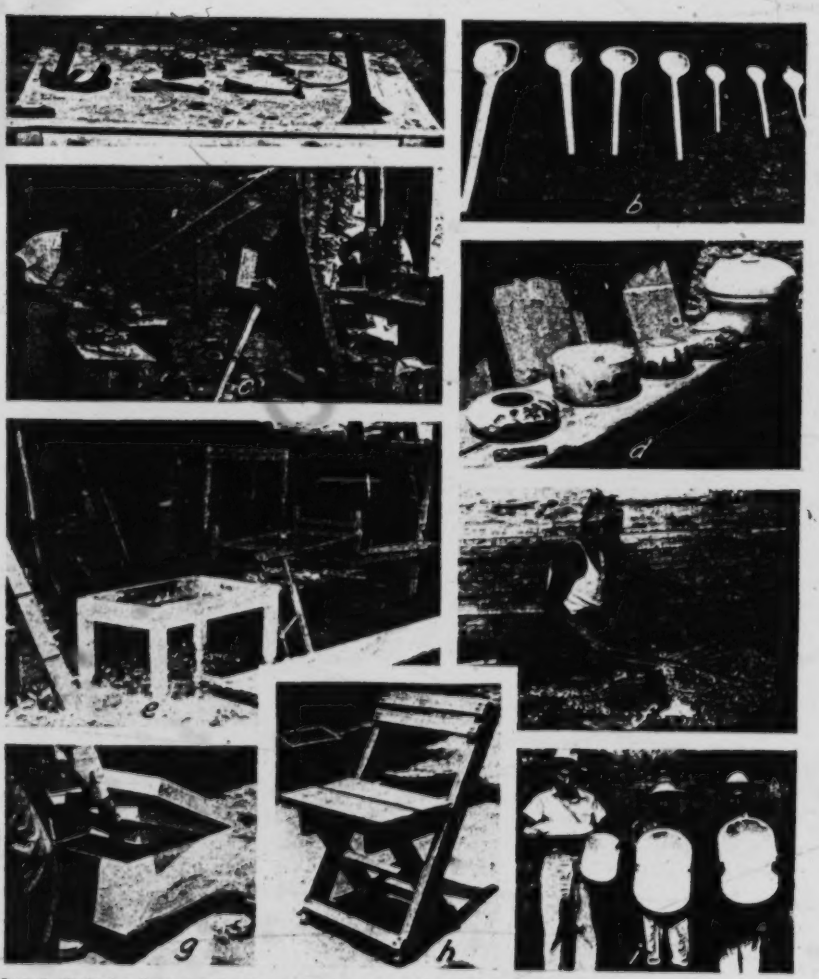

PLATE 12.—Woodwork. *a*, Gouging tools, Pamatácuaro. *b*, Wooden spoons and ladles, Pamatácuaro. *c*, Modern electricity powered lathe shop, Paracho. *d*, Turned objects made at Paracho. *e*, Cabinetmaker's shop in house lot, Cocucho. *f*, Making sombreros with the bow lathe, Paracho. *g*, Nest of wooden boxes, Cuanajo. *h*, Small (3 feet high) folding chair commonly made in Cuanajo. *i*, Jackets made at Sirio.

[End-plate 13]

[p.44a]

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather
● 532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed
326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan*
256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943.
438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán
389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

389 elaborate, as they require fuses of various speeds, different colors of fire, and slow-burning types of powder. As handbooks exist for this type of manufacture and supply houses also furnish information to their patrons, it was felt that detailed inquiry into techniques was not worth while. The *cohetero* usually receives a small advance payment—5 to 15 pesos—when he accepts an order. He receives no further payment until the *castillo* is burned. Should
[686] there be a failure, not only may the *cohetero* fail to receive his pay, but he may be jailed and fined.

Stonecutting.—Several men do stonecutting
324 on a part-time basis. Doorsills and bases for door posts and pillars are the major products, although some men also make grinding stones for *nixtamal* mills. A fine-grained gray lava from the barranca north of town is the most-used material. Tools include an iron-headed hammer, weighing about 2 pounds, steel chisels, and a pair of calipers. Stones for the *nixtamal* mills are made in pairs and are about a foot in diameter and 6 to 8 inches thick. About 3 days are required to make a pair.

Tanning.—The only full-time tanner of hides
281 in Cherán is a native of Aranza, who moved to Cherán because of the better water supply. He has a house and lot on the east side of town beside the aqueduct. Most of his work is done on hides brought him by shoemakers and *guarache* makers. Such work is charged for on a fee basis.

A man and his uncle also tan hides on a part-time basis. They are primarily farmers and do relatively little of the tanning in Cherán.

Cowhides are tanned with oak bark. The process takes 20 to 30 days, mostly occupied with soaking the hides in the tanning mixture. Sheepskins, used for inner soles of shoes, must be put through a lye bath, scraped, and then soaked with oak bark. A batch of five or six sheepskins requires 2 days' labor and about 8 days' soaking.

The principal equipment consists of a number of large hollow logs for soaking the hides.

Lacquer.—One woman learned lacquer mak-
532 ing in Uruapan. She works fairly steadily, producing a typical Uruapan black-background lacquer with floral designs in four or five colors. She sells all her product in Cherán.

[Text continues on page 46 a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings
283 during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its
303 entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to
532 order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are
[438] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

184 261 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

782 532 A special "bread" of maize is used as an offering at the house altar. This is made of maize toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 262 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted. Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas.*"

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque, [273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.118a]

454 accumulated a substantial contribution without
358 feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

454 This procedure would have amounted to little more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A
[323] regular part of the pottery stocks brought to
[532] Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.[33]

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

793 The priest, of course, is appointed by the Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

[177] [33] The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat nonplussed by the devious, even fantastic, route by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

796 same duties, but the *colector* is the superior of
794 the two. Their duties are to select and supervise the kéŋi and the matters of the church. The day-to-day expenses involved they must pay out of their own pockets (despite the charges against the *cabildo* to be reviewed later, no one denied this expenditure by the *prioste* and *colector*). The two officers receive the gifts of maize and wheat made to the church and give them to the priest, who in turn entrusts them to the kéŋi.

The kéŋi is selected by the *colector*. For 1 year he lives in a house on the church grounds (probably formerly in the hospital before it fell to ruins), cares for the church property and the stores of the priest, rings the church bells every noon, runs errands for the *colector*, and does any odd jobs he may be assigned. After 1 year he does not become a member of the *cabildo* but retires to private life.

During his year of office, the *colector* has to provide the kéŋi with the maize he needs for his family and some money for minor expenses. Usually the kéŋi is a man who has a grown son or a brother to look after his affairs for the year. Among the public outside of the church group it is not regarded as a great thing to be a kéŋi. The church group, on the other hand, make a good deal of the individual. Moreover, it is believed that the service is rendered to God and will bring recompense in the future life. The offices of kéŋi, *prioste*, and *colector* change each year on December 8. The main ceremonies circle about the change of kéŋi.

At one time the kéŋi began in the month of November to visit the *cargueros* of the saints belonging to the *cabildo* every Saturday early in the morning, accompanied by musicians. The *cargueros* served *posole*. By December 8, the kéŋi had visited all the saints, saying farewell to them. On this date a large lantern was suspended from a pole outside the house of the kéŋi and remained until the ceremonies of changing the kéŋi were concluded.

For the change of office, both the old kéŋi and the new provide themselves with "old men" or *viejos*. These are men dressed in an overcoat and with a cane. They carry a little bell adorned with flowers, wear a small hat, and a
[532] wooden *viejo* mask (a wooden mask carved to represent an old man with a long white beard).

535 of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the
538 *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner, they danced and then went to the house of the new
786 *carguero* for the Holy Child where they danced until the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the *carguero's* house and then they went to the house of the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which they danced. From there they went to the priest's house where they danced in front of the priest. Then they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

535 A number of dance groups often appear at or before Christmas. Collectively they are known
786 as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly, they appeared about 10 days before Christmas Eve and then appeared every third night until December 24. Of recent years they have been forbidden because the various groups often arrived at the same house and then they would fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out but they went mainly to houses in their own *barrio* for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are the čúrikua anápu turíča or sakíč, "the negroes who go out at night." This group wears ordinary clothing but with the crown of the hat decorated with cut papers representing ribbons streaming out behind. Dancers of this group also wear paper ornaments on the front and back of their clothing. They have guitar and drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the t'ałé aríriča, the dancing old men. The word "ałi" also means a person who talks too much and who certainly does not speak the truth. This group dresses
●[532] like old men; the members wear a long overcoat and a black wooden mask with the beard represented. The masks are similar to those worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the dancers are also dressed as women. They have five or six stringed instruments. No data were collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the apáčiča or the *salvajes* or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro savages). They paint their faces to resemble the negrito masks but wear no masks. Rooster

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 150a]

535 were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be
796 politic to ask five different families.) The *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men participated in this dance. They wore *vestido de catrín*, "city dress," including a long black overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden [532] mask with black or golden beard, the features being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white, one rose-colored, and one black (one of the images of the Three Kings is also black). They also wore a long white wig surmounted by a crown, each one different; a long, intentionally ragged cape of colored material (really a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The kings merely sit or stand and do not dance. The shepherdesses are dressed in the same fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes. The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

[435]

Mask ($1.50 to 2.50, rent; $5, purchase)	$ 2.50
Hat	2.00
Overcoat	3.00
Pants and vest	2.50
Muffler	1.50
Incarcha (hat band?)	.50
Flowers	1.50
Shoes	$6.00–$10.00
Shirt	5.00
Necktie	.50
Total (with shoes, $25–$29)	$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

[532] The local masks are expensive and are regarded as inferior. Those from Sevina and Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better. The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior local products; good masks had been ordered from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recitation. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a shepherdess at each end (two at one end in 1940), with the three kings facing the files at

535 796 [532] known as the caballita uaiárica dance of the little horses. The figures of horses are made of withes from certain plants, with openings in the middle in which the girls stand. The head is made so it can move, and the dance consists mostly of the girls standing and moving the horses' heads in time to the music. Again, little attention is paid to the dance, and the *carguero* often does not arrange to have it performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges a dance known as the uáris. The dancers consist simply of unmarried girls and young women who dress in the traditional costume but perhaps with a few more ornaments than usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned of in other towns. The *pastorela* of Capacuaro was the most thoroughly studied, but the data remain superficial and unrelated to the ceremonial setting. The dancers are connected with the *carguero* for the December 25th ceremonies. A pole is erected in his patio with a large paper lantern suspended from the top (this is done by the kéŋi at Cherán, but use of this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage is erected at one end of the patio on which some of the *relatos* are given. The house is also decorated with paper flowers and pine boughs. A table altar on the porch has a *creche* with miniature figures. The dancers appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting 18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the *carguero's* house. Doubt of this statement seems indicated.

292 535 796 The dancers consist of between 35 and 40 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of 8 to 12. In addition, there were two "hermits" or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and carried a whip, serving, among other functions, as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europeos* [532] were dressed in white wooden masks with long blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

585 The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and four or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the [532] form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

585 Before the exchange of clothing and bread was completed, the godmothers began the 535 dancing. No one was supposed to dance until 608 the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

585 The dancing was interrupted at this point by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men [482] carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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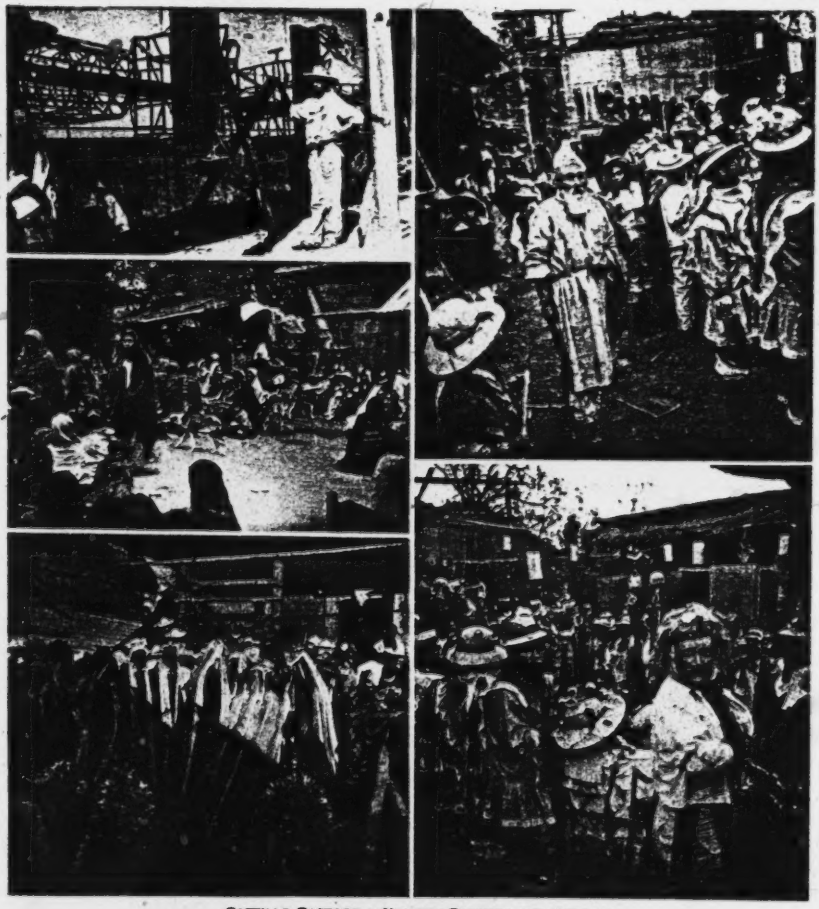

CASTILLO, PASTORELA, NEGRITO DANCERS, AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Portion of the fireworks set (*castillo*) nearly completed. The fireworks maker is on the right. *Upper (right): Pastorela* at Capacuaro; at left is one of the "hermits." *Left (middle):* Large wedding in the patio in front of the house. The kitchen is at left, the temporary cooking shed in the center. The woman at left bears a cloth-covered dish with an offering for one of the godmothers. *Lower (left): Negrito* dancers performing at private house. The ribbons hang down to their heels. The "pin cushions" (foreground) are the dancers' head decorations. *Lower (right): Pastorela* at Capacuaro, with "*Europeo*" in foreground.

[End Plate 6]

796 The cult ceremonies are arranged after the Catholic yearly cycle of ceremonials. Every ceremonial has the rituals prescribed by the Catholic Church, but the popular form of the cult also includes elements of ritual-like dances, which are peculiar to the folk culture. Many other activities of a non-religious character, such as social gatherings, entertainment and trade, are also associated with religious celebrations.

There is also a folk organization of festivals based on the individual sponsorship of the ceremony or part of it. Sponsors are called *cargueros* and sponsorship *cargo* (literally, office). These cargos are related to the town government and economics, and are the main sphere where changes discussed in this chapter take place.

796 782 The people participate in ceremonials as members of the group (town, trade, etc.) which is having the celebration. Personal participation also is determined by a personal life crisis. A person in need of help will ask a given saint for recovery from sickness, or success in travel or any other enterprise. He will invoke the saint when in danger in an accident or will beg for offspring or for finding a lost animal. A vow (Spanish, *manda*) is usually made in exchange for the saint's giving the supernatural help demanded. This vow is often a promise to sponsor a festival or participate in it as a dancer. Even if the vow is of a different nature, attendance at the saint's festival is generally the rule. The devotee will usually go in pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. Often an ex-voto is taken which records the miracle performed by the saint; these are little figures of silver, usually representing the part of the body healed (Spanish, *milagro*, miracle); or, (although this is more common among the mestizos than among the Tarascans) a picture is [532] made to depict the miracle and an explanation written *(retablo)*. Votive offerings are kept by the image as proof of its miraculousness. Another common vow is to take an ornament for the image, usually clothes. Thus, personal drive toward religion resolves into sponsorship or attendance at a festival.

796 Folk religious festivals *(fiestas)* and related activities of the cult form the main part of Tarascan folk religion. The description of these festivals and their organization take most of the space devoted to religion in the published community studies.[2]

2. For example, Beals, 1946, 36 out of 47 pp.; in Foster, 1948, 25 out of 35.

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on
516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either sit on their heels or on low wooden benches (burítu) or low chairs (uašánɛ́akua). In Parícutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the
[532] benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hanging from the roof may be a shingle or small board on which to place small objects (sársu, *zarzo*). One or more wooden hooks (tirípatarakua) may hang from the ceiling. These and other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but
352 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is
342 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.
184 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-to against a wall of the house, open, or with
354 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by front footage in the central area, but square meters (39.3 in.²) are sometimes used as a base for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots, probably the price is not set in terms of any specific area or frontage, but is the subject of discussion and ultimate agreement. In general, lots (without buildings) which front on the main street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

WOODEN HOUSES

COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of
435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased according to various estimates. Variations in price are partly due to differences in size and quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer, partly to the need of the vender to sell.

Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b.:[1]	*Price in pesos*
Seven-vara (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide, 3 inches thick, dozen	6.60
Range of other estimates	7.00–9.00
Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen	7.00

[1] Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be sawed, and long 3-inch planks, which are adzed.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient.

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it.

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces.

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri.

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

256 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included.
402 Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not
433 driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for
434 splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 *Barbers:*
434 Prices:

Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 *Musicians:*
434 Wages:

For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 *Painters, plasterers:*
434 Daily wage $1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

433
434

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 *Butchers:*
433 Prices paid for beeves on hoof ..... $80–$150
434 Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 624 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates were that the main *castillo* would cost [389] $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 624 533 The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to
624 help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
533 sioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 One commissioner for the moros is named
624 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and
535 does not collect money, paying the entire expense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing
[558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 The four commissioners for the bull ring are
624 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None
358 of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the 796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass. [793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be [443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A [265] gambling game was set up. The booths for [275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on this day. Comments implied that the girls [548] running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of [443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round [529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com- 527 missioners and their assistants went to the 533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players
on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger
stops) played in unison, accompanied by a
drum. They played for some time in the arcade
before the municipal building. The shrill
music, played with great verve and noise,
seemed vaguely familiar and finally became
recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It
remained the favorite and almost only piece
played by the *chirimía* band throughout the
fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed
with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only
were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that
pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but
there were hundreds of visitors. The bands
played early in the morning. The young men
were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10
o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on
horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza,
followed by one of the bands. After a short
time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with
them at this time, often issuing invitations well
in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be
invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3
o'clock the moros returned and sat on their
horses in the plaza in front of the church while
the bands played. The moros then went to the
municipio, dismounted, and danced in front of
the building. Remounting, they returned to
the church and danced in front of the church.
Many people were openly critical of them for
not dancing first in front of the church. After
the performance in front of the church, the
dancers went on foot down the main street,
dancing in front of various stores until about
6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played
between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little
interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
various volunteers working under the direction
389 of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by
any means. The fireworks maker is always
[686] held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The
527 first band appeared and began to play about
533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner.
About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls
[541] were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

527 town and were waiting both for the proper
533 time and for the last finishing touches to be put
[541] on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

527 The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This
541 was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The moros followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the moros departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.129b]

342 always assisted by various relatives, who also
574 put pressure on him to hold the event. For the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband
[602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes
[335] are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the
[602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of čurípo, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob-
[533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 all directions, they resembled some impossible
796 bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either sondado uaran or turi¢auarani. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed
[534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

● 533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.156b]

533 also play for some civic events, such as the installation of new officers, for which they receive no pay.

In addition to the organized bands, there are smaller and less well organized groups of musicians, mainly performers on stringed instruments such as violin, violincello, bass fiddle, and guitar, although a clarinetist may be included. Such groups meet and play together at one another's houses for their own pleasure. At times, however, they may be hired for *mayordomías* or household fiestas, especially if the sponsor cannot afford a full band. Such groups may also be asked to play at some public function. In 1940 one such group was asked by the mayor to play in the school in connection with the final oral examinations and closing exercises.

WITCHCRAFT

754 For many miles around, Cherán has the reputation of being the outstanding center for witchcraft among the Tarascans. As is often the case, however, it was extremely difficult to secure any information about witchcraft in the town. Enough was secured, however, and enough significant evasions encountered, to make it likely that the reputation is deserved. Even by the informants and assistants on the study, concealment was practiced, and at the very end of the study some data were obtained virtually by accident from Agustín, our United States born helper, which he obviously told with great reluctance.

Witches, sakuájpiri, are believed always to be women. In general, the name of witch is applied to all "women of the street," that is, women who live without men. Generally, these are either aged women without relatives or women, usually widows, who are believed to be prostitutes. No one would dare do anything against such women. Although these women may live in any part of the town, there is evidence that they are believed to live more in *barrio* I on the slopes of Santiákujákua, the hill on the northwest corner of the town. This hill is said to be full of witches and to be a very dangerous spot to go to at night. Passing along one of the uppermost streets on the hill one day, we were asked for a coin by an old woman. Agustín R. refused to let me give a coin and

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will
517 always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums.
517 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well
525 patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5
[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

Tastes are fixed even in some matters of
291 dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

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La Cañada

796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes [515] bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are [533] bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [526] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers 535 dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* 796 of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of curípo and kurúndas. The fiesta is called tzíndakua.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing [533] *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* 186 *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 554 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally 535 performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 796 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

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178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
[114] during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan
area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on
the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about
fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to
be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanan-
cha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but ap-
parently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it
had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoa-
443 cán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal
requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of
merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make
the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several
places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second
Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday
has three main functions: commercial; religious and recreational. In 1948, the
year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious
aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special
church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people be-
cause they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The
clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday
then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had
been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the
present parish priest was in residence.

178 But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
●533 holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same special-
ized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about
the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the
time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to
have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the
trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

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beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

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535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored [574 by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in 273] nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music 538 because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." 535 He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, 178 very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar 535 dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said 796 it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week 114 after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 388.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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182
The Town's ? 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
538

The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

? [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta
541 begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not,
[427] it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In
[534] 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
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[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[786] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
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[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 all directions, they resembled some impossible
796 bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either sondado uaran or turiçauarani. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Cañas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed
[534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City
[323] and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for villages predominantly devoted to handi-
[438] crafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
175 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic
668 development of the country, a period of unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

322 ticing and tenoning, housing, and dovetailing. Some pieces are joined with wooden pegs; metallic nails and screws are never employed.

322 **Musical instruments.**—The most sophisticated of Tarascan woodwork is the manufacture of
● 534 stringed instruments in Paracho. This pueblo
[438] has been the guitar town of Mexico since colonial times. In 1940 Paracho claimed 49 guitar makers and three individuals who made violins (including base viols). The art has spread to neighboring Ahuíran, where three men made violins in 1946. Local woods—*ĉirímu*, *aile*, and *palo blanco*—are used for the top and base of the guitars; for sides and handles and inlaid designs walnut and cedar are imported from Mexico. Some *guitarreros* utilize local pine and fir for the tops of violins and base viols. The wood is cut with a small saw and planed to desired thinness. The top and base are cut from a pattern; the side bands are soaked and bent into place, being glued to the top and bottom pieces and held in place with braces. Strings and metal parts are assembled, and the instrument is varnished and waxed, ready for the ultimate consumer. Most *guitarreros* work on a
[439] contract basis for Mexico City or Guadalajara buyers, and many Tarascans have moved their trade to the larger towns, mainly Mexico City, where their products bring higher prices.

The age of the Paracho guitar work is not known.
[Text continues top of p. 69a--Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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182
The Town's ‡ 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
538

The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations — impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

‡ [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to
[431] those who do serve. There is no obligation, nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

Comisionados may also be named if funds
632 are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

There are many *comisionados* in connection
796 with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro
[535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to
624 help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
533 sioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

One commissioner for the moros is named
527 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and
624 does not collect money, paying the entire ex-
535 pense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her
[558] husband. No one believed her, but nothing could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

The four commissioners for the bull ring are
527 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio*
624 I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None of these had to provide services but aided in
358 seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 794 [535] kéŋi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[36]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuŋánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 794 793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[36] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. [534] More than any other it may be undertaken for motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto.*"

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*troje.*" Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

796 The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* 535 (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assist- 796 ants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

796 mented that the *carguero* did not seem to wish to give even cigarettes. To which Pedro Chávez, our progressive and anti-Church assistant, replied sagely that this was because the *cabildo* had been abolished.

On the evening of December 24, candles are burned at night before the image in the house of the *carguero*, and he, his family and relatives, and the dancers and their relatives sit up with the image but do not participate in other activities of the *mayordomo*. The *uanánčes* are also present. All are given food by the *mayordomo* in the late afternoon before dark. About midnight the image is taken to visit the image of the Child Christ in church and a Mass is held at the expense of the *carguero*, who also provides special candles for the occasion. The image in the church is put in a reclining position in a crib where it remains until January 1.

After the Mass, whch does not end until nearly morning, the men go home, but return at an early hour to the house of the *carguero* for breakfast. The women remain in the *carguero's* house, assisting in preparing the meals for the dancers. After breakfast the men either return home or accompany the *carguero* as he cares for the dancers who now go out to dance in various houses. The dancers perform
796 the days of the 25th, 26th, and 27th. During
535 this time food is provided for them and many people assist in the food preparations. The dancers provide their own costumes for this affair, but the music, a band of wind instruments, is hired by the *carguero*. At the houses where the dancers perform they are given gifts of fruits and things that children would like (because it is a fiesta of the Child Christ).

In addition to the *negrito* and *pastorela* dances connected with the December 25 events, three other groups of dancers sometimes appear, the *melebris*. Neither they nor the *pastorela* are connected with the *mayordomía*. They are discussed in connection with the dances.

The expenses of this *mayordomía* are between
796 $500 and $700. Music is hired for a week (for part of the practice as well as for the dancing), an expense of about $200. One or two beeves usually are killed and about three fattened pigs. As much as 15 *fanegas* of maize may be consumed. Quantities of bread are also purchased, and *charanda* forms a considerable

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.144a]

796 has under his orders the anyítakuas or *"semaneros."*
794 The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yuríšo*. This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorela* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos*, are associated with the *pastorelas*.

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

796 The dances performed at Cherán are all associated with some religious festival. Or-
535 ganization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo*, although the moros are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the moros, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (Moors) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the moro part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.144b]

796 gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is
535 worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choregraphic description (and being unable to
[126] witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, turí'a, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or boys are sought, "alert people, good learners,
[883] who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the koroníče.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 796 Usually the dancer picks one of his existing godmothers whom he likes. The godmother dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:

[435] [427]

Mask (rent)	$0.50
Ribbons (rent)	8.50
Suit (rent)	6.00
Shirt (purchase)	5.00
Shoes (purchase)	9.50
Necktie (rent)	.50
Total	$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 other (fig. 16). Occasionally each pair of
796 *negritos* will walk to the head of the line and back while the two recite their part of the *relato.*

535 The teaching of the *relato* and of the dance is done by a specialist hired for the occasion by
538 the *carguero.* The best-known specialist is Gregorio Castillo, although he was not hired in
796 1940. Castillo also teaches the dance of the *viejos, Europeos* or *Españoles,* as he prefers to call it, and was hired to teach the group in 1941. He had been teaching the dances for 28 years (in 1940). His *relatos* he wrote himself. He secured many *relatos* locally and also sent to Mexico City and Guadalajara for others, but he liked none of them. (But several people said they were very tired of Castillo's *relatos,* which have been the same for 20 years and which they felt were not very good anyway.) Castillo feels that the *negrito* dance is especially fine and that the *negritos* of Cherán are

superior to any he has seen in other towns. The only time he admits having seen a better dance than that of Cherán was once when Aranza borrowed his *relato* and had especially elaborate costumes. Nahuatzen *negritos* have a better dress than those of Cherán, but they are no longer trained.

Castillo, perhaps because it is not in his field, believes the *pastorela* to be a very inferior performance. It is, he says, merely a lot of children dressed up prettily but knowing neither their lines nor their dance. The *negrito,* on the other hand, is a nice clear *relato,* all divided into acts, and the performers are old enough to learn their parts.

Castillo's *relatos* are, naturally, part of his stock in trade. While he was cooperative and willing to permit them to be copied, he would do so only at a price commensurate with their value to him. This price seemed more than they would be worth as documents, particularly

[Text continues on p. 146a]

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Sierra Tarascans

[p.145c]

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FIGURE 16.—Figures executed in the *negrito* dance. *P* indicates *pastores*.

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[p. 146a]

535 as it is evident that they contain much literary
538 echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived
796 from literary sources. As considerable portions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín Rangel, assistant on the project, who participated in both dances in 1940–41, it was felt the expense of securing the complete *relatos* was not warranted.

535 The following is the *relato* of Agustín
796 Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given,
539 but punctuation added):

First act: Music, followed by a song

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
Las Azuceñas puras y olorosas
Colores en su tallo vacilante,
Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
Se Abren, Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song

Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustin's part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
Divina criatura,
Te doy mi cariño . . .
(Second speaking part:)
Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
Y el sauce a la orrilla del torrente,
Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
Y asi los campos de verdor revistas
Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gusto y con amor a ofrecer passemos
Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(The following is sung as they pretend to make offerings):

Ante tus plantas postrado
Te ofrece aqui este negrito
Recibe me niño amado
Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
Con suelo y amor;
Escucha mi canto
Niño Salvador.
Benedice toditos,

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[p. 146 b]

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796

Divino Creador.
Se van los negritos
Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand.
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou causest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by Agustín are the following (given in English):

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in Bethlehem.
I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle, a dog, and different playthings.)

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The main part of the *relato* is recited by a person known as *el letra* and another called *el segundo*. These two stand at the head of the

535 two files, except for the little girls at that end of
538 the lines. When the recitation begins, *el*
796 *letra* steps forward alone and recites his part, returning to his place when finished. There is then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle. *El segundo* then does the same, followed by a *caminata*.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts about a month before December 25. For several evenings before the date they meet in the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The procedures beginning the night of December 24 are described as follows in an account written by Agustín Rangel:

The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the *carguero's* house. There were lots of people and about 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The *negritos* finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they were given supper and they sat around for a while. They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church. The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the *carguero's* house and the church, and third, when the Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed before going inside the church. There was a 12 a.m. Mass. The priest of the church came over to the *carguero's* house before the Holy Child left the house. The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a.m. Mass. [Note: There were several hundred persons in the
[373] procession, all with candles. The streets and houses were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even more light.]

December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner they went to church again to visit the Holy Child. Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house where they danced again. Then they went to the night Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio of the priest's house and danced before him. After they finished dancing, they danced in front of the municipal building before the mayor and officials. After they finished dancing there they went to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. They ate supper and every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.

December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten breakfast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's* house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced. After they finished there they went to Paricutin (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

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[p.147b]

535 of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the
538 *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner, they danced and then went to the house of the new
7%6 *carguero* for the Holy Child where they danced until the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the *carguero's* house and then they went to the house of the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which they danced. From there they went to the priest's house where they danced in front of the priest. Then they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

535 A number of dance groups often appear at or before Christmas. Collectively they are known
7%6 as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly, they appeared about 10 days before Christmas Eve and then appeared every third night until December 24. Of recent years they have been forbidden because the various groups often arrived at the same house and then they would fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out but they went mainly to houses in their own *barrio* for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are the čúrikua anápu tuɹíča or ʂakíč, "the negroes who go out at night." This group wears ordinary clothing but with the crown of the hat decorated with cut papers representing ribbons streaming out behind. Dancers of this group also wear paper ornaments on the front and back of their clothing. They have guitar and drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the t'aɹé aríriča, the dancing old men. The word "aɹi" also means a person who talks too much and who certainly does not speak the truth. This group dresses
[532] like old men; the members wear a long overcoat and a black wooden mask with the beard represented. The masks are similar to those worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the dancers are also dressed as women. They have five or six stringed instruments. No data were collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the apáčiča or the *salvajes* or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro savages). They paint their faces to resemble the negrito masks but wear no masks. Rooster

535 feathers are stuck in their hair, and they carry
796 bows and arrows. Their dance is purely leaping about. They form a circle, leap about, shout, and make gestures with their bows and arrows. They never speak but make a sort of buzzing noise and make signs with an arrow to indicate what they want. They have guitar and drum music.

The three groups are said to signify that when the Christ Child was born, there appeared a star and various persons had to follow the star, performing their dances in various places. The three dances represent those of the tribes of the Three Kings who went in search of the Child. The Apaches were the last and were the most savage.

535 The various groups (and more than one
584 group may appear for each dance) go about to
796 various houses where there are unmarried girls or girls approaching marriageable age, and especially to houses where one of the boys has a sweetheart. Usually the girl is warned in advance (through the agency of some small boy) if she is to be visited. She prepares presents of balls of pinole and brown sugar, wrapped in maize husks, often elaborately painted. Sometimes some of these are made in the shape of a rooster or some animal. The girl gives these to the boy who has been courting her if she favors him, and the plain pinole balls to the others. They are also often given food. One of the surreptitious groups in 1940 at a well-to-do house were given coffee with *charanda* in it and boiled squash. When the dancers first enter the house yard, they shake hands with the girl. After eating, they dance a while. Then they say a word of thanks in Tarascan, shake hands with the girl again, and leave. "The idea," said unmarried Agustín, "is just to touch the girl's hand and see how neat her cooking and housework is." Obviously the dances are significant parts of the mating selection, for on almost no other occasion would a boy have a chance to see how a girl's house was run or have a chance to touch her hand openly.

According to one informant, a burlesque of the Mass is given by the dancers. This was not verified from any other source. It is the sort of thing which might sometimes have been done, but it seems foreign to the main purpose of the dances.

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THE PASTORELA

535 The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is also performed at Christmas time. The dance
7% is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are
857 the *uanánčes*, the four girls (six according to other accounts) who have taken incense and flowers to the church during the year and performed other services at the church. Generally they are about 10 years of age. Usually the girls have been vowed to the service by their parents as the result of illness or some other misfortune threatening the child. The time of the dance is sometimes called the fiesta of pajáču (meaning not secured).

The *uanánčes* invite a number of other girls to participate, 12 in all being needed. The girls invited by the *uanánčes* have no responsibilities other than dancing, but each of the *uanánčes* must feed the group for 1 day. The *uanánčes* also select adults to represent the parts of the devil and the hermit and also select the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of course, are borne by their parents) also have music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the *catrin*, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with straw hats adorned with artificial flowers (actually the style is not citified, but is rural Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not performed in 1940 and the actual dance could not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the performance. One of the songs collected (for
535 the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows
539 (spelling as given):
7%

A que noche tan cremoza
Ensillad mi buen caballo
Que en Belen nos conbida de Salvador
Muy lejos tieras bengo
Agosar de una pasiada
Con gusta y contento
A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
Saddle my good horse,
For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
To very distant lands I will arrive.
I will enjoy a journey,
With pleasure and content
To bring together my cattle.

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[p.149a]

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Usually the *pastorela* is given the night of December 24 and for 2 or 3 days afterward. The dancers perform first between the church and the municipal building. Then they visit the houses of the members of the *cabildo* and the various *cargueros*. At the houses they are usually given some fruit.

In 1940 considerable feeling was engendered by the collapse of the *pastorela*, which many believed to be the pleasantest of the various dances, the more moralistic because no one drank in connection with it. Don Inocencio, the father of the first *uanánče*, the šunánda or pári, wished to give the *pastorela* so that he could comply with the promise he had made when his daughter was sickly as a small child. He was somewhat incensed because the *prioste* had spoken to the other families first and told them they should not give the dance. When Don Inocencio visited the other parents he found them unwilling to go ahead and disgusted with the whole situation. Most extreme was Tomás Hernandez, who said he would not comply with the obligation, even though it should mean losing the 10 pesos he had advanced on behalf of the group to bring the band from Tanaco. Or, he added, he might be willing to bring the band, but he wouldn't give the dance; instead, he would give a big paránda or drinking party for the benefit of themselves and not for the town.

Don Inocencio expressed great distress at this attitude. He already had fattened two pigs and expressed himself frequently as willing to go ahead with the *pastorela* if others would help. He appealed to the staff of the investigation to speak to the mayor, asking him to compel the other families to comply with their obligation; or, failing that, for permission to take up a voluntary collection. Clearly, Don Inocencio felt that the families of the other *uanánčes* were taking advantage of the dismissal of the *cabildo* to avoid their just obligations.

This suspicion of Don Inocencio's was quite correct in some cases. One of the other family heads stated that the dismissal of the *cabildo* canceled the obligation. Although his daughter had become a *uanánče* in compliance with a vow, her father announced he would not help to give the *pastorela* even though others volun-

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[p. 149b]

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tarily contributed to the expenses. One of the more cynical assistants in the investigation pointed out that the attitude was quite understandable, as the man owed a debt of $160 to a woman in the town, who was trying to force him to pay at least half of it.

The father of another of the *uanánčes* stated that with the dismissal of the *prioste* the custom of the *pastorela* had ended and that it was unnecessary to continue. Evidently he did not care for the custom and remarked, "To me it seems best that they dismissed the *prioste*."

Another case is of some interest. Although the girl was not a *uanánče*, her parents had made a vow that she should appear in the *pastorela*. The parents made an arrangement for her to participate in the *pastorela* of Cheranástico. The Cheranástico *pastorela* evidently is somewhat different from that of Cherán. The girl would wear a red dress, a silk handkerchief covering the lower part of her face, a man's hat, and shoes and would be known as a *rancherita*. She would dance opposite a small boy partner called a *ranchero* (rancher). The *pastorela* of Cheranástico is performed January 1.

DANCE OF THE *VIEJOS* OR *EUROPEOS*

The dance of the *viejos* or *Europeos* (old men or Europeans) appears in connection with the Three Kings, January 6. Previous to 1940 the dance had been given by a volunteer group. In the afternoons, as men lounged about the streets and talked after work, people would begin to mention that the time for the dance was approaching. Eventually a group would decide that they should organize the dance. They would collect money among themselves and others and hire musicians and a teacher. In 1940, however, the *carguero* of the Three Kings, announced that giving the dance was properly part of the *mayordomía* and undertook to organize the dancers, pay the teacher and musicians, and provide food for the dancers.

The group in 1940 consisted of 30 *viejos* (but not all of them appeared all the time), three kings, and five *pastorcitas* or shepherdesses. (There should have been only four shepherdesses; we were unable to learn the reason for the extra one. Possibly someone asked to participate after the four were chosen or there

535 were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be
796 politic to ask five different families.) The *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men participated in this dance. They wore *vestido de catrín*, "city dress," including a long black overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden
[532] mask with black or golden beard, the features being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white, one rose-colored, and one black (one of the images of the Three Kings is also black). They also wore a long white wig surmounted by a crown, each one different; a long, intentionally ragged cape of colored material (really a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The kings merely sit or stand and do not dance. The shepherdesses are dressed in the same fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes. The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

[435]

Mask ($1.50 to 2.50, rent; $5, purchase)	$ 2.50
Hat	2.00
Overcoat	3.00
Pants and vest	2.50
Muffler	1.50
Incarche (hat band?)	.50
Flowers	1.50
Shoes	$6.00–$10.00
Shirt	5.00
Necktie	.50
Total (with shoes, $25–$29)	$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

The local masks are expensive and are re-
[532] garded as inferior. Those from Sevina and Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better. The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior local products; good masks had been ordered from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recitation. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a shepherdess at each end (two at one end in 1940), with the three kings facing the files at

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[p.180b]

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one end. First spoke a *letra* (in 1940 Agustín Rangel, assistant in the study), who gave an introduction (see below), walking up and down between the files and describing the events of the birth of Christ and the Three Kings. Then all made a circuit (fig. 17). After this, everyone (except the Three Kings but including the shepherdesses) stepped between the lines in

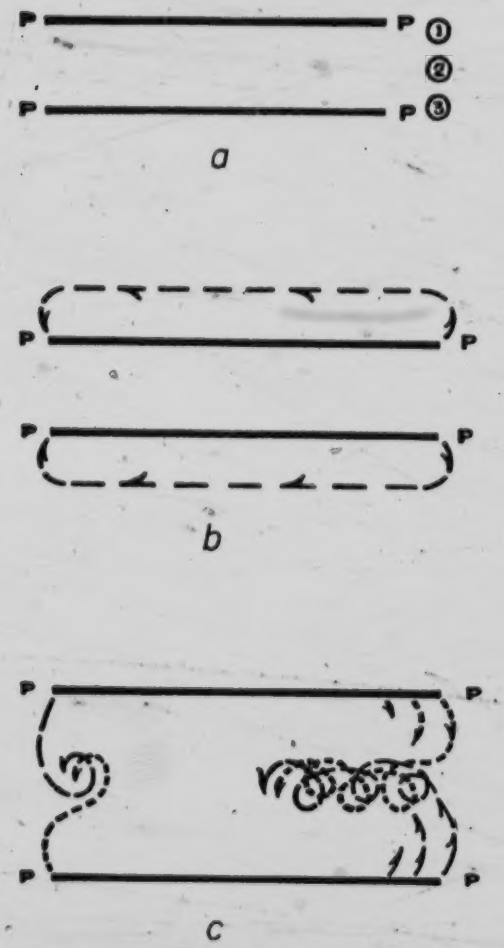

FIGURE 17.—Dance of the *Europeos*, showing various dance figures. *a*, Basic position at start of dance and in which all figures end. *b*, Circling movement. *c*, Movements of paired dancers, executed by each pair in turn, reversing the figure to return to their original position. *P* indicates the *pastores;* the numerals indicate the Three Kings.

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535 796 pairs, speaking a *relato* referring to events that had happened in those days. Then they sang a song, making another circuit. After this, the Three Kings marched between the files to the opposite end, where they were met by one of the pairs, the shepherdesses first. The Kings returned to their position, followed by the pair of dancers. Each dancer then spoke a brief verse, telling what he had brought to the Christ Child. The Kings answered. The others sang without words during this event except while the dancers spoke. This was repeated for each pair of dancers.

A pair of dancers from each end of the line now passed down the files until they met one another. Each pair held hands and danced in a circle, then reversed to the original position. The pairs then returned to their position and were followed by the others until all had danced. The *letra* then spoke a closing piece, telling everyone they should be gay. After this, each pair in succession danced a *jarabe* between the files from one end to the other. If a dancer performed very well and with much spirit, the others cried out in a falsetto voice. Sometimes they did this anyway for pleasure.

535 539 796 The *relato* of the *letra* or leader in 1940 was that composed by Gregorio Castillo and went as follows (spelling and punctuation as given):

No duda, bien lo Sabeis
Mis respetables ancianos;
El 25 del mes,
De Diciembre en la locacion:
Bajo hay del alto cielo,
Han acer en esta suela
Nuestro Dios de predencia.
Al instante los pastores,
Sabidos del gran portento;
Salen preste en el momento,
A visitar el Señor.
Dejando el campo y ganado
Asi como sus cabañas;
Ven por bosques y montanas,
Y con crecido contento,
van a ver el nacimiento
Del Niño Jesus amado.
Cuando contaba ocho dias
De nacido el Niño Amado
Fue tambien cir convencido
El verdadero mezias.
Compañeros Veteranos,
Recordar el 6 de enero
Fiesta de la epiphania,
Fue de gloria el feliz dia;

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[p. 1516]

535 Del bellisimo lucero,
539 Fue la manifestacion,
Del Niño Dios y Señor;
796 Por eso con todo amor,
Vamos a su adoracion.

Canto: 1ª caminata

Salid presuros,
Las glorias cantandos;
Al Nino en sal sando
Cantos de amor.

1ª Relato

Tambien Los Reyes de Oriente,
Manchan en este momento;
De Dios Niño al Nacimiento,
A ver a mi portente.
Luz de vina los va guindo
Y van a la adoracion,
En tan feliz ocasion,
La gloria le van cantando.

Ofrecimiento—Canto

Pasad al monto,
Con gusto y amor,
Ofrecer al Niño,
Amor y consuelo.
Ofrece
Te veo en humildes pajitas,
Y me postre en el instante,
Yo te adoro Nino Amante,
Y te ofresco estas conchitas.
(Pide el baile al terminar los ofrecimientos de todos.)

Baile

Pues todos nos complacemos
Yavimos tu Nacimiento
Y Todos con gusto estamos
Porque felices seremos;—
Niño Dios, bello portento,
En grupo todos nos vamos;
Al terminar la Vecita;
Mas en nuestros corazones;
Todos Fidos te llevarnos;
Jamas, jamas nos olvides,
Hoy te dicen toditos,
Hasta el año Venidero
Mas todos con Alegria
Vimos ya tus Maravillas:
!Oh! Ninito Salvador,
Permitanos gran Senor,
Que con gusta te bailemos
Unos alegres cuadrillas;
En tan felices momentos
Adios digo companeros,
Toquen ya los instrumentos
Y los sones abajemos—

Despues del Canto

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[p. 152a]

Musica

535 Ya nos retiremos,
539 Del lugar Sagrado;
Llovando nos vamos,
796 !Oh! Jesus amado.

TRANSLATION

Do not doubt it, well you know it,
My respectable ancients,
The 25th of the month
Of December in the location
There below the high heavens
Has been born on this earth
Our Lord who takes precedence.
Instantly the shepherds,
Knowing of the great portent,
Started quickly at that moment
To visit the Lord.
Leaving the fields and the cattle
As well as their cabins;
They went through woods and mountains,
And with growing contentment,
Went to see the birth
Of the beloved Child Jesus.
When eight days were counted
From the birth of the beloved Child,
Likewise were made neighborly
The true union [meaning unclear].
Veteran comrades,
Remember the sixth of January
Feast of the Epiphany,
That happy day was glorious.
From the beautiful morning star
Came the manifestation
Of the Child, God and Lord;
For this with all love
We go to adore Him.

1st walking interval. Song

Go forth hastily
Singing the glories;
To the Child raising
Songs of love.

1st relation

Also the Kings of the East
March at this moment;
Of God the Child at the birthplace
To see my portent.
Divine Light guided them
And they went to the adoration,
On such a happy occasion,
They went singing the glories.

Offering—Song

Pass to the amount [meaning unclear]
With pleasure and love,
Offer to the Child
Love and consolation.

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The Offering

535 I see Thee on humble straw
And I prostrate myself instantly,
539 I adore Thee, loving Child,
And I offer Thee these little shells.
796 (The dance is asked for when the offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
Now we have seen your birth,
And all are pleased
Because we will be happy.
Child God, beautiful portent,
Together we all go
To put an end to the visit.
Moreover in our hearts
All faithful we carry Thee.
Never, never forget us,
Today all tell Thee,
Until the coming year,
But all with joy,
Now we have seen your marvels;
Oh, little Child Savior,
Permit us great Lord,
That with pleasure we dance for Thee
Some joyous quadrilles.
In such happy moments,
I say "farewell companions."
Let the instruments play
And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning not clear—possibly *abajeños* is meant, not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
From the Sacred place.
Weeping [?] we go,
Oh! beloved Jesus.

535 The style of delivery of these *relatos* was
538 highly declamatory and monotonous. The
796 words were spoken in a level tone without inflection or other interpretation of their meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual *relatos* was secured. One dancer said he was very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground. If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was going to the place of the Holy Child anyway. Another said that if he got tired walking, he would go on his knees to visit the Child, even though they were scratched. Yet another complained of his high squeaky voice, but even if his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

535 Child. The performer with the latter lines
796 was the only one who managed to make the
[538] crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in
silence or by asides criticizing their perform-
[626] ance, especially several who had not learned
their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p.m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a.m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a.m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. ,We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a.m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breafast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

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where we danced and were given oranges. We then went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Antonio, where we danced and were not given anything. From there we went to the store of Victoriano Turja where we danced and were given 1 liter of *aguardiente*. Then we left for the meat market of one of the *carguero*s of the Holy Kings [he means one of the principals], Don Ygnacio Duran, where we danced and recited the *relato*, the whole works, and were given oranges. From there we left for the house of [the *carguero* of] Santa Nieves, where we danced and were given money, 1 centavo apiece. From there we went to the house [of the *carguero* of] Our Lady of Guadalupe where we danced and were given limes. From there we came dancing what they call a *carnival* through the streets to the store of Don Hilario (Xhembe) where we were given sugarcane. Then we left for the *carguero's* house to eat supper. We were told to be early at his house the next morning.

January 8. The next morning we started to dance about 9 a.m. from the *carguero's* house. We went to the house of Rosalio [*representante* or representative of the town], where we danced and were given oranges. From there we went to the house of Crescencio Hernandez where they gave us a 50-centavo piece because she said [the mistress of the house] that they had not expected us to come and dance at the house. Then we went to a house on Galeana and Allende where we danced and where we were not given anything because he [the house owner] said he wasn't expecting us. Then we danced to one of the *carguero's* of the Holy Kings [meaning principal again] where we were given oranges. From there we went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Isidro where we danced and were given oranges. Then we went to [the *barrio* of] Parícutin to the place of the Virgin Inés; there we danced and were given oranges. Then from there we went to the house of the *carguero* of some saint near the barranca of Parícutin where we danced and were not given anything. Then we went to the house on the corner of Rayon and Comercio streets where we danced and were given oranges. Then we headed for the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner, we then went to the house of the Miraculous Holy Christ where we danced and were not given anything because we started to grab the oranges from the basket and the woman got sore and didn't give us anything. Then we left for the house of Don Jesús Velasquez (the main marriage manager), where we danced and were given oranges. He had invited us to go over to his house and dance. From there we went to Ricardo Queriapa where the saint of San Anselmo is. There we danced and were given oranges. But this time some of the *viejos* had separated and some of them had gone to the plaza. After we finished dancing at that lady's house we then danced at the store of Alberto Muñoz where we were not given anything. Then the Doctor invited us over to dance in front of his office. After we got through, the Doctor flipped a peso to see who would get it. One of the *viejos* got it and got drunk

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●535 7% with the peso. From the plaza we then went west over to the store of Don Emilio Rojas where we danced and were given a 50-centavo piece. From there we then came over to the house of Rafael Castillo, where we danced and were given two packages of cigarettes. From there we went over to the store of Benito Pahuamba, where we danced and were given a bottle of sherry. From there we went over to the *carguero's* house to eat supper, but before we ate we danced the whole works. Then we ate supper and after that they gave each of the *viejos* a loaf of white bread. But before, when we were dancing and reciting, the *carguero's* wife began to pass out sugarcane and oranges and then we went to eat. After supper we danced for a little while, up to about 11 p. m., and then we went home. We danced [this time] because that was the *combate* for this year's *mayordomía* for Don Aurelio. [The last sentence is obscure. Don Aurelio was the *carguero* for the succeeding year.]

Ordinarily the dancers appear again for 1 day at the time of Candelaria, February 2, reciting the same *relatos* but without the Three Kings. For 1941 one man had agreed to pay for the music and two others had agreed to provide food for the dancers, but for some reason the arrangement fell through. On the vespers of Candelaria, people burn pitch pine (ocote) in front of their lots.

OTHER DANCES

[857] On January 1 a group of children, 6 to 8 years old, dances in the day time. Six boys and six girls participate and are called taré sapiratiča, or the "little old men." They go to church very early in the morning and change the image of the Holy Child, which had been placed in a reclining position in a crib on December 25, placing it in a sitting position. After the Mass the children go to the house of the *colector*, where they breakfast and dance. They then go to the house of the kéʼi and dance. Later they go to some other houses to dance. At midday they eat at the house of the *colector* again. The dance is performed to music furnished by wind instruments. It apparently attracts little attention and often is not performed. A former *colector* stated the girls are the *uanánčes* for the ensuing year, but this fact seemed not to be generally known.

In connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves or the Virgin of the Snows, a group of girls performs a dance on August 5 for 1 day to music of wind instruments. The dance is

535 796 [532] known as the caballita uaiáriča dance of the little horses. The figures of horses are made of withes from certain plants, with openings in the middle in which the girls stand. The head is made so it can move, and the dance consists mostly of the girls standing and moving the horses' heads in time to the music. Again, little attention is paid to the dance, and the *carguero* often does not arrange to have it performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges a dance known as the uáris. The dancers consist simply of unmarried girls and young women who dress in the traditional costume but perhaps with a few more ornaments than usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned of in other towns. The *pastorela* of Capacuaro was the most thoroughly studied, but the data remain superficial and unrelated to the ceremonial setting. The dancers are connected with the *carguero* for the December 25th ceremonies. A pole is erected in his patio with a large paper lantern suspended from the top (this is done by the kéŋi at Cherán, but use of this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage is erected at one end of the patio on which some of the *relatos* are given. The house is also decorated with paper flowers and pine boughs. A table altar on the porch has a *creche* with miniature figures. The dancers appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting 18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the *carguero's* house. Doubt of this statement seems indicated.

292 535 796 The dancers consist of between 35 and 40 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of 8 to 12. In addition, there were two "hermits" or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and carried a whip, serving, among other functions, as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europeos* [532] were dressed in white wooden masks with long blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

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535 "demons" were dressed in black, wearing a crown of feathers on the back of the head, with a black veil over most of the face. The devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*. Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers. Two small boys represented angels (one, Michael, with a sword), but the majority were dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes, and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

535 The performance begins with a long *relato* by the devils in which they talk about a journey they are going to make, the curious things they are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a *ranchero* dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros* supervise the two files of children. Then there is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers give their crooks to friends or relatives and dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of children alone or occasionally with the hermits. The devils and the hermits, on the other hand, constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one another. Occasionally one or two of the devils will capture a hermit and force him to dance along with them. Also, from time to time the hermits use their whips to keep the children from crowding in too much on the dancers.

[522] The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One was seen "praying" before the church with his hands together but with both thumbs to his nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd with their whips or if they identified the offender, would pursue him with their whips—and sometimes used them if the stones had been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of the church before the saints' images, which are brought out of the church for this. Then the dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after which they dance. Then they go to various houses and dance. The householders give them fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts. Then they return to the house of the *carguero* to eat once more.

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[p. 155b]

Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

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At primarily Mestizo San Juan Parangaricutiro on January 7 a dance of *Europeos* was observed. The two main dancers were a man and woman in burlesque of *catrin-ranchero* costumes (the "woman" was a man dressed in women's clothes). The woman wore a straw hat with artificial flowers, a well-made white wooden mask of a European woman's face, a cloth enveloping all of the head not covered by the mask, a yellow waist, and a black *ranchera's* skirt with a beautifully embroidered yellow silk apron, gloves, and a handbag. In her hands she carried a narrow woman's sash. The man wore a white wig with ribbons, white mask with black beard and attractive features, a sweater, a moro dancer's cape (but worn a little lower than the moro dancer does, so the mirror was over the man's buttocks), and several women's aprons of silk or rayon hung from about his neck. About his legs from the knees down were wrapped numerous women's belts and about his ankles were copper bells. Over one shoulder he carried a stick with one end carved into a burro's head, adorned with ribbons and with a bell hung from the neck of the burro.

The other dancers were dressed somewhat like the male leader, except the cape was black with an opening like that of a serape although worn as a cape. The lining of the cape was in brilliant colors of silk or rayon. Ornamentation of the cape was done with colored sequins. Otherwise the costume was the same, but no stick was carried.

The dance music varied according to various aspects of the dance, changes being indicated by the male leader ringing his bell. The dancers formed in two files, with the male leader at the head of one file, the woman leader at the head of the other. When the music began, the dancers leaped in the air several times and shouted in a high voice. Then the files performed several circuits; the one headed by the male making its circuit first, followed by the other. Following the circuits the dancers performed a sort of *jarabe*, but remained in one place. From time to time they leaped high in the air (individually), shouting in a falsetto voice. As they came down they spread their capes wide and, with hair and aprons flying in

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535 all directions, they resembled some impossible
796 bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either sondado uaran or turiçauarani. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed
[534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

585 The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and 1our or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the [532] form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

Before the exchange of clothing and bread 585 was completed, the godmothers began the ● 535 dancing. No one was supposed to dance until 608 the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

The dancing was interrupted at this point 585 by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men [482] carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

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585 The following day there is a ritual meal in the house of the bride to which come the bride's relatives and many friends. The women of Chilchota often dress in traditional Tarascan costume for this meal, wearing the *rollo* or pleated skirt. They also wear straw hats much decorated with flowers and paper streamers. Men dress in *calzones* or trousers of Indian style. If they have money, a band is hired and the group dances at every corner. The meal served consists of boiled cabbage (without meat or meat broth) and beef tripe cooked with herbs and chile.

Soon after the wedding, the groom takes the bride's parents one or two large baskets of bread, chocolate, sugar, and from $10 to $100 (depending on his economic status) to show his thanks. There is some sort of ceremony in the house of the bride's parents.

585 In San Juan Parangaricutiro, also primarily a Mestizo town, the male and female relatives
535 of the bride dance in the streets on the day of the wedding. The group has a band and dances at each street intersection in the town, the men in one file, and the women in another. The men make a circuit of the women's file and return to their places. The women do the same and then the group moves to another corner. The persons in the files are arranged according to their stature. A sister of the bride accompanies the group, and represents her. The night after the wedding the relatives of the groom do the same, lighting their way with pitch pine torches.

588 A dozen or more families in Cherán live in "free union," that is, a couple lives together
586 without marriage. In most cases one or both parties to the arrangement have been married previously and divorced according to Cherán standards but not according to law. The majority of such free unions are said to result in successful households, and children of such unions suffer no stigma. Children of free unions inherit from their parents in the same fashion as children of legal or church marriages. This type of union is said to be fairly recent, and at first persons living in this fashion were not permitted by the priest to hold any church office or to act as godparents. Children of free unions were also refused baptism. In

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796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes [515] bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are [533] bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [526] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

● 535 On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* 796 of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of curípo and kurúndas. The fiesta is called tzíndakua.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing [533] *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

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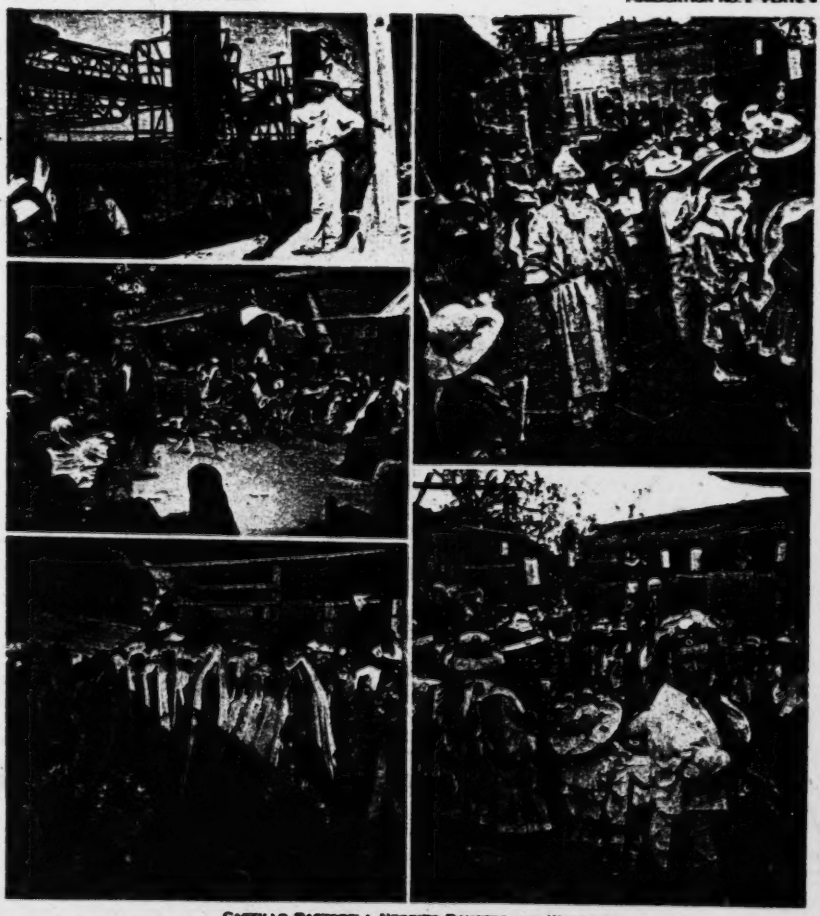

CASTILLO, PASTORELA, NEGRITO DANCERS, AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Portion of the fireworks set (*castillo*) nearly completed. The fireworks maker is on the right. *Upper (right)*: *Pastorela* at Capacuaro; at left is one of the "hermits." *Left (middle)*: Large wedding in the patio in front of the house. The kitchen is at left, the temporary cooking shed in the center. The woman at left bears a cloth-covered dish with an offering for one of the godmothers. *Lower (left)*: *Negrito* dancers performing at private house. The ribbons hang down to their heels. The "pin cushions" (foreground) are the dancers' head decorations. *Lower (right)*: *Pastorela* at Capacuaro, with "*Europeo*" in foreground.

[End Plate 6]

796 Festivals of the different saints and virgins are celebrated at the dates fixed by the Catholic calendar. Most important are the celebrations of events regarding the life of Jesus: Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi are the occasions for the main cult activities. Only the patron of each town and the cult of the Virgin attain similar importance. In all fiestas, mass is said as Catholic ritual prescribes, and other traits of ritual demanded by the Church are also performed.

796 The most important folk additions to the Catholic liturgy are dramatizations and 536 dances somehow related to the festival which is being celebrated. The Passion of Christ is the best example. Certain of the villagers dress as Jews, apostles and other characters of the story, and participate in its representation, which takes place in church under the direction of the priest. Some also police the village so that everybody will keep the precept of not working. In some villages a full stage production is performed. The celebration of Holy Week is most renowned in Tzintzuntzan.[3]

796 In Holy Week there are no dances. In other fiestas, music and dancing are the 535 most important aspect of the performance accompanying church rituals, and outweigh the spoken play (Spanish, *relato* or *coloquio*).

In Corpus Christi and its Octave, the farmers take their oxen to the churchyard and pretend to plow while the other crafts represented in the village also display their work and make little samples which they later throw to the crowd. A mock market and a greased pole also make this festival an attractive entertainment. Dances of the Conquest and of the Negroes, and a Maypole dance (Spanish *tejedores*, weavers) have been reported for this occasion but seem to be obsolete now.[4]

The most important dances are performed during the Christmas-Epiphany season and on the patron saint's day. The dance performed in most towns on the day of the patron saint is that known as *moros y soldados* (Moors and soldiers) or by slightly different words. It represents the Moors' defeat by the soldiers and their conversion.[5] In some places this dance is also performed on the Day of the Cross (May 3rd).[6]

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3. Foster, 1948, 210-214.
4. León, 1906, 462-4; Beals, 1946, 125-27; Foster, 1948, 216-18.
5. León, 1906, 431 ff; Beals, 1946, 131, 144, 156.
6. For Angahuan, see Beals, 1946, 143; for eighteenth century Tangamandapio and Jacona, see Estado, 1944, 470, 471; León, 1906, 431.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

The plays and dances performed during Christmas and Epiphany represent people who comment on the birth of the Holy Child and come to worship him and to bring him presents. The usual name for these dances is *pastorela* (pastoral) and the main characters are shepherds. Sometimes other characters are added, often wearing masks, such as old men, savages *(apaches)*, Negroes, ranchers, the Three Kings, hermits, angels, and devils. In some places the *pastorela* includes a number of these characters, while in others some of them perform in the pastorela and the others form special dances.

In Cherán, for instance, there is a dance of Negroes, performed on December 25th, another called *melebris* which includes Negroes, old men and savages (December 14-24), a pastorela of shepherdesses (December 24-6), and a dance of old men including the Three Kings (January 6).[7] The only complete pastorela which has been published (unfortunately only in Tarascan) comes from Pichátaro, 1883.[8] It had shepherds, a ranch boy and girl, hermit, angels, and three devils (Luzbel, Sin, and Cunning). The first part, performed by the devils, is followed by the presentation of gifts brought by the other characters to the Holy Child. The pastorela from Capacuaro looks similar for it has first a stage play by devils, followed by a dance with a play by ranchers, shepherds, angels, Europeans, and hermits who act as buffoons.[9] In another published text (from Quinceo, 1912), the characters are old men who not only bring presents to the Holy Child but also discuss other aspects of the Faith.[10] Other villages have slightly different Christmas dances or pastorelas, all with different combinations of the same basic characters.[11]

A dance can become an element of ceremony in itself. Taking a dance group to a saint can be an individual vow. In famous fiestas which draw pilgrims from many villages, dancers come to perform for that saint although the festival celebrated may have nothing to do with the original meaning of the dance. For instance, *Santiagos* (Saint James dance) from Pátzcuaro, *Pastorela* from Zipiajo and the Old Men's dance from Cucuchucho (both Christmas dances) come to Tzintzuntzan to dance for the *Señor del Resgate* (an Ecce Homo).[12]

7. Beals, 1946, 144-154.
8. León, 1906, 433-52.
9. Beals, 194, 154-5.
10. León and Contreras, 1944.
11. Beals, 1946, 144, 155, 218; León, 1906, 435; Foster, 1948, 204.
12. Foster, 1948, 208.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

796 Different towns have reputations for
giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately,
through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an advanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is held and people come in pilgrimage, com-
517 bining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
can Indians has always been closely con-
621 nected with the political and social organization of the communities.

13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34 .
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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* 186 *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 554 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

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7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior. 178 796 [467]

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday. 796 578 [622 662]

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however. 533 796

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day 535 796

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monografía histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

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535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin.
796 We were told that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, ". . . The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious
175 Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoa-
535 cán . . ." León goes on to say,
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> The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.[2]

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

> I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.[3]

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."[4]

535 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to
554 twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

[2] Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 2a época, T. I, Mexico, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

[3] *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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chosen was born in another community and another was technically illegitimate—since her parents, although living together for many years, had never been wed either in civil or religious ceremony. The Huananchas came from all quarters of the pueblo. Participation itself, through enabling one to be among those directly concerned with "making the holiday," may well have been a means of acquiring prestige in the community. The Huananchas *may* have been chosen in the same manner as were the *Cargueros* (the officers of the trade groups) in the past. That is, a committee decided who should participate and then notified those nominated; these people might then beg off if they had good arguments. This was the procedure outlined for naming the *Cargueros* who were then responsible for organizing the various trade groups in past years, however no specific comments were made about the manner of choice of the Huananchas.

In the dance all of the little girls wore pink satin or sateen dresses. These apparently were made for the occasion. On their heads they wore gilded crowns with brightly colored artificial flowers attached. The elegance of each dancer's dress and the number of sprays of flowers on her crown were subjects of much comparison, both by the dancers themselves and by their mothers. It was observed that one of the dancers was visibly distressed over some unkindly comments about her hair which was not curled like that of the others, and because her crown bore fewer flowers. There is thus an informal, but effective, status ranking of the dancers and their families in terms of the costumes worn.

In the dance the four biggest girls—representing those who formerly used to carry the image of the Virgin—form a rectangle. Between them are the three shorter and younger girls. (See "a," Fig. 1). We were told that the center dancer of these last three represents the pennant bearer and is supposed to carry a blue pennant. She is known as *Pendonpasi*. One of the others was supposed to carry copal or incense, and the third one a candle. Actually, the dancers carried nothing when they performed in 1948. It is probable that the description given really refers to what the Huananchas used to carry in processions, and not what they held in their hands during the dance.

The only step for the entire dance is an extremely slow and, to the outsider, monotonous "simple" but the patterns which the dancers perform vary.[8] When dancing in the town hall for the various political and other officials the performance continued for approximately 45 minutes; at other times the dance was limited to about 20 minutes by elimination of the repetition of the various patterns. In the town hall and elsewhere the girls were surrounded on all sides by observers during their performance. In the description which follows, "front" refers to the two dancers closest to the officials, "back," to the two dancers farthest from the guests of honor. The three other dancers form a center row. All dancers face the guests of honor most of the time.

The dance begins with all seven girls making two very slow turns in place in

[8] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Here the authors have the following to say about a religious dance which they observed in the Internado in Paracho: "The dances are very prolonged and they always last several hours, accompanied by a terribly monotonous music." (Translated from the Spanish).

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535 a clockwise direction (see "a," Fig. 1). The tempo and nature of the music then change and the dancer in the center (the *pendonpasi*) makes a half turn to the left and dances around each of the two back Huananchichas, then circles each of the remaining two dancers in the center row, first one and then the other. Next the front Huananchichas are circled and the *pendonpasi* returns to the center and turns once to the right in place (see "b," Fig. 1). Now the two back Huananchas move forward. The one on the left crosses the one on the right behind the *pendonpasi* and continues to circle first the dancer to the right of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the Huananchicha in the left front. After this she returns to her place in the back left corner. Her partner in the meantime is circling the dancer to the left of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the right front Huanancha and is returning to her place in the back right corner (see "c," Fig. 1). Next, the two Huananchichas in the front proceed in approximately the same fashion, except that instead of circling the two rear Huananchas they skirt them without completing the circle (see "d," Fig. 1). When they have returned to their places, the remaining two center dancers start to do their "turns." These involve circling first the front Huanancha opposite their standing position and then the back Huanancha who is standing on the diagonal from this, and finally returning to their starting places (see "e," Fig. 1). When this is completed all dancers take a half turn in place clockwise and return to starting position counterclockwise (see "f," Fig. 1), then the three center dancers step close together, the rear Huananchichas come up beside them (see "g," Fig. 1) and together they march slowly forward between the two front Huananchichas, bringing all into one straight line (see "h," Fig. 1). At this point the girls are given a large bowl full of confetti and small hard candies which they throw to the assembled guests of honor who are at the front of the dance area.

The dance is supposed to be performed twice in public, once at the church or in the street in front of the church, and once for the mayor of the town and such visiting dignitaries as may be invited to observe the performance in the mayor's office. In 1948 no performance of the dance took place in the street; the priest came to the mayor's office to watch the dancing there. Following this the girls, sometimes their mothers and always a group of older women in whose charge the dancers are, go to call on the important merchants and dance for them. After this, the dance is performed at the home of each of the dancers. The neighbors all crowd into the patio to watch. There is no set time for arriving on these rounds, so no special preparations can be made. One simply hears the music coming down one's street, and if interested follows it to its destination. If you happen to have one of the dancers in your own family the assumption is that the group will come to your patio eventually. The older women who escort the dancers were, in the past, the organizers of the fiesta, and during the year they used to help to keep the church in good order and decorated. These women also used to operate a "hospital" (after the models first established by Don Vasco de Quiroga in the 16th century) near the church. Supposedly their presence with the dancers is to serve as chaperones for them, although some of the residents were heard to comment that the opposite may

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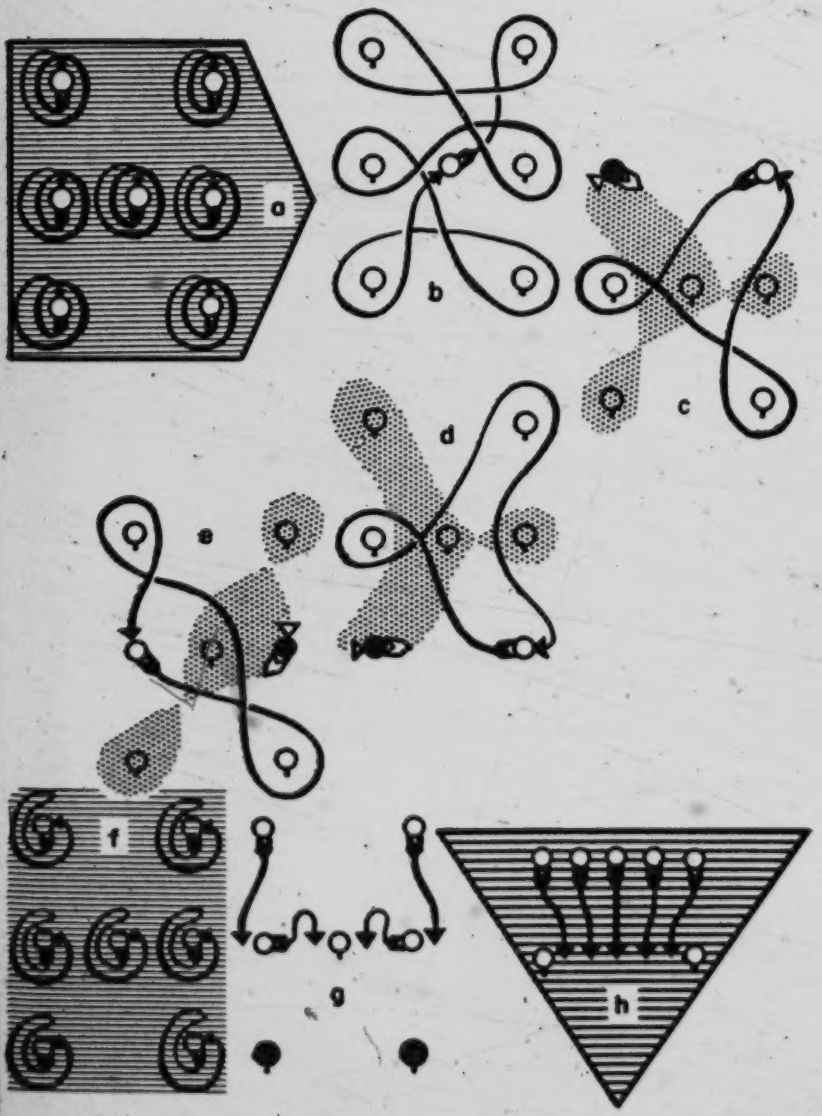

FIG. 1. Huanancha Dance.

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535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

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Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

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While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

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[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 388.

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Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

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In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

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From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

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1948—some of the earlier functions of the office had disappeared and little save the outer formality of the performance of the dance remained. The fact that the performance has not yet been entirely eliminated indicates that the dance still holds meaning for at least some of the members of the community. It may do no more than give status and prestige to the families of the girls who take part. Yet if this is so, it is of some interest that this method of gaining position in the community continues to be recognized and approved. On the other hand, it seems plausible to explain the survival of the dance of the Huananchichas as a loose bond between the earlier sacred beliefs, practices and orientations of the community and the newer, more secular, emphases which are continually gaining ground. For the majority of the younger members of the audience it may well have been that the performance of the dance held no very deep emotional significance, that it was merely another spectacle of the Corpus Christi fiesta. Many of the older people, on the other hand, seemed to derive genuine satisfaction from its performance, if only because it reminded them of the past.

Detroit, Michigan

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient.

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it.

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces.

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri.

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

796 Festivals of the different saints and virgins are celebrated at the dates fixed by the Catholic calendar. Most important are the celebrations of events regarding the life of Jesus: Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi are the occasions for the main cult activities. Only the patron of each town and the cult of the Virgin attain similar importance. In all fiestas, mass is said as Catholic ritual prescribes, and other traits of ritual demanded by the Church are also performed.

796 The most important folk additions to the Catholic liturgy are dramatizations and 536 dances somehow related to the festival which is being celebrated. The Passion of Christ is the best example. Certain of the villagers dress as Jews, apostles and other characters of the story, and participate in its representation, which takes place in church under the direction of the priest. Some also police the village so that everybody will keep the precept of not working. In some villages a full stage production is performed. The celebration of Holy Week is most renowned in Tzintzuntzan.[3]

796 In Holy Week there are no dances. In other fiestas, music and dancing are the 535 most important aspect of the performance accompanying church rituals, and outweigh the spoken play (Spanish, *relato* or *coloquio*).

In Corpus Christi and its Octave, the farmers take their oxen to the churchyard and pretend to plow while the other crafts represented in the village also display their work and make little samples which they later throw to the crowd. A mock market and a greased pole also make this festival an attractive entertainment. Dances of the Conquest and of the Negroes, and a Maypole dance (Spanish *tejedores*, weavers) have been reported for this occasion but seem to be obsolete now.[4]

The most important dances are performed during the Christmas-Epiphany season and on the patron saint's day. The dance performed in most towns on the day of the patron saint is that known as *moros y soldados* (Moors and soldiers) or by slightly different words. It represents the Moors' defeat by the soldiers and their conversion.[5] In some places this dance is also performed on the Day of the Cross (May 3rd).[6]

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3. Foster, 1946, 210-214.
4. León, 1906, 462-4; Beals, 1946, 125-27; Foster, 1948, 216-18.
5. León, 1906, 431 ff; Beals, 1946, 131, 144, 156.
6. For Angahuan, see Beals, 1946, 143; for eighteenth century Tangamandapio and Jacona, see Estado, 1944, 470, 477; León, 1906, 431.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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796 The plays and dances performed during Christmas and Epiphany represent people
536 who comment on the birth of the Holy Child and come to worship him and to
535 bring him presents. The usual name for these dances is *pastorela* (pastoral) and the main characters are shepherds. Sometimes other characters are added, often wearing masks, such as old men, savages *(apaches)*, Negroes, ranchers, the Three Kings, hermits, angels, and devils. In some places the *pastorela* includes a number of these characters, while in others some of them perform in the pastorela and the others form special dances.

In Cherán, for instance, there is a dance of Negroes, performed on December 25th, another called *melebris* which includes Negroes, old men and savages (December 14-24), a pastorela of shepherdesses (December 24-6), and a dance of old men including the Three Kings (January 6).[7] The only complete pastorela which has been published (unfortunately only in Tarascan) comes from Pichátaro, 1883.[8] It had shepherds, a ranch boy and girl, hermit, angels, and three devils (Luzbel, Sin, and Cunning). The first part, performed by the devils, is followed by the presentation of gifts brought by the other characters to the Holy Child. The pastorela from Capacuaro looks similar for it has first a stage play by devils, followed by a dance with a play by ranchers, shepherds, angels, Europeans, and hermits who act as buffoons.[9] In another published text (from Quinceo, 1912), the characters are old men who not only bring presents to the Holy Child but also discuss other aspects of the Faith.[10] Other villages have slightly different Christmas dances or pastorelas, all with different combinations of the same basic characters.[11]

A dance can become an element of cere-
796 mony in itself. Taking a dance group to a saint can be an individual vow. In famous
535 fiestas which draw pilgrims from many villages, dancers come to perform for that saint although the festival celebrated may have nothing to do with the original meaning of the dance. For instance, *Santiagos* (Saint James dance) from Pátzcuaro, *Pastorela* from Zipiajo and the Old Men's dance from Cucuchucho (both Christmas dances) come to Tzintzuntzan to dance for the *Señor del Resgate* (an Ecce Homo).[12]

7. Beals, 1946, 144-154.
8. León, 1906, 433-52.
9. Beals, 194, 154-5.
10. León and Contreras, 1944.
11. Beals, 1946, 144, 155, 218; León, 1906, 435; Foster, 1948, 204.
12. Foster, 1948, 208.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 other (fig. 16). Occasionally each pair of
796 *negritos* will walk to the head of the line and back while the two recite their part of the *relato.*

535 The teaching of the *relato* and of the dance is done by a specialist hired for the occasion by
538 the *carguero.* The best-known specialist is
796 Gregorio Castillo, although he was not hired in 1940. Castillo also teaches the dance of the *viejos, Europeos* or *Españoles,* as he prefers to call it, and was hired to teach the group in 1941. He had been teaching the dances for 28 years (in 1940). His *relatos* he wrote himself. He secured many *relatos* locally and also sent to Mexico City and Guadalajara for others, but he liked none of them. (But several people said they were very tired of Castillo's *relatos,* which have been the same for 20 years and which they felt were not very good anyway.) Castillo feels that the *negrito* dance is especially fine and that the *negritos* of Cherán are

superior to any he has seen in other towns. The only time he admits having seen a better dance than that of Cherán was once when Aranza borrowed his *relato* and had especially elaborate costumes. Nahuatzen *negritos* have a better dress than those of Cherán, but they are no longer trained.

Castillo, perhaps because it is not in his field, believes the *pastorela* to be a very inferior performance. It is, he says, merely a lot of children dressed up prettily but knowing neither their lines nor their dance. The *negrito,* on the other hand, is a nice clear *relato,* all divided into acts, and the performers are old enough to learn their parts.

Castillo's *relatos* are, naturally, part of his stock in trade. While he was cooperative and willing to permit them to be copied, he would do so only at a price commensurate with their value to him. This price seemed more than they would be worth as documents, particularly

[Text continues on p. 146a]

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[p. 146a]

535 as it is evident that they contain much literary
538 echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived
796 from literary sources. As considerable portions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín Rangel, assistant on the project, who participated in both dances in 1940–41, it was felt the expense of securing the complete *relatos* was not warranted.

535 The following is the *relato* of Agustín
796 Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given,
539 but punctuation added):

First act: Music, followed by a song

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
Las Azuceñas puras y olorosas
Colores en su tallo vacilante,
Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
Se Abren, Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song

Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustin's part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
Divina criatura,
Te doy mi cariño . . .
(Second speaking part:)
Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
Y el sauce a la orrilla del torrente,
Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
Y asi los campos de verdor revistas
Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gusto y con amor a ofrecer passemos
Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(The following is sung as they pretend to make offerings):

Ante tus plantas postrado
Te ofrece aqui este negrito
Recibe me niño amado
Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
Con suelo y amor;
Escucha mi canto
Niño Salvador.
Benedice toditos,

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Divino Creador.
Se van los negritos
Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou causest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by Agustín are the following (given in English):

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in Bethlehem.
I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle, a dog, and different playthings.)

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The main part of the *relato* is recited by a person known as *el letra* and another called *el segundo*. These two stand at the head of the

535 two files, except for the little girls at that end of
538 the lines. When the recitation begins, *el*
796 *letra* steps forward alone and recites his part, returning to his place when finished. There is then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle. *El segundo* then does the same, followed by a *caminata*.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts about a month before December 25. For several evenings before the date they meet in the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The procedures beginning the night of December 24 are described as follows in an account written by Agustín Rangel:

> The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the *carguero's* house. There were lots of people and about 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The *negritos* finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they were given supper and they sat around for a while. They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church. The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the *carguero's* house and the church, and third, when the Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed before going inside the church. There was a 12 a.m. Mass. The priest of the church came over to the *carguero's* house before the Holy Child left the house. The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a.m. Mass. [Note: There were several hundred persons in the
> [373] procession, all with candles. The streets and houses were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even more light.]
>
> December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner they went to church again to visit the Holy Child. Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house where they danced again. Then they went to the night Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio of the priest's house and danced before him. After they finished dancing, they danced in front of the municipal building before the mayor and officials. After they finished dancing there they went to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. They ate supper and every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.
>
> December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten breakfast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's* house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced. After they finished there they went to Paricutin (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

535 of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the
538 *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner, they danced and then went to the house of the new
7%6 *carguero* for the Holy Child where they danced until the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the *carguero's* house and then they went to the house of the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which they danced. From there they went to the priest's house where they danced in front of the priest. Then they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

535 A number of dance groups often appear at or before Christmas. Collectively they are known
7%6 as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly, they appeared about 10 days before Christmas Eve and then appeared every third night until December 24. Of recent years they have been forbidden because the various groups often arrived at the same house and then they would fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out but they went mainly to houses in their own *barrio* for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are the čúrikua anápu turíča or sakíč, "the negroes who go out at night." This group wears ordinary clothing but with the crown of the hat decorated with cut papers representing ribbons streaming out behind. Dancers of this group also wear paper ornaments on the front and back of their clothing. They have guitar and drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the t'aié aríriča, the dancing old men. The word "aii" also means a person who talks too much and who certainly does not speak the truth. This group dresses
[532] like old men; the members wear a long overcoat and a black wooden mask with the beard represented. The masks are similar to those worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the dancers are also dressed as women. They have five or six stringed instruments. No data were collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the apáčiča or the *salvajes* or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro savages). They paint their faces to resemble the negrito masks but wear no masks. Rooster

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[p.1526]

The Offering

535 I see Thee on humble straw
And I prostrate myself instantly,
539 I adore Thee, loving Child,
And I offer Thee these little shells.
796 (The dance is asked for when the offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
Now we have seen your birth,
And all are pleased
Because we will be happy.
Child God, beautiful portent,
Together we all go
To put an end to the visit.
Moreover in our hearts
All faithful we carry Thee.
Never, never forget us,
Today all tell Thee,
Until the coming year,
But all with joy,
Now we have seen your marvels;
Oh, little Child Savior,
Permit us great Lord,
That with pleasure we dance for Thee
Some joyous quadrilles.
In such happy moments,
I say "farewell companions."
Let the instruments play
And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning not clear—possibly *abajeños* is meant, not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
From the Sacred place.
Weeping [?] we go,
Oh! beloved Jesus.

535 The style of delivery of these *relatos* was
538 highly declamatory and monotonous. The
796 words were spoken in a level tone without inflection or other interpretation of their meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual *relatos* was secured. One dancer said he was very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground. If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was going to the place of the Holy Child anyway. Another said that if he got tired walking, he would go on his knees to visit the Child, even though they were scratched. Yet another complained of his high squeaky voice, but even if his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

535 Child. The performer with the latter lines
796 was the only one who managed to make the
[538] crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in
[626] silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p. m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a. m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a. m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. ,We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a. m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breafast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

291 unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

521 Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in
517 Cherán is simply talking. Both men and women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

538 With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

887 The transition from adult to old age is not
886 a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.366] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

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it also sanctions the national values of the Church. Political conflict mentioned in folklore seems to reflect almost exclusively the conservative point of view. Religious people can put it to use to point out the wisdom of following their party and to present the opponent as wicked.

The tendencies which are disrupting the folk culture do not create a new body of folklore. Even religious people, like the sinarquistas, allied to the church, keep only that part of the religion which is more orthodox, and neglect that which is purely folk. Here, as with the agraristas, changes in the religious ideology and folklore do not create a new folklore but induce changes in the *function* of the old, leading to obsolescence. The different attitudes of belief will consequently be considered.[1]

Main Traits of Tarascan Religious Ideology

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In contrast to what is reported for other Mexican folk cultures[2] the Tarascans do not classify their folk narratives into well defined types according to the story's characters or the didactical or recreative use of the tale. All tales are called *uandánękua*, (from *uandáni*, to tell, to speak; in Spanish, *cuento*). Sometimes, at least in Jarácuaro, the Spanish word (pronounced *kuéntu*) is used in Tarascan discourse. Its meaning, however, seems to be synonymous with *uandánękua*. Everything which is told can be called a tale. This does not mean of course that all narratives are of the same type; it means only that Tarascan culture and language do not recognize standard categories of tales. Different types are to some extent recognized in that some are told as true experiences, usually giving concrete place and personal names, while in others the action takes place in unnamed places and among unknown people. Informants are themselves aware of this possible distinction. Sometimes the word *uandánękua* (or *kuéntu*) is

1. This chapter is based almost exclusively on the author's field work. A complete field report will contain a full collection of tales. As this is not yet published, references to it are not possible. Most information comes from Jarácuaro, a strongly religious and conservative village, with sinarquismo as the dominant tendency.
2. M. Redfield, 1936.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.37a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

538 used in a more restricted sense to mean fictitious tale as opposed to a true event, while in other cases it can mean anything which is told, including real events. There is no provision, however, for classifying narratives other than to state whether a given tale is considered true or false, and on this point not everybody agrees. One can hear about a given tale a comment like "This is true, it really happened", or "This is what people say, but who knows if it is true." These comments can be heard with all types of tales. The word *cuento* can enter these explanations with different meanings. For instance, on being asked to tell a story (cuento), a man would tell of his experiences during the Revolution, or another would tell how he got lost on a dark night. The following statement was added after a wonder story: "This is not a tale *(cuento)*, this is fiction *(farsa)*." Also in similar situations: "This is not true; it is only a tale (*cuento*)." Thus *cuento* or *uandáṇgkua* applies to everything told, and can mean both a true or a false tale according to the context.

Yet the folk narratives of the Tarascans can be classified into the following main types: myths, experiences with supernaturals, and wonder stories.

Myths are tales referring to events in the far past when the world had not yet its present shape. The characters are mostly supernatural. There are included tales of the creation of the world, the destruction of the world, and associated events, stories of people living before the advent of Christianity, and the shaping of the world as it is today.

Another very common type of story concerns experiences with the supernaturals. These include experiences with saints, devils, the dead and witches; miracles of saints; cases of men who have seen the Devil or have made a pact with him in order to gain money or knowledge; how people have seen ghosts on a dark night; how a man comes back to life after a serious illness and reports his travel to the underworld; cases of witchcraft; how a sick man was cured of sorcery; how witches take animal form; how a given witch was caught. All these and many more of similar nature are among the stories most often related. All these stories are practically always told giving the names of the places and persons involved. Tales of this sort can be told as current or past events in the town: e.g., cases of

538 witchcraft, how So-and-So got his wealth by making a pact with the Devil, or how X brought a diviner to find out the person responsible for the burning of his house.

When people come back from a trip, they often bring stories of this type. They will come back from market telling how the Devil was seen in X town. The latest miracle of a saint will be told after a pilgrimage. Narratives of this type are really pieces of news relating to the supernaturals.

Myths and experiences with the supernatural, by the very nature of their content, are told as true events or at least as something which some people believe and tell as true happenings. Any attitude of doubt in these stories often indicates doubt of the religious concept behind the story. On the other hand, some tales, which are experiences with supernaturals (mainly stories of saints or of men pledged to the Devil), can be told as fiction, with no concrete names being given, for mere entertainment, and without indicating any lack of religious belief on the part of the teller.

In such cases these tales merge somewhat with wonder stories. These are tales in which action takes place in unspecified times and places and among unnamed people. They are mostly the wonder stories of European tradition. Whereas in the experiences with the supernaturals the action is always in agreement with actual Tarascan culture—in fact they are case histories of some aspect of Tarascan culture—in the wonder stories the cultural content of the tale is sometimes incongruous with actual Tarascan culture. The characters are often kings and princesses, old men who have magical powers, and heroes who use charms which have no correspondence in living Tarascan culture and which appear only in these tales.

These tales are not told as news, as are the experiences with the supernatural, but mainly for entertainment. Most informants consider them fictitious, but this is by no means the only attitude found. Doubt is quite common: "Who knows if this story is true!" In some cases informants think they are true events which took place in some remote past time. Cultural incongruity causes no inconvenience. After all, the towns were known to have been ruled by kings in the olden times; land titles often mention their names. And many people agree that the ancients had

538 greater magical knowledge and were stronger, braver, and cleverer than the modern people.

These are the main types of narratives. Animal stories are another common type, similar to the Æsopian fable. They are considered fictitious and are told for their entertainment value. Usually they are funny and meant to make people laugh. When asked for tales (meaning fiction) many informants think most readily of this kind of story. Other types of tales, such as jokes, sexy stories, etc., are less common and are not used in this work as they do not reflect religious concepts.

Religious ideas are also expressed in 771 what in Spanish are called beliefs (*creencias*): 538 items of lore giving bits of knowledge of the supernatural, as, for instance, omens or the wondrous qualities of certain animals. Sometimes these beliefs treat of a special behavior; for example, the rules about what a pregnant woman should or should not do, or the magical procedures to follow in a technological activity. These beliefs are to some people rules which have to be followed. For many people, however, they are just sayings one does not have to care about. They say, "This is just a belief," meaning "Some people say that, but it is not true."

Thus, folk narratives, an expression of 538 the religious ideas of the people, can mean different things to different people. To those to whom a given tale is a true happening, it has a moral meaning and may sanction a certain kind of behavior. The same happening or tale may be to others an example of how superstitious people are. It will have no moral meaning, sanction, or behavior, although it may be told as an entertaining tale or piece of information.

The religious ideology expressed through 538 such narratives will now be examined at 979 its face value, while the different attitudes of belief will later be discussed.

* * *

The general concepts of Tarascan folklore and religion are those of Catholicism. The Christian God created the world and the supernaturals, including the Devil and the saints. The fundamental Christian concept of good and evil is also paramount in Tarascan folklore and religion. This opposition of good and evil appears in a number of contrasts. Everything is classified as one or the other: God and the saints, the good supernaturals who inhabit

538 heaven, are opposed to the bad super-
779 naturals, the Devil and the demons in hell; the right Religion and the Church are set against superstition and lack of religion; good behavior against bad (sin); the idea of the good going to heaven at death against that of the sinful being punished in hell.

577 Ethical values are apparent in the rea-
538 sons given for the destruction of the world and the creation of the Devil, in the actions
[779] of the saints in rewarding good behavior and punishing evil, in the acts of the Devil in sponsoring bad behavior, and in the destiny of the dead.

Taking this concept of good and evil as the main theme, we can give an outline of practically the whole, and certainly the most important part, of Tarascan religious ideas. Nonethical concepts are few and of secondary importance. They are mainly miscellaneous beliefs or tales (in which some natural elements are personified), omens, and so on.

773 Creation stories are not common among the Tarascans. In those collected, the con-
538 cept of good and evil is apparent. The duality of the supernatural—God and the
577 saints against the Devil—is explained as the consequence of the bad behavior of one of the sons of God who revolted against his Father and was punished by being made into the Devil. Insubordination and lack of respect for paternal authority are the causes of this punishment.

In several myths about the creation of animals, the good animals are created by God while the bad ones are related to the Devil. Thus, when Jesus and the children of the Devil play making mud figures,
[825] those of Jesus become birds while those of the Devil become "snakes and lizards, and scorpions and all sorts of bad animals". The coyote was a dog which deserted his master, the Devil.

773 Most important are the myths regarding the destruction of the world. In these we
538 have a blend of Spanish and Indian elements in which the Indian motives, nonethical in origin, are reinterpreted and subordinated to the Catholic concept of Good and Evil. A number of stories give two destructions of the world. A first one by water is identified with the Christian flood, although it keeps also some traits of the Mesoamerican flood myth; and a second by fire embodies Indian traits but is identified with the advent of Christianity and the Spanish conquest. Some ver-

538 773 sions, however, give only one destruction of the world, equating the flood with the advent of Christianity, or depriving this last event of its catastrophic character.

Flood stories include a typical Mesoamerican tale—that the survivor of the flood was transformed into a dog because he started a fire. Since the cause of the transformation was disobedience to the Christian God, who had forbidden starting a fire without his command, the story thus becomes integrated with the good and evil theme:

[539] ". . . down came the angel and kicked him once and again and said, 'This is so that you understand. You have not obeyed me.' And the man began to cry like a dog and the angel said, 'You will be a dog and in punishment you will have to take care of the house.' And this is why there are dogs."

Several stories and beliefs deal with the *k'uaŋári*, or giants, the people who lived before the advent of Christianity. The k'uaŋári had very great strength. They built what are now the ruins of pre-Spanish sites, and also are supposed to have built the churches and installed the bells; bells were their most precious treasure. They did not believe in the true religion but worshipped idols and stones:

[539] "The ancient people killed people when they had a fiesta and made a feast over that body. That was their custom. They also killed an ox and then they ate it. They covered it with flowers and there they made their fiesta. With the fat of the animal they made candles which they lit for their idols."

The kings of the k'uaŋári set the boundaries of the existing towns and placed the border stones. Some of their deeds are still remembered. They named the towns, they left their imprints on a number of stones, and made war on neighboring kings. The point stressed in the stories is the destruction of these beings because of their lack of religion: they were "unbaptized humans" or "big devils". In order to put an end to this state of affairs, God decided to bless the world. This event is described in some tales as a destruction by fire, in others by water, in the latter case being identified either with the flood or with the formation of Lake Pátzcuaro.

The stories in which the giants are alive before the flood attribute the destruction of the world to their heathenness:

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539 which the people had to suffer. Then God gave His permission and the Devil made the volcano at once."

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"In the plain where the volcano burst forth there was a cross which the missionary fathers had buried because there was a danger in that plain. A man from Parícutin was working that land; when he was plowing he saw the cross. He did not approve of it, he called a friend, dug, and took an arm from the cross; he chopped it off. Inside was a golden cross to keep the volcano from breaking forth. They took it out and broke a wooden cross which was on top of the golden one and the agraristas burned it. Then the volcano erupted. They say that because the people from Parícutin were so bad and broke the cross, the volcano broke out. Before the volcano broke out, little figures were seen dancing, city-clothed people (*catrines*), and also four whirlwinds. Dionisio was getting close and felt the earth was hot so he said, 'Now it is going to break out; I better go.' And he heard a noise, *fu*! and smoke came out. When he arrived home it was already roaring."

• • • •

"Once when the people of Parícutin had a land dispute with those of San Juan, a priest had told the people to gather a lot of money and bury it there. So he put the money and on top of it a cross and he blessed it because he said that to him who hurt the cross or took the money out, God would send a punishment. Some agraristas felled the cross with an axe and took the money. Shortly thereafter the volcano broke out. And that is the reason."

• • • •

"The volcano appeared because the agraristas from Parícutin had felled a cross which had Holy Hosts inside. The cross was placed by a missionary father that same year so that no water snake [tornado] would fall there. They felled it and, the day after, the volcano was there."

668 798 538 The political conflict and the agrarista anticlericalism have thus produced an increase in the use of some themes of the traditional religious ideology, namely those which point out the wickedness of the people who oppose the Church and the cult.

On the subject of cargos the folk ideology maintains that they are necessary in order to enter heaven. However, we did not find this belief elaborated upon by the more traditional people in opposition to the militant Catholics who reject the car-

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668 gos.[4] Conversely, the militant Catholics do
798 not seem to use folk ideas in order to argue
their stand; we simply find disbelief in the
538 idea that the cargos have supernatural
sanctions. These Catholics are supported
by their priest who holds the same views.

Full agrarista material is lacking, for our collection was gathered in conservative villages. A volcano story was told by an agrarista from Charapan who had taken refuge in Cocucho. The tale demonstrates belief in religion and clearly condemns fiestas, making them the cause for the volcano, instead of blaming the agraristas as do most other stories. The agrarista policy of suppressing fiestas finds in this story a neat ideological justification:

539 "A bearded man appeared near San Juan before the eruption had started. He found a cowboy and asked him, 'Where are you going?' 'I am looking for some oxen,' he said. 'Well, haven't you seen them where you have been?' 'No, I have not.' 'Well, look here. After all, nobody is going to take them. I want you to do an errand for me. There is a hole back there where you were. Go and step on it and you will find a man. Tell him that I need him.'

"The cowboy went there, but the hole was too small to get into, so he went back to tell the bearded man. 'Sure you can get in,' he replied. 'You just step hard on it.' The boy did so and he sank. He arrived at a big house, where he told the man there what he was ordered to say: 'A bearded man sends me to tell you that he needs you.' 'What is the matter, then?' 'I don't know. I was looking for some animals when he found me and sent me on this errand.' 'Let's go then.'

"And they went out and they arrived where the bearded man was. He said that he wanted this man from the underworld to destroy the town of San Juan before the time came for the fiesta. 'But I cannot do that!' 'Sure, you can. You must destroy the town before the holy day so that no fiesta will be made.' And so they left, and the cowboy left, too, and he found the oxen where the bearded man had told him.

The bearded man was God and the other one was the Devil. God didn't want any more fiestas in San Juan, because the poor people went there and spent so much money because everything was very expensive. Besides, they were robbed even within the Church, and so the poor people were left without any money at all. That's why God destroyed everything."

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4. It should be noted that no particular effort was made to obtain them. Neither, however, was an effort made to get the anti-agrarista motives which so often appeared.

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668 538 Not enough data are available for us to say whether or not stories of this type are as common among the agraristas as the anti-agrarista motifs are frequent among the opposite party. The existing material suggests that such is not the case. Agrarista informants tell the same stories and experiences as the more conservative informants, whose stories sanction folk culture values. Their political position shows rather in the attitude with which they tell the story, one of disbelief.

* * *

771 538 Tarascan religious ideas and folklore sanction the Church and the proper observance of the cult, both in their local (folk culture) and national aspects.

The stories and case histories collected show an abundant use of religious motifs to point out the wickedness of the anticlerical agraristas. Those stories are told from the point of view of the traditional folk culture. The militant Catholics who are partly in conflict with that folk culture also tell such stories, for they attack their agrarista adversaries and sanction allegiance to the Church with which they are closely connected. In that aspect (cargos) in which they oppose the traditional folk culture, they do not use religious motifs except in that they support the priest who denies the need for this activity. Their attitude is one of lack of belief in those traditional ideas which sanctioned the sponsorship of festivals. They, like the agraristas, show a lack of belief in the traditional concepts of folk religion.

The Ideology of the Folk Religion in Decline: Attitudes of Belief

771 The social content of the religious ideology having been examined, we can now discuss how the change in this ideology is expressed in different belief attitudes which consequently involve changes in the meaning, use and function of a given religious concept or myth. We shall find different attitudes as to belief, and we shall try to correlate them with the economic and political tendencies discussed in previous chapters. We shall see how the breaking down of a folk religion involves a change from total belief in the content of the folk religious concepts and myths, towards skepticism, disbelief, and acceptance of outside (national) opinions. This change is not gradual and uniform, but results in extreme attitudes which can be

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771 correlated with the different parties in the political conflict.

In the previously presented outline of that part of the religious ideology which is related to the concepts of good and evil, the material was arranged by the author and discussed as though it were a single body of opinion, attitude, and beliefs. Actually, what any single Indian knows and believes is not so well integrated. In reality there are great differences in the kind of material any one individual knows and is able to supply. A discussion of variability in folklore could be made in terms of individual participation in this aspect of culture; the different individuals' knowledge of folklore could be related to sex, age, status, personality, and other factors. Such a discussion is not attempted in this paper.

One also finds great variability in the attitude toward the folklore material any one particular individual knows. This has already been pointed out in discussing types of narratives. What to one informant may be a true happening which God allowed to take place so that men can learn how to behave, to another is a fictitious story told for fun. What some tell as powerful and true manifestations of the supernatural, others tell jokingly as something which superstitious people do and believe.

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These different belief attitudes are related to folk and national levels of culture (particularly in religion), and to the social and political groups described in previous chapters.

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We have been describing the change processes in terms of three main tendencies: (1) the traditionalist — following and advocating strict adherence to the values of traditional folk culture, even to the extent of opposing the priest; (2) the agrarista (agrarian reformer)—anticlerical and the most closely connected with policies of the national government; and (3) the militant Catholic. The last, reacting against the economic and religious agrarista policies, but partially in conflict themselves with the traditional folk culture, tend to follow a more orthodox Catholicism, and in national politics, connect themselves with the Church and the sinarquista movement.

In the ideological realm, as to the question of how much people believe in the content of their folk religion, we can also describe three attitudes which correspond to the above socio-political tendencies: (1) Correlated with the traditionalist group is an attitude characterized by total belief in

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538 Mateo likes to tell long and elaborate entertainment stories. When a myth is not quite believed and becomes entertainment, wonder stories seem to be preferred. Also stories learned in school or read from books are highly appreciated. In Jarácuaro (874 inhabitants) two copies of the *Arabian Nights* were located in the possession of literate informants. Some other informants gave stories from that source, considering it among their best. Some were aware of the provenience of the story, but not others.

Experiences with the supernaturals which express this attitude of doubt are often told. Manuel, after telling of a supposed magician, says, "I wonder if this is true or if they just go around playing the suckers." Not only are some experiences doubted; one hears "false experiences" which ridicule certain beliefs. They cause great hilarity and it is to be supposed that they spread skepticism. Some examples follow:

539 771 A woman once told her brother that her husband had gone to the mountains in order to ask the Devil for money. Her brother thought, I am going to answer. He went after his brother-in-law and he heard him shouting, 'Devil, Devil. I want money.' His brother-in-law spoke to him. 'Come here then.' And when he came near to him, he beat him with a whip and he told him, 'Here you have your money.' The other fellow ran to his house and he was so ashamed that when his brother-in-law arrived he went to the attic.

• • •

A widow asks the sexton if the dead really come back at Hallowe'en, so that she can wait for her husband. The sexton instructs her to wait for him and have ready brandy and other things he liked to eat. In the night the sexton goes to the house and passes as the husband and asks for money and brandy. When he leaves he is drunk and falls asleep on the street. Next morning the woman leaves the house and finds that the man she thought was her husband has not been able to go back to the dead. She sees it is the sexton. "You damn —. This man made a fool of me." She takes a stick and beats him and the sexton runs away. And from that day she does not ask any more questions about the dead.

• • •

A boy's sweetheart gives him some food. He suspects she might be trying to bewitch him and takes the food to BA (the town's best known witch). BA tells him the food is dangerous and he keeps it to bury it. When

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", *i. e.*, compacts with the Devil.

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754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
778 behind the Church to make a compact with
the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
condemned them together with other devils to
539 go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
storm destroyed the cave. They said many
783 people were seen leaving the mountain; they

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648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient.

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it.

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces.

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri.

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

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The Town's ? 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
538

The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

? [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

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[p. 146a]

535 as it is evident that they contain much literary
538 echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived
796 from literary sources. As considerable portions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín Rangel, assistant on the project, who participated in both dances in 1940–41, it was felt the expense of securing the complete *relatos* was not warranted.

535 The following is the *relato* of Agustín
796 Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given, but punctuation added):

539

First act: Music, followed by a song

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
Las Azuceñas puras y olorosas
Colores en su tallo vacilante,
Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
Se Abren, Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song

Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustin's part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
Divina criatura,
Te doy mi cariño . . .
(Second speaking part:)
Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
Y el sauce a la orrilla del torrente,
Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
Y asi los campos de verdor revistas
Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gustó y con amor a ofrecer passemos
Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(The following is sung as they pretend to make offerings):

Ante tus plantas postrado
Te ofrece aqui este negrito
Recibe me niño amado
Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
Con suelo y amor;
Escucha mi canto
Niño Salvador.
Benedice toditos,

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[p. 146 b]

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Divino Creador.
Se van los negritos
Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand.
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou causest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by Agustín are the following (given in English):

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in Bethlehem.
I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle, a dog, and different playthings.)

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The main part of the *relato* is recited by a person known as *el letra* and another called *el segundo*. These two stand at the head of the

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[p. 148b]

THE PASTORELA

535 The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is also performed at Christmas time. The dance
796 is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are
857 the *uanánčes*, the four girls (six according to other accounts) who have taken incense and flowers to the church during the year and performed other services at the church. Generally they are about 10 years of age. Usually the girls have been vowed to the service by their parents as the result of illness or some other misfortune threatening the child. The time of the dance is sometimes called the fiesta of pajáču (meaning not secured).

The *uanánčes* invite a number of other girls to participate, 12 in all being needed. The girls invited by the *uanánčes* have no responsibilities other than dancing, but each of the *uanánčes* must feed the group for 1 day. The *uanánčes* also select adults to represent the parts of the devil and the hermit and also select the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of course, are borne by their parents) also have music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the *catrin*, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with straw hats adorned with artificial flowers (actually the style is not citified, but is rural Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not performed in 1940 and the actual dance could not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the performance. One of the songs collected (for
535 the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows
539 (spelling as given):
796

A que noche tan cremoza
Ensillad mi buen caballo
Que en Belen nos conbida de Salvador
Muy lejos tieras bengo
Agosar de una pasiada
Con gusta y contento
A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
Saddle my good horse,
For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
To very distant lands I will arrive.
I will enjoy a journey,
With pleasure and content
To bring together my cattle.

535 796 pairs, speaking a *relato* referring to events that had happened in those days. Then they sang a song, making another circuit. After this, the Three Kings marched between the files to the opposite end, where they were met by one of the pairs, the shepherdesses first. The Kings returned to their position, followed by the pair of dancers. Each dancer then spoke a brief verse, telling what he had brought to the Christ Child. The Kings answered. The others sang without words during this event except while the dancers spoke. This was repeated for each pair of dancers.

A pair of dancers from each end of the line now passed down the files until they met one another. Each pair held hands and danced in a circle, then reversed to the original position. The pairs then returned to their position and were followed by the others until all had danced. The *letra* then spoke a closing piece, telling everyone they should be gay. After this, each pair in succession danced a *jarabe* between the files from one end to the other. If a dancer performed very well and with much spirit, the others cried out in a falsetto voice. Sometimes they did this anyway for pleasure.

535 539 796 The *relato* of the *letra* or leader in 1940 was that composed by Gregorio Castillo and went as follows (spelling and punctuation as given):

No duda, bien lo Sabeis
Mis respetables ancianos;
El 25 del mes,
De Diciembre en la leccion:
Bajo hay del alto cielo,
Han acer en esta suela
Nuestro Dios de predencia.
Al instante los pastores,
Sabidos del gran portento;
Salen preste en el momento,
A visitar el Señor.
Dejando el campo y ganado
Asi como sus cabañas;
Ven por bosques y montanas,
Y con crecido contento,
van a ver el nacimiento
Del Niño Jesus amado.
Cuando contaba ocho dias
De nacido el Niño Amado
Fue tambien cir convencido
El verdadero mexias.
Compañeros Veteranos,
Recordar el 6 de enero
Fiesta de la epiphania,
Fue de gloria el feliz dia;

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[p.1516]

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Del bellisimo lucero,
Fue la manifestacion,
Del Niño Dios y Señor;
Por eso con todo amor,
Vamos a su adoracion.

Canto: 1ª caminata

Salid presuros,
Las glorias cantandos;
Al Nino en sal sando
Cantos de amor.

1ª Relato

Tambien Los Reyes de Oriente,
Manchan en este momento;
De Dios Niño al Nacimiento,
A ver a mi portente.
Luz de vina los va guindo
Y van a la adoracion,
En tan feliz ocasion,
La gloria le van cantando.

Ofrecimiento—Canto

Pasad al monto,
Con gusto y amor,
Ofrecer al Niño,
Amor y consuelo.
Ofrece
Te veo en humildes pajitas,
Y me postre en el instante,
Yo te adoro Nino Amante,
Y te ofresco estas conchitas.
(Pide el baile al terminar los ofrecimientos de todos.)

Baile

Pues todos nos complacemos
Yavimos tu Nacimiento
Y Todos con gusto estamos
Porque felices seremos;—
Niño Dios, bello portento,
En grupo todos nos vamos;
Al terminar la Vecita;
Mas en nuestros corazones;
Todos Fidos te llevarnos;
Jamas, jamas nos olvides,
Hoy te dicen toditos,
Hasta el año Venidero
Mas todos con Alegria
Vimos ya tus Maravillas:
¡Oh! Ninito Salvador,
Permitanos gran Senor,
Que con gusta te bailemos
Unos alegres cuadrillas;
En tan felices momentos
Adios digo companeros,
Toquen ya los instrumentos
Y los sones abajemos—

Despues del Canto

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 152a]

Sierra Tarascans

Musica

535 Ya nos retiremos,
539 Del lugar Sagrado;
796 Llovando nos vamos,
!Oh! Jesus amado.

TRANSLATION

Do not doubt it, well you know it,
My respectable ancients,
The 25th of the month
Of December in the location
There below the high heavens
Has been born on this earth
Our Lord who takes precedence.
Instantly the shepherds,
Knowing of the great portent,
Started quickly at that moment
To visit the Lord.
Leaving the fields and the cattle
As well as their cabins;
They went through woods and mountains,
And with growing contentment,
Went to see the birth
Of the beloved Child Jesus.
When eight days were counted
From the birth of the beloved Child,
Likewise were made neighborly
The true union [meaning unclear].
Veteran comrades,
Remember the sixth of January
Feast of the Epiphany,
That happy day was glorious.
From the beautiful morning star
Came the manifestation
Of the Child, God and Lord;
For this with all love
We go to adore Him.

1st walking interval. Song

Go forth hastily
Singing the glories;
To the Child raising
Songs of love.

1st relation

Also the Kings of the East
March at this moment;
Of God the Child at the birthplace
To see my portent.
Divine Light guided them
And they went to the adoration,
On such a happy occasion,
They went singing the glories.

Offering—Song

Pass to the amount [meaning unclear]
With pleasure and love,
Offer to the Child
Love and consolation.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.1526]

The Offering

535 I see Thee on humble straw
And I prostrate myself instantly,
●539 I adore Thee, loving Child,
And I offer Thee these little shells.
796 (The dance is asked for when the offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
Now we have seen your birth,
And all are pleased
Because we will be happy.
Child God, beautiful portent,
Together we all go
To put an end to the visit.
Moreover in our hearts
All faithful we carry Thee.
Never, never forget us,
Today all tell Thee,
Until the coming year,
But all with joy,
Now we have seen your marvels;
Oh, little Child Savior,
Permit us great Lord,
That with pleasure we dance for Thee
Some joyous quadrilles.
In such happy moments,
I say "farewell companions."
Let the instruments play
And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning not clear—possibly *abajeños* is meant, not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
From the Sacred place.
Weeping [?] we go,
Oh! beloved Jesus.

535 The style of delivery of these *relatos* was
538 highly declamatory and monotonous. The
796 words were spoken in a level tone without inflection or other interpretation of their meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual *relatos* was secured. One dancer said he was very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground. If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was going to the place of the Holy Child anyway. Another said that if he got tired walking, he would go on his knees to visit the Child, even though they were scratched. Yet another complained of his high squeaky voice, but even if his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

538 sions, however, give only one destruction of the world, equating the flood with the
773 advent of Christianity, or depriving this last event of its catastrophic character.

Flood stories include a typical Mesoamerican tale—that the survivor of the flood was transformed into a dog because he started a fire. Since the cause of the transformation was disobedience to the Christian God, who had forbidden starting a fire without his command, the story thus becomes integrated with the good and evil theme:

[539] ". . . down came the angel and kicked him once and again and said, 'This is so that you understand. You have not obeyed me.' And the man began to cry like a dog and the angel said, 'You will be a dog and in punishment you will have to take care of the house.' And this is why there are dogs."

Several stories and beliefs deal with the *k'uaŋári*, or giants, the people who lived before the advent of Christianity. The k'uaŋári had very great strength. They built what are now the ruins of pre-Spanish sites, and also are supposed to have built the churches and installed the bells; bells were their most precious treasure. They did not believe in the true religion but worshipped idols and stones:

[539] "The ancient people killed people when they had a fiesta and made a feast over that body. That was their custom. They also killed an ox and then they ate it. They covered it with flowers and there they made their fiesta. With the fat of the animal they made candles which they lit for their idols."

The kings of the k'uaŋári set the boundaries of the existing towns and placed the border stones. Some of their deeds are still remembered. They named the towns, they left their imprints on a number of stones, and made war on neighboring kings. The point stressed in the stories is the destruction of these beings because of their lack of religion: they were "unbaptized humans" or "big devils". In order to put an end to this state of affairs, God decided to bless the world. This event is described in some tales as a destruction by fire, in others by water, in the latter case being identified either with the flood or with the formation of Lake Pátzcuaro.

The stories in which the giants are alive before the flood attribute the destruction of the world to their heathenness:

773 539 "T'aiésača are the idols worshipped by ancestors, those who lived before the flood. They had no images [saints]; the t'aiésača were their saints. When God decided to end the world he told Adam and Eve . . . he believed but the others didn't . . ." [At this point in the story the flood occurs.]

Another short statement says:

". . . With the flood the k'uanári were extinguished. Don Antonio Siuangua [Jarácuaro's king] was a k'uanári. They didn't believe in religion [i.e., Catholicism]; that's why there was the flood. They danced naked and they had no fear of God. I think it was something like those sexy dances they say they have in Morelia or Mexico City where people dance stark naked."

In other stories the giants were destroyed when the world was blessed. Sometimes this is described as a destruction by fire. In some statements God himself came to bless the world and introduce Christianity. In others this task is ascribed to Jesus, Saint James or Saint Peter. In still others, the advent of Christianity was the work of a priest or of Vasco de Quiroga.

When the world was thus blessed, the giants buried themselves with their implements and they became stones, the idols and tools that now come to light when the land is tilled. The reason for their hiding lay in their old religion and failure to accept Christianity:

"They lived in error." "They buried themselves [because] persecuted by the Belief [i.e., Christianity]." "That happened to them because they didn't want to see the blessing of the world."

The more elaborate stories refer to the particular way in which the kings of the k'uanári in Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio fled from the Faith to become enchanted in different places. Those who accepted Christianity were saved and became the ancestors of the present people:

"Some people got the blessing from the priest [Don Vasco] while others died alone because of their ignorance. The former are in heaven now while the others are buried with their belongings."

775 The Tarascans firmly believe in man's survival after death. The basis for this belief lies in man's division into body and soul. The soul for the Tarascan resides in the heart, and the word heart (*minzíta*) stands also for soul; while the other words

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaíri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

753 828 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is about to leave his body. "My heart [*i.e.*, soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of 775 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God, 773 decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

539 those who die in the lake. God told him He wouldn't give him all those, because so many people die like that that there would be nobody left for Him. He would give him only those with great sin. They also agreed that they would weigh those who die in an accident, and if they were heavier than the Devil he would take them; if lighter, God would take them. And this is the agreement they had. All people who die in an accident have to be weighed to see to whom they fall."

773 775 Other stories and statements elaborate further this myth. Two concepts determine this destiny: a mechanical one, according to the circumstances of death and without moral meaning; and a second one wherein the future of the dead is a consequence—reward or punishment—of their behavior in the present world. This last concept prevails.

In what we call the mechanical concept, we include the idea that those who die in an accident (fall, run over by an automobile, etc.), or drown in the lake, go to hell, or have to be weighed in order to determine their destiny. Other ways of meeting death can determine automatically the destiny of the dead person: *e.g.*, death in fights or as result of drunkenness. In this case, however, a moral factor is involved, in that drunkenness and fighting are considered bad or sinful. Similarly, children automatically go to heaven and become little angels. The reason is that they die before they are old enough to commit sin. As one informant puts it: "They don't say *disparates* [obscene, sinful words; swearing] and they have no sins."

As a general rule, however, the destiny of the dead is determined by their good or bad behavior in this world. A balance has to be drawn between a person's good and bad actions to see if his next abode is heaven or hell. A typical statement follows:

[539] "Those who drown are doomed, and also those who die in drunkenness. Those who kill a person are doomed, and the priests do not allow them to confess, except when they take charge of the dead person's children and dress them and look after them as their own father would. Those dead 'in vice' are doomed, too."

The idea of purgatory is not ommon in folk stories and belief, although of course it is taught in church.

[539] "Dead children go to heaven until the age when they learn to swear; they have no sins.

773
775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand,
[735] if one gives alms to beggars, they will speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized,
[788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 still alive in town, and one particular man
775 who had been drowned in the lake was there wrapped in a blanket and dead drunk.

In the experiences of revived people, we also find the theme of coming back to the world in order to correct or help correct bad behavior:

[539] "A woman was dead for three hours. She was ordered to come back to this world in order to go to her son who had abandoned his wife and was living with another woman. She was ordered to tell her son that he should take his wife again and only then would he be forgiven and would he be able to reach purgatory. When the woman saw them living together again, she then died."

In another case the dead person has to come back to life in order to have the mass said which he had promised to Saint Francis.

Besides coming back to life, the dead appear to living persons in dreams or otherwise in order to ask them to correct their bad behavior. In one case a dead man appears to his friend and says:

[539] "Doroteo, Doroteo, don't be afraid. It's me, your friend Refugio. Come with me where I have my money. Hidden as it is, nobody profits from it and God does not want to forgive me because of that money which I have like that and nobody finds it. Come so that you can tell my wife and then you can take as much as you want."

The man (Doroteo) had almost decided to go but suddenly he was scared and ran away.

In another case, a married couple had
[428] adopted a boy. The man had promised to give him the kitchen as inheritance, but when the man died the woman did not give the kitchen to the boy:

[539] "She dreamed of her husband; she dreamed he was in hell and was taken to be burned. He told her it was her fault, that because she didn't give the kitchen to the boy they were taking him to be burned and that she should give it to him. Then an angel came and arranged the whole thing so he didn't go to the burning because he had repented. 'That's what I dreamed,' the woman says, 'and I think it's true.'"

A similar case is that of the dead bandit who had buried his money. His ghost keeps calling people to take the money and have some mass said for him.

775 An interesting theme is that of the dead
773 who come back to earth in order to return stolen property. The following case is among the most significant, socially speaking, in our collection:

539 "There was a hacienda steward who was very good to the peons. He used to take handfuls of corn to give them, because at that time the people were very poor and he felt sorry for them. When he died he had no sins, so he went right to heaven, because the only sin he had committed was that of giving corn by handfuls to the peons without the permission of his master. God told him that was bad because he gave away the corn without his master's permission, and he would have to go back to earth to account for what he had done.

"So he fell in the center of the hacienda courtyard and he went to his house where he used to live and said, 'My children, here I am come back.' And his wife said, 'O my dear, how right you were to come back; you are the only one I love. Besides, everyone is unhappy around here because now there is nobody to give food to them like you used to do.' But then he said, 'Look here, I came only to attend to this; you should know what happened to me up there in heaven. I came to pay my master back so that God can forgive my sin. This is why I advise you not to do what I used to do but always act like the master tells you. Now I will have to go to the fields to pay my master back.'

"So he went to see his master, and said, 'Look here, sir, I used to take handfuls of corn and beans to give to the peons and this is why I missed heaven. Now you will have to put me to work so I can pay you back. And this is what God sent me to do, to tell you.'

"He was given the oxen and the plow and he spent all his time working. He never went to his home, and he never ate; nobody could see where he was or where he went, and he was always bareheaded. Until at last he fulfilled his debt to his master. Then he went again to his house and said, 'Now my children, I am through with my debts and I can go up again.' He went to a chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and knelt and said, 'My Mother of Guadalupe, I have already paid this debt I owed my master. Let me go to heaven, show me the road, my Mother.' And the roof opened and he rose right to heaven; everybody could see him.

"And this is why they said it is such a great sin to take what does not belong to one."

775 In a similar story, the woman servant who
773 used to cheat her master had to come back and work for him again until she paid

773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

* * *

776 An outline of the nature of the saints
and of the main features of their cult has
778 been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

Saints occasionally wander on earth.
776 The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

Tales about the activities of the saints
776 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding
789 the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

539 next day he got up and left. 'Well, the first person I meet, even if he is the Devil himself, that's the man I am going to ask for money.'

"He walked on and saw a well dressed man [*catrín*] riding a mule. The latter said, 'Where are you going, my friend?' 'There I go, sir; I left my house and I said the first man I meet I will tell my business.' 'Yes, what is it?' 'Well, this and this.' 'Well, man, I'll tell you something. If you give me the individual who comes out to meet you when you come from work, I will give you what you need.' The man thought he meant the dog that met him every day. He said, 'Yes, of course.' 'Then I will bring you the money, but the day I bring it, don't let your wife out. You must be the only one to come out to receive it.' So he went to his house and told his wife he was getting the money.

"Three nights went by, and at the fourth one he heard the bustle and cries of muleteers, 'Ah, mule!' Then they arrived at the house and the chief himself gave him the money. 'Where shall we put it?' 'There in that box.' And his wife was listening and said to her daughter, 'Listen, how much money. I wonder who he is.' So they poured out all the money and they left, and the mules, snorting, threw out lots of sparks. 'Sir,' the man said, 'I will have to have fireworks and have a bullfight, and bring some music.' 'I will bring you the bulls, toreador and everything. I will bring you the music and I will send you a man to make the fireworks for you.'

"Well, that's how it was. The day before the festival, the fireworks men arrived and there they made the fireworks in a minute. The music and the bulls arrived as well. Thus he made the fiesta. He went to the priest to give him the money for the mass, but the priest didn't want to accept it because he didn't recognize it. He saw it was no good. Well, the fiesta was finished and the day came when he had to deliver what he had pledged. The fiesta was over and he was as poor as before. He was sad when the day came. He had a daughter and it was she he had offered. The Devil when he brought the money told him, 'It's your daughter I want, not your dog as you thought.' 'Well, the money is already here, I will fulfill my pledge,' the man had answered.

"The day came and they left. They took the road the Devil had told him. They were on the road when they saw a little chapel. The daughter was very devout. She said, 'Father, let's go see that little chapel. Wait here for us.' The mother was with them. The man sat down and they went to the chapel. There was a Virgin; they prayed to her and the mother said, 'O most Holy Mother, I don't know where my

539 husband is taking me and my daughter. You are the one who should save us.' Well, they felt sleepy and they fell asleep right there in the chapel. And the image stood up and with another image, they both went out dressed as the woman and her daughter.

"They all went to the Devil's house, they got to a big gate made all of iron. They knocked and a servant came out. 'Is the great man here from his house?' 'Yes, he is here.' He went to the great Devil and said, 'They didn't look right to me, those people.' 'Go, then.' They went to open the gate and immediately after he saw them he turned his face and staying like this, back to them, he told the man, 'You should thank your daughter, because she is so devout; that's what saved you. These you bring me here are images; that's not what I had asked you. Go, leave then.' He shut the door and the man left, very thoughtful.

"On their way back his daughter asked him again to go to the chapel. Then the other women woke up and they went out to the father. When they left, the father said, 'Let's go, my daughter,' and they came to the house. It was then when they talked and the man notified his wife how everything had happened and he began to think and think and think, and it even cost him his life so much thinking of what he had done and what he had seen there in hell where he met the devils."

[This is alleged to be true; the informant does not remember in which town it happened.]

* * *

"A very poor man took the cargo of San Antonio. He said, 'Where am I going to get the money?' He went out to ask for money and he met a man on the road who asked him, 'Where are you going?' 'I am looking for work to see how much I can get in advance because I have a cargo.' 'Well, I will give you some money, come with me.' He was a well dressed white man [*catrín*]; he took the man to the cave and there he asked for what he needed. They told him, 'Don't worry. From here you will get the music, fireworks, and everything.' He came in and he saw the cave fixed up very pretty. He came and the music arrived, And the white man asked, 'Will you have a bullfight too, so that I can send the bulls?' 'Yes, we will have bullfighting for two days.' The catrín sent the bulls.

"When the fiesta was over the man went back to the cave in order to work and redeem his pledge, but in the place where he first was given to eat there were some old women grinding dirty things. They had told him he would have to spend some time in there and he thought he would like it. They told him,

539 'The first job you will have to do is to go fetch wood. Put these sandals on. When you wear them out you are free.' And the sandals were made of iron. He left very thoughtful and on his way he met a bearded man who asked him where he was going. The man told him the whole story. Asked the bearded one, 'Well, have you repented? Take the sandals off and go to the wood and when you come back I will give them back to you already worn out.' This bearded man must have been God; He made a miracle for him and He gave him the sandals all thin, so that man could get out very soon.

"The people in that place where they were grinding were the souls of the dead and they were as in hell or purgatory."

[776] In other miracles, God or the saints punish bad actions, mainly failure to comply promptly with the cult requirements. Nonfulfillment of a vow brings about an accident, caused by the saint as punishment. For example:

A man was going in pilgrimage to San Juan Parangaricutiro when he thought he had better go to Tingambato. He fell over a ravine with his donkeys and died shortly thereafter.

A woman was going to visit the Christ in Carácuaro when she felt tired and sat down and regretted having started the trip. She became enchanted in a nearby hill.

Another woman in a similar predicament became a stone when she complained of the trip. Dancers who perform before reaching the saint also become stone.

776 Other miracles punish sacrilegious actions of the sinners. For instance, a revolutionary colonel tried to chop off the head of the image of the Christ of Carácuaro. It bled and the colonel repented, but he became sick and suffered without being able to die until he asked for pardon.

Lack of concern for the saints is also punished. A man obtained wealth from Saint Anthony, but lost it when he forgot about the saint. Another man could not enter heaven because he found no saint to sponsor him, as he had no devotion.

* * *

In opposition to God and the saints, the Devil appears as the bad supernatural and advocate of bad behavior. The creation of the Devil has been mentioned before.

The Devil appears together with a host of demons of which he is king. These demons seem to be those given to him by God when he was created, the doomed souls. The pre-Christian people (k'uaŋári)

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668 against the traditional cargo system is
798 again discernible, although this time under the cloak of a more orthodox Catholicism. Thus people are divided according to their appreciation of some cultural institution: for cargos (traditionalist) or against them (agraristas and some militant Catholics); for the Church (traditionalists and militant Catholics) or aganist it (agraristas).

Since the ethical religious ideology sanctions those institutions thus in conflict, let us see how supernatural sanction of political groups is evidenced in folk narratives.

Corresponding to the general anti-agra-
183 rista trend, we find in the tales use of the good and evil theme in order to prove the
668 wickedness of the agraristas. A number of experiences in which people see the Devil take place in towns where the agraristas dominate, doubtless a reflection of the connection between the two evils.

At the time of our stay in Jarácuaro, the level of the lake was falling, leaving considerable extensions of land dry. At that time in Ihuatzio, which is strongly Catholic, an agrarista group was formed to get this land for themselves instead of sharing it with the whole town. News soon reached Jarácuaro that the Devil had been seen in Ihuatzio. The following market day in Pátzcuaro brought more complete news:

[539] "In Ihuatzio they saw the Devil. He came out of the mountains and he crossed the town
[776] through the center. He looked like a human, but had feet like those of donkeys. The people wanted to hit him, but they were not able to reach him. They say he came out because many have now become agraristas. In order to get the land at the lakeshore the town has split."

A similar story is told of another town:

539 "This is what happened to a man from Tócuaro when agrarismo was so powerful. This man remembered an errand he had to do at Pichátaro and he left; this was about eleven o'clock at night. He went down right to the road and there he saw a man on horseback. They greeted each other: 'Good evening.' 'Good evening.' 'Where are you going?' 'To Pichátaro.' 'I am going to Puácuaro. Shall we travel together?' 'All right. Let's go.'

"'Where do you come from?' the stranger asked. 'I come from Tócuaro, and you?' 'Well, I am here and there, sometimes in Tzurumútaro, sometimes in San Pedro, San Bartolo or Puácuaro; those are the towns where they like me best.' 'And what about Tócuaro?' 'No, you don't like me at all; you have there an old

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539 man who does not let me in.' [This is Saint Francis.] And the man from Tócuaro did not realize whom he was talking with. So they arrived at Arócutin where their roads separated and the stranger asked: 'Don't you want a cigarette?' 'Yes.' 'Here it is.' And when he lit the cigarette the man from Tócuaro saw his eyes which seemed to be burning, so bright they were. He threw the cigarette away and left. He had only walked a few steps when fright caught him. His hands and feet were sweating and he left the road and spent the night in the open. He did not arrive at Pichátaro until the next day and then he told what had happened to him."

668 776 San Bartolo, San Pedro, Tzurumútaro and Puácuaro are agrarista towns on the lakeshore; the Devil is welcome there. In Tócuaro, however, they are not agraristas; they follow their patron saint (Saint Francis), and the Devil cannot get in.

Similarly, in Tzurumútaro, another agrarista town, "there appeared an old woman who used to talk to men on the street corners. When she left she went to a ravine. She was a devil."

In Huecorio 'the Enemy' (euphemism for the Devil) came out one night roaring like a bull. The dogs went after him and he became a black dog dragging something like a long skin. He appeared one night after the church had been blessed and mass had been said for the first time. This was three years ago (i. e., 1942).

Agraristas are also mentioned in an experience of a man who, having come back to life after being dead for a few hours, reports having seen in hell the place prepared for burning the agraristas working the land in Copujo, Jarácuaro.

In one incantation, the spirits of the agrarista leader, Zapata, and the revolutionary bandit, Chávez García, are mentioned as bad spirits whose help is asked: "You brave spirits, which are now in the other life. Now, in this moment, come to me. You, spirits of Chávez García and Zapata."

In the following story, the supporter of the Church is miraculously saved from the agraristas:

539 "At the time when the priests were being persecuted, there was a man who defended the church very much. Nobody did anything to him; he was not burned nor anything. The agraristas put him in jail. He had spent three days in jail, and they wanted to convince him that if he would go on defending the Church

539 they were going to kill him, but if he did not, they would let him free. He said they had better kill him. So they were going to kill him. They told him: 'Tomorrow we are going to kill you; make up your mind.' And he said he had already made up his mind. It was night. An angel came and opened the doors. The man was asleep and the angel told him: 'Come, then. Get out.' So the man went out after him and he walked through where the soldiers were and not even one woke up. Next day the light broke out and the soldiers went to kill him and nobody was there and everything was locked up tight. Our Lord Saint Peter had left him on the outskirts of Rome. He went into the city and when the call for mass struck there he was. He heard the mass and he told the Pope everything that had happened, and the Pope said, 'Right now in your town they want to kill the soldiers because they did not pay attention. I am going to send word that you are here, not to kill them.' So, they did not kill them."

7 [668] [823] The anti-agrarista theme appears important in the tales about the Paricutin volcano.[3]

"At that time there were many agraristas. One man from Corupo spoke to a man from Paricutin, to another from San Juan, to still another from Zacán, and to a fourth from Zirosto. They got together and said, 'Let us go and steal the Holy Sacrament.' They went to San Juan and took it out from the church. And in the whole town only one man noticed that the Holy Sacrament was no longer there, but he was afraid of saying so lest the people blame him. He noticed on three days during mass that the Holy Sacrament was not there and at last he told some friends whom he trusted. The agraristas took the Holy Sacrament to Zacán and they wondered what to do with it. They spent some days in Zacán; then they went to Zirosto, and finally they took it to Paricutin in order to hide it. The owner of a land plot there was an agrarista, and he said, 'Well, as you don't know what to do with it, let us take it to my plot.' And they hid it there.

"And the Eternal God said, 'What shall I do with those people? They are the most wicked in the world. I don't know what to do with them.'

"Then the Devil appeared and said, 'There is a way.' 'How?' 'Sure, there is a way so that they shall suffer, but they will not be the only ones to suffer.' Then God said, 'Go then, but let me think it over for a month.' The Devil asked for too much, but at last they drew the line within

3. Tarascan stories about the volcano have been discussed by the author in a previous paper (Carrasco, 1946).

539 which the people had to suffer. Then God gave His permission and the Devil made the volcano at once."

* * * *

"In the plain where the volcano burst forth there was a cross which the missionary fathers had buried because there was a danger in that plain. A man from Paricutin was working that land; when he was plowing he saw the cross. He did not approve of it, he called a friend, dug, and took an arm from the cross; he chopped it off. Inside was a golden cross to keep the volcano from breaking forth. They took it out and broke a wooden cross which was on top of the golden one and the agraristas burned it. Then the volcano erupted. They say that because the people from Paricutin were so bad and broke the cross, the volcano broke out. Before the volcano broke out, little figures were seen dancing, city-clothed people (*catrines*), and also four whirlwinds. Dionisio was getting close and felt the earth was hot so he said, 'Now it is going to break out; I better go.' And he heard a noise, *fu*! and smoke came out. When he arrived home it was already roaring."

* * * *

"Once when the people of Paricutin had a land dispute with those of San Juan, a priest had told the people to gather a lot of money and bury it there. So he put the money and on top of it a cross and he blessed it because he said that to him who hurt the cross or took the money out God would send a punishment. Some agraristas felled the cross with an axe and took the money. Shortly thereafter the volcano broke out. And that is the reason."

* * * *

"The volcano appeared because the agraristas from Paricutin had felled a cross which had Holy Hosts inside. The cross was placed by a missionary father that same year so that no water snake [tornado] would fall there. They felled it and, the day after, the volcano was there."

The political conflict and the agrarista
668 anticlericalism have thus produced an in-
798 crease in the use of some themes of the
traditional religious ideology, namely
538 those which point out the wickedness of the people who oppose the Church and the cult.

On the subject of cargos the folk ideology maintains that they are necessary in order to enter heaven. However, we did not find this belief elaborated upon by the more traditional people in opposition to the militant Catholics who reject the car-

668 gos.[4] Conversely, the militant Catholics do
798 not seem to use folk ideas in order to argue
their stand; we simply find disbelief in the
538 idea that the cargos have supernatural
sanctions. These Catholics are supported
by their priest who holds the same views.

Full agrarista material is lacking, for our collection was gathered in conservative villages. A volcano story was told by an agrarista from Charapan who had taken refuge in Cocucho. The tale demonstrates belief in religion and clearly condemns fiestas, making them the cause for the volcano, instead of blaming the agraristas as do most other stories. The agrarista policy of suppressing fiestas finds in this story a neat ideological justification:

539 "A bearded man appeared near San Juan before the eruption had started. He found a cowboy and asked him, 'Where are you going?' 'I am looking for some oxen,' he said. 'Well, haven't you seen them where you have been?' 'No, I have not.' 'Well, look here. After all, nobody is going to take them. I want you to do an errand for me. There is a hole back there where you were. Go and step on it and you will find a man. Tell him that I need him.'

"The cowboy went there, but the hole was too small to get into, so he went back to tell the bearded man. 'Sure you can get in,' he replied. 'You just step hard on it.' The boy did so and he sank. He arrived at a big house, where he told the man there what he was ordered to say: 'A bearded man sends me to tell you that he needs you.' 'What is the matter, then?' 'I don't know. I was looking for some animals when he found me and sent me on this errand.' 'Let's go then.'

"And they went out and they arrived where the bearded man was. He said that he wanted this man from the underworld to destroy the town of San Juan before the time came for the fiesta. 'But I cannot do that!' 'Sure, you can. You must destroy the town before the holy day so that no fiesta will be made.' And so they left, and the cowboy left, too, and he found the oxen where the bearded man had told him.

The bearded man was God and the other one was the Devil. God didn't want any more fiestas in San Juan, because the poor people went there and spent so much money because everything was very expensive. Besides, they were robbed even within the Church, and so the poor people were left without any money at all. That's why God destroyed everything."

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4. It should be noted that no particular effort was made to obtain them. Neither, however, was an effort made to get the anti-agrarista motives which so often appeared.

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771 the folk religion and the content of folk-
668 lore. Most people, however, show a certain degree of disbelief. Among some (2) this goes with criticism of the Church and with the acceptance of the rational point of view taught in school. This attitude can be correlated with the agrarista position in politics. Among many people (3) some items of lore and religion are doubted or dismissed but always under the acceptance of basic religious tenets and of Church authority. The trend is thus towards a greater orthodoxy within Catholicism, by abandoning beliefs of the purely folk level. This is paralleled by the militant Catholic position in politics.

These three attitudes are ideal types in terms of which we describe individual behavior. In reality they are not necessarily pure nor does every individual connected with a particular political tendency have in every way the attitude which we correlate with that tendency. Individual differences are determined not only by political affiliation but also by personality and cultural participation in general.

771 In order better to see the balance of change we will discuss first the traditionalist position. This represents the folk culture point of view of the village community.

In the formal aspects of religion, the more conservative, traditionalist individuals or towns attach greater importance to private rituals like those connected with agriculture or witchcraft. Also, the religion based on the folk cult of the saints is the most important. These people insist on the need to continue cargos and fiestas. They oppose the priests who attempt to change this and scorn Catholics who do not care for cargos. In the field of belief, total belief in religious concepts and tales corresponds to the above attitudes. Cargos are believed to be a way of serving God and the saints, necessary to reach heaven.
[773] Myths are believed. Experiences with the supernatural are told as true happenings and even wonder stories are supposed to be true.

A few examples will illustrate this attitude:

539 Maximino tells how he has seen the Devil on two occasions, once as a woman and another time as a donkey. Once he discovered an attempt to bewitch him and in another case he caught a witch who had taken the shape of an owl. Once a heavy plank fell on him while he was building a house. He became unconscious

539 and when he came to he tells how he has been dead in the other world but was sent back to life because his time had not yet come. Once in the night he was followed by a ghost trying to harm him. As a young man, he owned a dead man's finger which can be used to unlock doors. He did not want to tell the author the prayer which has to be said in order to use the finger. He did not want to have it published, because then people would use it and he would be responsible for their sins.

He thinks corn should be carefully handled; it's bad to throw it on the ground. "Corn is one's own life. That is what God Our Lord did: It is our Life. Adam sinned because Eve made him sin, and the Lord told him, 'Now you are going to work and sweat; take this adze, this spade, and this seed so that you can eat from your sweat.' When corn lies on the ground, it cries and that is not good. We mistreat it and that is bad, because it is our life, our food. Some people say they earn their living with their work, but that is only because God allowed us to be able to work. Were it not for that we would do nothing."

773 824 This explanation contrasts strongly with the attitude of other people who laugh when asked if it is bad for corn to lie on the ground.

Maximino draws morals from his stories:

[539] A man who tries to reach the end of the world dies very old before he can reach it. This teaches man that he should not attempt to learn certain things which are only God's. He tells the story of the rich man's son who leaves his house to become poor and has to be taken back home by his father. Also that of the man who tries to kill his wife he wrongly thinks unfaithful because of a friend's slander. She survives, dresses as a man, and manages to become king. Then she finds that her former husband, who has repented, has become the town drunkard.

Are these stories true? Of course; "these stories are real happenings which God allowed to happen in order that we might learn how to behave." (Mateo, on the other hand, tells this last story as fiction.)

539 Clemente tells how Saint Peter came to town descending from heaven. No doubt about it; his grandfather saw it.

Agustin tells how the ancients of Ihuatzio were enchanted and the treasures buried in the ruins. A boy had a chance to disenchant a girl and the money, but he failed when he could not carry to church the girl who had turned into

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539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found
181 only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credul-
178 ous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

"Who knows, really?" or "Who knows
821 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world,
812 the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

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538 Mateo likes to tell long and elaborate entertainment stories. When a myth is not quite believed and becomes entertainment, wonder stories seem to be preferred. Also stories learned in school or read from books are highly appreciated. In Jarácuaro (874 inhabitants) two copies of the *Arabian Nights* were located in the possession of literate informants. Some other informants gave stories from that source, considering it among their best. Some were aware of the provenience of the story, but not others.

Experiences with the supernaturals which express this attitude of doubt are often told. Manuel, after telling of a supposed magician, says, "I wonder if this is true or if they just go around playing the suckers." Not only are some experiences doubted; one hears "false experiences" which ridicule certain beliefs. They cause great hilarity and it is to be supposed that they spread skepticism. Some examples follow:

539 771 A woman once told her brother that her husband had gone to the mountains in order to ask the Devil for money. Her brother thought, I am going to answer. He went after his brother-in-law and he heard him shouting, 'Devil, Devil. I want money.' His brother-in-law spoke to him. 'Come here then.' And when he came near to him, he beat him with a whip and he told him, 'Here you have your money.' The other fellow ran to his house and he was so ashamed that when his brother-in-law arrived he went to the attic.

• • •

A widow asks the sexton if the dead really come back at Hallowe'en, so that she can wait for her husband. The sexton instructs her to wait for him and have ready brandy and other things he liked to eat. In the night the sexton goes to the house and passes as the husband and asks for money and brandy. When he leaves he is drunk and falls asleep on the street. Next morning the woman leaves the house and finds that the man she thought was her husband has not been able to go back to the dead. She sees it is the sexton. "You damn —. This man made a fool of me." She takes a stick and beats him and the sexton runs away. And from that day she does not ask any more questions about the dead.

• • •

A boy's sweetheart gives him some food. He suspects she might be trying to bewitch him and takes the food to BA (the town's best known witch). BA tells him the food is dangerous and he keeps it to bury it. When

771 the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an easy life, that of a sorcerer.'
[539]

This basic trend of change is found in both convinced agraristas and militant
771 Catholics, but there are also differences
178 which warrant a discussion.

The disbelief attitude is sometimes pushed to an extreme, including doubt as to
668 religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

These people scorn the others as super-
178 stitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experi-
771 ences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

". . . And as in this town there are a lot
[539] of superstitious people, the following day . . . the woman praying the rosary began shouting
[781] and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of blood because Saint Peter had left . . . And what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

For the militant Catholics, agraristas
771 are nothing but atheists. They describe them as people who have no religion, as is
668 proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", i. e., compacts with the Devil.

• • • •

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
behind the Church to make a compact with
the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to
go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
783 storm destroyed the cave. They said many
people were seen leaving the mountain; they

821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

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648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

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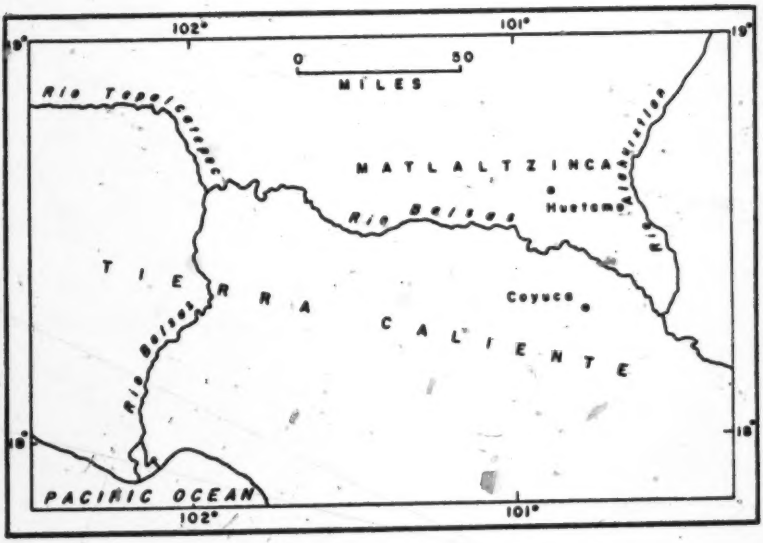
of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style. 115 539

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author. 539 126

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual 195 114



102 103 131 133 361

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison. 539 114

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[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 [128] [173] [167] The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their presumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

[175] Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 805 [175] The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 796 793 173 292 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the nation and its princes.

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nation and its princes. This account forms the principal part of the *Relación* and refers to the marvels of creation performed by their god, Curicaueri. The miracles of the creation are told in the countryside between Lake Pátzcuaro and Lake Cuitzeo as the tale of the birth of Cueróhperi.

The Legend

In the beginning of time there was no light. The silent dwelling place of Curicaueri, the only god at that time, was full of minute (atómica) material which slowly moved around without any order or harmony. Curicaueri realized that his enormous circular eyes could not penetrate the darkness nor contemplate infinity; therefore he created four orbs of light, each burning in one of the cardinal points of the universe, and light existed.

Great shapeless masses from the depths now were reflected in the eyes of the powerful god. From some of the mass, Curicaueri created Huriata, the sun god, naming him father and overseer of the universe. Then Huriata formed the heavenly bodies, ordering that they light the heavens in their own manner.

Thus day and night came into the world.

Through his golden mask Curicaueri smiled upon seeing the light of the four orbs, and, viewing the orderliness which Huriata had given to the universe, he desired to reward Huriata. Thus he created the moon goddess, Cutzi, and presented her to Huriata to take as his wife.

The contact of the two – Father Sun and the Mother Moon – brought darkness to the cosmos. From the two joined bodies, three rays of light broke forth upon the firmament to form three concentric circles around the dusky body of Cutzi.

From the three circles was born Cueróhperi (the creative principle or Mother Nature), the daughter whom Father Sun endowed with beauty and wisdom.

The three rays of light were extended through space, and they caused colors to be reflected from the heavenly bodies and the organized atoms.

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Curicaueri had created light; Cutzi and Huriata created harmony.

Curicaueri heard the hymn which the heavenly bodies intoned in their course through the sky. In addition, the slow, rhythmic beats of the atoms added to his conviction that his work was perfect. Retiring to his dwelling place amidst the four orbs, he sat upon his crossed legs and assumed a contemplative attitude. From this vantage point he beheld Cueróhperi, and, upon seeing how beautiful she was, he launched from his eyes four beams of light which shielded her from the sight of the world. One beam rested upon Cueróhperi's forehead, another upon her heart, another upon her hands, and the last upon her womb.

The daughter of Huriata felt herself pregnant. Below on earth, amidst the crashing of a furious tempest, she gave birth to the mountains, the seas, the lakes, the trees, and the flowers. Father Huriata and Mother Cutzi carefully attended Cueróhperi throughout her ordeal and afterwards maintained the closest vigilance over her, he by day and she by night. The gift of fertility which Curicaueri had given Cueróhperi made her always encumbered with the responsibility of deliverance.

Next she gave birth to the animals of the earth. Then came mankind, to whom she gave wisdom and the name of Purépecha.

The wisdom of the Purépecha was so great that they immediately began to govern the land with a knowing hand, cultivating and populating it in every direction. They created art and brought forth musical tones on magnificent instruments, such as the sweet-sounding ocarina and the sonorous *quiringua*. They painted with the colored plumes of birds, and they worked with stones to construct their dwelling place.

Very soon these men learned of their origin and displayed their gratitude to the gods by making sumptuous altars where they could worship the images of their gods. Curicaueri was represented as seated, with eyes and ears of the finest polished gold. They wished to denote that, in addition to being invisible, he had large eyes and ears in order to see and hear the sufferings of mankind. Besides this deity, the only things capable of seeing human beings

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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient.

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it.

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces.

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri.

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

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The Legend

After traveling for many years, centuries perhaps, the Purépecha arrived at the banks of Lake Pátzcuaro. During their lengthy migration those who had departed from the land of their origin as small children grew into manhood; the virile men grew old; and the old ones fell to the earth like trees before the tempestuous hurricane.

Sons of the sons of the original emigrants were those who finally beheld the blue sky and green mountains reflected in the crystal ripples of the lake.

Around the campfire the forefathers traditionally related that far behind lay the land which was lighted at night by the four mysterious orbs, or stars. In their travels the Purépecha had journeyed near the mountains which vomited fire, where Father Huriata had his abode. Next they had passed through dense woods and stayed for awhile in the region where the two oceans were visible – one ocean giving birth to light and the other engendering the shades of darkness. Upon their departure they circled the destroyed cities of Copán and Quirigua in the ancient empire of the Maya and passed the sacred city of Mictlan. From this point they crossed the waters of Tzacatollan upon rafts of hewn logs and, after walking for many moons, finally arrived in a fertile land. The mild climate, fragrant air, and richness of the fruit tempted them to remain here forever.

After traveling for many years, centuries, perhaps, the Purépecha had learned many things from the various peoples who had given them shelter and hunting privileges within their dominions.

From the remote villages the Purépecha learned about the course of the heavenly bodies and the change of the seasons. Also they were taught how to work in stone, to mold clay, to cook venison over a fire, and to weave the fibers of plants. Above all else they worshipped the goddess Cueróhperi, who created all earthly things, and Huriata, who cared for them by day, and Cutzi, who watched over them by night.

When they arrived before Lake Pátzcuaro, they beheld with

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539 173 amazement this marvelous spectacle of blue. The people roamed about briefly before choosing Tarerio as the site for their village. Fish and game abounded here in quantities beyond imagination.

The Purépecha were happy; but one morning Guaricaten, cacique of the island of Jarácuaro and lord of all the land in the region, arrived in Tarerio demanding to see the leader of the Purépecha.

To the venerable Cuiniurin he spoke: "Cuiniurin, since you are the eldest and the tribes obey your orders, I am speaking to you. For many moons I have permitted you and your people to rest here, recuperating from the rigors of the long journey from the hot lands of the south, whence you came. No longer can you remain here. Your race is prolific, and very soon the land which you people now occupy will not be sufficient. My own people now need this land. Leave with your belongings for the lands which are not as yet occupied."

With these words Guaricaten finished speaking and departed with his retinue, returning by canoe to the island of Jarácuaro. Cuiniurin immediately called together all his people and ordered the priest Petamuti to tell everyone assembled what was the will of their god Curicaueri.

When Petamuti rose to speak, the people anxiously leaned forward to hear his words. Suddenly all assembled saw a flock of swallows draw near. Hovering above the birds was a hawk which pursued them. The frightened birds sought refuge by alighting among the closely gathered people, and a warrior shot an arrow at the rapacious hawk. The arrow squarely struck the swooping bird, which fell dying to the ground. The swallows simultaneously arose in flight toward the four cardinal directions.

Petamuti spoke: "My chief, just as the birds so too is our destiny. Since birth we have traveled and worked, and a superior force, a supreme destiny, will conquer our enemies. Again we Purépecha shall move. Let us follow the path marked by the flight of the swallows, and where we find them singing we shall work and live happily."

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The following day Cuiniurin divided all his people into four tribes. One circled the lake eastward to the bank opposite Jarácuaro and founded Tzintzuntzan. Another tribe headed southward into La Sierra, settling in Tingambato. The third tribe traveled northward, stopping upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. The other sought refuge in the west at the headwaters of a river and called the site Carapan.

Thus it was that the four tribes, who came from the region brightened at night by the four lights of the Southern Cross, settled in the four cardinal points of Michoacán: in Tzintzuntzan, Tingambato, Zacapu, and Carapan (Fig. 1). The Purépecha built their homes of dried clay and lived like the swallows, singing and working. Valiantly they defended their land against those who questioned their right of possession. Father Huriata was with them.

On certain nights, in conformity with their sacred rites, they prepared four burning piles of wood pointing toward the four cardinal points in honor of Curicaueri. They danced and sang in joy; never was it the custom to become inebriated. Early the following day all the women would take some water and pitch it afar; the men would dispatch arrows into the sky; all the children would hurl stones through the air. Through such symbolical actions they demonstrated how they took possession of, and defended, their land against those who disputed their right of ownership.

Since then the Purépecha have possessed the land of Michoacán. They fought first with the neighboring races until, one by one, all were conquered or allied with them. Most of the credit for this has been attributed to the great Purépecha people.

Later they fought the Tecos in the west, the Huachichiles and Chichimecos in the north, and finally the Aztecs who came from the east. In all their battles they were victorious.

Their government was patriarchal; their religion remained simple and poetic; their occupations were fishing and handicrafts, the latter laboriously and beautifully executed. They were a people gentle in peace and brave in battle.

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THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
726 and other data essential to a successful compaign.

Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

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pined for the speedy return of her beloved warrior who had accompanied the king on his path of conquest. 539 823

Finally, one morning as Father Huriata's splendrous rays appeared over the mountain, hundreds of warriors filed across the vast plains of Cuaracurío. The commotion of the warriors drove to flight a beautiful hummingbird, which disappeared in the distance with the swiftness of an arrow. The princess, who had often fed the bird from her hand, watched disconsolately as it became lost from view.

Quickly she ran to greet the troops, anxiously questioning them concerning her beloved warrior. In the faces of the Tarascan fighters she beheld sadness and compassion. Trembling with fear, she fell on her knees in the path of the king.

"My father," she said, "return to me my beloved warrior who entered your service and left on this campaign. With your permission, my eyes will behold him as the vanquisher of our enemies."

The king made a gesture with his hand. The warriors fell into silence in order that all could hear the voice of their leader.

"My daughter Hapunda, beautiful 'Tzinziquin,' an arrow of the barbarous Chichimecs struck him while he stood in the midst of my warriors. Our god, Father Huriata, wanted his blood and I have deposited his heart in a box at the god's feet in the temple."

A low, audible moan came from the princess. With her eyes rolling wildly, she ran to the temple where the impressive golden disk of the god gleamed from its setting in precious wood. The grave, dignified priests were unable to restrain the impetuous Hapunda as she seized the box containing the heart of her lover and fled into the depths of the valley below. There, among the tall flowers, she concealed herself while directing her demented eyes first in one direction and then another, seeking a place to hide the box and its remains. Her insensible ears could not hear the voice of her father who futilely called and called and called.

The sun set beneath the hills and the moon passed beneath a cloud. All was dark and Hapunda remained silent. Finally, from her grief-stricken eyes emerged rivers of tears which inundated the valley.

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539 823 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 [539] [361] The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most significant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to furnish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 584 [178] The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 449 [539] The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

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The Town's ? 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
538

The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

? [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

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539 312 passed and she had not gone to the fountain and filled her empty jug with water. She fell to her knees and directed her gaze at the rose-rimmed cloud hiding Father Sun. Tearfully, she prayed that the god would enable her to discover water nearby, so as not to incur the anger of her parents.

Her supplication was humble and sincere, because Tzintzin was a good girl. While she remained on her knees, a small beautifully colored bird arose from the center of a cluster of flowers. At that instant the last rays of Father Sun broke through the cloud and revealed drops of water which shone like diamonds falling from the feathers of the rising bird. This was the sign Tzintzin sought.

She parted the flowers and gazed into the pure, clear depths of a beautiful and hitherto unknown spring. Filling her jar, she returned home. Her parents were greatly surprised to see her return so quickly [she actually was late but the narrator said "so quickly" to emphasize the nearness of the new spring] and they supposed that Quanicoti had aided her with the water jar. However, she explained that she had discovered a new fountain of water near the road where her people traveled for decades.

The news of the fountain spread. The people from neighboring villages came to see the new source of water. Its depth was such that they called it Quiritzícuaro (the great fountain), and it still exists today to the east of the village of Paracho.

Always when the pretty Tzintzin visited this spot to hear Quanicoti's protestations of love, Father Sun smiled approvingly upon them with his brilliant, profound eye.

HUANITA

Historical Comment

173 174 [648] In "Just as the Birds," the narrator spoke of one group of Tarascans who travelled northward to settle upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. At some uncertain time in the twelfth century, these Tarascans conquered the people of Naranjo and then moved south-

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east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region. 173 174 648

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan. 173 642 643

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century. 115 114 539 [173]

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listeners the memory of the charming Huanita. 539 173

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

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From among the Tarascan maidens she had been chosen as the Huriat-pari, the consecrated virgin of the sun god, to carry the standard of the sun for her tribe. As the Huriat-pari, she was forbidden to be the wife of any man.

But Tangáxhuan dared to arouse the anger of the gods. He spoke to Huanita of his undying love for her. She listened and was won. Eventually, though, the anger of the gods was to descend upon them.

Tangáxhuan and Huanita believed that they were living alone and unwatched in the birch forest, but the sacrilegious priest Candó knew of their hiding place. Then one day the prince left to fight at the side of his father, Tariácuri, in defense of Pátzcuaro.

By this time Candó no longer carried out his priestly duties before the altar of the temple of Cueróhperi, nor did he worship at the temple of Tacup-achá (another name for Curicaueri). Instead, he secretly burned rich incense before the image of the false god Cuenomen.

Taking advantage of the absence of Tangáxhuan, Candó kidnapped the unsuspecting Huanita. The terrified girl pleaded tearfully but in vain with the enamored priest. He carried her far away. They passed through Carapan, then Tzirapu, eventually reaching the beautiful, rustic place called Taninitzicuaro (Tangancicuaro) where three springs arose from the earth. He left Huanita in the care of one of the high priests of Xhacúnan (Jacona), the second capital of the Tequecha people. [These villages are a few miles south and southeast of Zamora (Fig. 1).]

Many suns passed. Hundreds of emissaries were sent out by Tangáxhuan in search of Huanita upon the termination of the war. From village to village they vainly sought for information concerning the daughter of the forest. Equally fruitless was the aromatic incense offered to Cueróhperi. The angry gods would not be placated.

The searchers were in Cuérecan, Jacona, Paxácuaran, Pajacuarán, Xhacunan, [villages between Zamora and Patamban.]

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and even Patamban, but vainly they fought against destiny. No one had seen Huanita. The diligent emissaries were defeated in their search. They returned home carrying branches of *parietarias* as a symbol of lamentation and sacrificed them on the altar of Cueróhperi.

One morning, at sunrise, Huanita obtained permission from the high priest to go to the springs of Camécuaro. In this shaded sanctuary the unhappy girl went to disclose her grief to the gods, beseeching Cueróhperi to return her to Tangáxhuan. She wept and her tears fell into the waters of the deepest spring of Camécuaro, where they were instantly changed into silvery pearls; at the same time her sighs of longing went to dwell among the swaying branches of the forest, forming a sad and mysterious lullaby.

Suddenly, from the underbrush, the odious Candó appeared. Upon seeing him, Huanita quickly arose, and, with her long black hair flying in the wind, she furiously hurled herself upon the malevolent priest. But he overcame her and dragged her to the base of a birch tree, whose leaves were just beginning to reflect the golden rays of the rising sun.

Huanita, exhausted but with angry eyes, was on the verge of succumbing. Candó confidently smiled and put aside his robe. He was preparing to force himself upon his victim, but a strange hum broke through the woods. An arrow sped across the clearing, passed through the body of the wicked priest, and lodged itself at the base of the tree. Instantly, warm, blue water gushed forth at the spot where the arrow punctured the tree trunk.

The arrow had been shot from the bow of Tangáxhuan, who had followed the footsteps of the traitor.

The sun had fully arisen in the east; the bell-flowers, the heliotropes, and the stars-of-the-field had now opened their fragrant petals. The silence was accentuated even more by the soft murmuring of the trickling water. The stillness was interrupted only by the last tremors of the dying body in the withered leaves and by a couple who walked arm in arm singing a prayer of love.

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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan king-
642 dom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and
643 Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion.
[539] King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of
[176] Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation
[194] of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
539 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
[182] be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
539 that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to
644 generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of
648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique
644 of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival
173 in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

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white robe lined with beautiful colors.

The ancient king Singuangua, upon beholding her, was dazzled with her youthful beauty. Realizing that it would be unjust to marry her because of his advanced age, the compassionate monarch paternally consecrated her as priestess of the Sun. She was housed in the *guandaperata*, the sacred mansion of the *guananchecha* (vestal virgins) of the cult of Tucupa-acha.

539 173 644

The princess Sesihángari, respecting the Purépecha traditions, graciously accepted the honor which King Singuangua bestowed upon her. Her humility only accentuated her loveliness. She only requested that she be permitted to continue her customary baths in the marvelous medicinal springs found in her father's territory. This the monarch granted with pleasure, appointing a group of the vestals to accompany her. To his surprise the waters seemed to work a miracle among the vestals, for in a short time they returned to court flowing with loveliness.

Intrigued by the phenomenon which converted the vestals into gems of magnificent beauty, the king ordered an investigation to determine the cause of the miraculous transformation. His wise men reported that the change could be traced to the magic power of the sulphureous mud from the enchanted marsh, situated eastward in the mountainous country near Taximaroa (Fig. 1). The boiling waters found there, they said, proceeded from the center of the earth and still contained their divine power.

Prince Tanimaranscua, one of the sons of King Singuangua, and Sesihángari fell deeply in love with one another. The king not only approved of their courtship but silently hoped they would marry. According to custom, a Purépecha priestess could marry only with the king's permission.

Prince Tzimtzicha, who was next in succession to inherit the throne, also loved Sesihángari and was jealous of his younger brother Tanimaranscua.

At length the old king died. His son Tzimtzicha succeeded him, and, according to custom, he took as his wives those of the preceding monarch. However, Tzimtzicha wanted Sesihángari as his wife.

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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] [631] [645] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 648 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[1] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[1] [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61). 175 539 648

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future. 173 177 539 797 648 728

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall. 173 539 787

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

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(Pirindas), and the Tarascan Emperor Calzonzin were at peace with their powerful armies. Camachuén's preoccupation on this day was with something greater and more profound. Camachuén was thinking about the divine Inchátiro, Queen of Xicalán (which means "the grace of the gods").

He was terribly disturbed because the hour had come when the villages of his people would be destroyed and his gods thrown from the temples. His race, the race of the Purépecha—descendants of King Tariácuri—had defied time and distance, sea and enemies, to place their homes on the edge of the deep blue waters of Tzirahuén, where they had erected a monument in memory of King Tziragu. But now the time had arrived when his people would wander alone among the mountains like driven beasts, because the children of the Sun would come from the east to conquer his people, take away their lands, destroy their homes, and smash their gods.

What would happen to his divine Inchátiro? In vain he had visited the sanctuary of Tazcapu [Zacapu] and made offerings to the god Curicaueri. Many mornings at daybreak he had prostrated himself in the midst of the forest and begged for the protection of the god of the sky, but without results. Camachuén remained grief-stricken.

Three moons passed. The dry leaves fell from the tall pines and all of nature was entering into a sad sleep. At last the prophecy of Guiapara, the high priest of Tzintzuntzan, was to occur. At first Camachuén thought it would be better to order his people to take arms and defend themselves until death released them. But he relented and decided to comply with the will of the gods. In tearful anguish he thought of the misery, hunger, and slavery which the future generations of his people would have to undergo. Only the Father of the Indians could know how tormented he was.

Another gloomy day arrived and Camachuén had not seen his beloved Inchatiro. He took the road to Xicalán and arrived at the palace still sad and pensive, thinking of the destiny which the gods had reserved for his people.

"Why are you sad?" asked Inchátiro wonderingly. "What sin-

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ister grief afflicts you?"

The unhappy Camachuén replied, explaining to her that the gods had become angry with the people and were going to punish them. Above all, he feared for her. Then, unburdening his heart to her, he related the following dream which Curicaueri had revealed to him:

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> I saw you reigning in your palace, divinely beautiful as always. Your gardens were covered with multi-colored flowers. All the people of Xicalán were paying tribute to you. The aroma of the fresh flowers and breezes from the fields passed through your balcony, caressing you. The gods, envious of your virtues, were watching your virginal heart, and they learned that you always thought of me ... and after that ... a shadow, black as night, covered my dream, and everything was horrible.
>
> The white men had arrived and invaded our villages and your palace. There, in your quarters, a stranger was living and you were caressing him, giving him your love and, finally, your heart. You had forgotten the oath taken before the altar of our gods. You had forgotten the hatred existing between our race and theirs. I did not raise my knife to kill the stranger, because the gods detained my hand, saying that such an act was not mine by right to do.
>
> And then my soul, wandering among the dark shadows of the night, wrote in letters of light upon your heart the phrase LOVE AND HOPE. Love and hope, that is the pathway of life which enables us to reach the abode of our gods. Love those who suffer, for they are our brothers; hope is their redemption. On the road of life must be planted our deepest sorrow in future hope.
>
> Remember that all have the right to live, and that a tenth of our good fortune must be shared with those who are hungry and needy.
>
> Remember that if you have bread, the poor do not have bread; that if you have good fortune, the

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poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

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All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

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The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

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Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

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The Legend

Tacamba resided in one of the most colorful sites of the Tierra Caliente, that florid region which marks the descent of the sierra as it breaks away in a spectacular fashion toward the Pacific coast.

Tacamba, a descendant of the legendary Hirepan, was one of the four chieftains of the Michoacán alliance. His kingdom was the richest and most fertile of the four provinces comprising the Tzintzuntzan empire. His capital city of Coyucán, the city of the eagles, sat on the edge of the river that flowed through the luxuriant tropical growth to Zacatula.

The prince was a young man. His tall, willowy stature reminded one of the tropical plant whose name he bore. His countenance was calm and profound, like the brilliance of a star on a calm, clear night. He had spent his life in the tranquility of Coyucán and in the hostilities of the army. At times his life had been like the gentle winds which wove their course through the pines; on other occasions he had lived as violently as the hurricane which pushes aside the oak that falls in its invincible path.

Generous and magnanimous by nature, he did not enjoy war. Nevertheless, when the chief of the quadruple alliance sought his help, Tacamba was the most prudent in council and the most valiant in combat. In spite of the demands of the priests, he never caused a single captive to climb the stairs leading to the sacrificial altar.

During the epochs of peace, this prince taught his people how to improve upon their cultivation of the fertile land in the kingdom and how to advance the rudimentary hand industries which had begun throughout the land.

From time to time Tacamba moved his court to a small valley bearing his name. He had constructed a walled castle on the bluff overlooking the crystalline alberca of Chupio, famous for its nightly visit by the sirens who came by a secret canal from the ocean to sing.

This fortress, situated on the elevated heights, offered a splen-

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did view in every direction. To the north the peaks of the pine-covered mountains were lost among the clouds; on the south the outline of a strange, fantastic ridge loomed through the thick haze of the hot country; directly below the palace lay the primordial valley and the poetic lake.

Here Tacamba spent many of his days devoted to important matters of government, while at night he directed his gaze upward into celestial space where innumerable other worlds gave testimony to the immense power of the gods. Was it during such a moment as this that the coming of other men to enslave his people was revealed to him? Many evenings his subjects noted that their young monarch stood alone on the roof of his palace and sang sweet but melancholy songs to Tucupa-Ácha, the supreme ruler of the universe.

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When the rumor concerning the arrival of the Spaniards spread throughout the land, Tacamba listened without showing the least surprise. He sent emissaries to all corners of his realm, and one month later twenty thousand of his men were encamped near Chupio on the banks of the two rivers which bathed tropical Turicato. He knew that the proud Aztec king, Montezuma, had sought aid from the Tarascans and he desired to be the first to offer troops.

When the court at Tzintzuntzan chose to remain neutral, Tacamba's surprise and despair was beyond measure. Cautioning his troops to stay there, the prince hastened to the imperial city in hopes that he could overcome the apathy of the aged emperor with reason and logic.

The reigning monarch of the vast empire of Michoacán was King Siguangua, formerly bold and valorous but now old and weak in body and mind.

Tacamba used his eloquence in vain. Fruitlessly he appealed to religious sentiment, to love of the Tarascan countryside, to the pride of the formerly invincible race; finally he spoke of the fear and superstition which now held in bondage the souls of the Purépecha nobles.

Sometime later a smallpox epidemic spread its desolation among the families of the kingdom. The first of the victims to succumb

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to the disease was the Tarascan king, whose death added to the panic which had already seized the people.

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Then Tzimtzicha ascended the throne once occupied by the powerful descendents of Tariácuri. At the same time the Spaniards were conquering the hitherto invincible Aztec city of Tenochtitlán. Unhappily, Tacamba watched the dissolution of that race which had always distinguished itself through its strength and courage. The race of eagles seemed like a band of timid doves quivering at the presence of a hawk.

Tacamba, however, like a faithful subject, united his destiny with that of his king. Later, when the disgraced monarch of Tzintzuntzan was a prisoner, Tacamba stayed at his side and lovingly carried the heavy chains which bound Tzimtzicha. He saw how the greed of the Conquistadores for gold drove them to torture the king, and he heard the courageous dying words of the martyred Tzimtzicha.

Tacamba could no longer contain himself. Vowing eternally to hate the invaders of his native land, he placed himself at the head of many warriors and began the short but mighty epoch of slaughter and extermination before the *encomienda* system was established in Michoacán by Hernando Cortez.

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DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [793] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times. 539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [179]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 113
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [871]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather [194]
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
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539 809 577 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 173 867 182 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is provided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. [262] Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta
541 begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are
[427] friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not, it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In
[534] 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
389 various volunteers working under the direction of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo,* planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos.* When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by any means. The fireworks maker is always
[686] held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The
527 first band appeared and began to play about
533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner.
[541] About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

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527 town and were waiting both for the proper
533 time and for the last finishing touches to be put
[541] on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

527 The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This
541 was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The moros followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the moros departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

527 The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
541 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

527 The procedures described above were re-
541 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

527 While the market continued to some extent
443 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

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527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
198 of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 Often a group of young men will ask per-
541 mission of the municipal authorities to collect the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
796 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 The Octava occurs a week after Easter
443 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
541 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

796 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in
624 Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in
[524] advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents
[431] of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them čapatas. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual
796 bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

541 fighting (of which no further details were
796 learned). Some women appeared every year. They wore dresses of red bayeta, a white kerchief on the head, and a felt hat. Two kerchiefs were crossed on the body (breast?) and another was used to tease the bull. A machete was carried on the shoulder.

796 On these occasions the image of the Virgin of the hospital was taken out and handfuls of tiny confections, of the size of silantro seeds, were scattered. The boys and girls broke many eggshells filled with confetti. The boys struck the girls with sugarcanes when possible and the girls retaliated with čapatas wrapped in napkins.

On Ash Wednesday the *cargueros* assembled in the houses of the *vaquero* and karačakape. Piles of oranges, limes, ashes, and earth were placed in the yards, and men and women fought. The oranges and limes were blackened with charcoal and thrown, as were ashes and earth. When the game became violent, a woman struck a shake with a stick and called "peace, peace." The game then stopped.

The passion of Christ was once represented. On Thursday of Holy Week, the imprisonment of Christ was represented, many youths dressing as Jews and soldiers. Friday the image was taken in procession, decorated with laurel, roses, bananas, čapatas, and flour tamales.

Normally processions were held three times a year, Holy Thursday, the Friday of Sorrows, and Corpus. The same images were used each time. The image of Jesus the Nazarene was dressed in dark tunic, a cord at the belt, and the stretcher decorated with field flowers. Boys carried the stretcher. Anyone wishing to participate dressed himself in a black tunic and bonnet and went out to gather flowers. The boys were called Judas. The images of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin were also taken in the procession. The image of the Virgin was in the special charge of the *roseras*, who dressed it and prepared the stretcher with flowers. The *pendompari* carried a standard (*pendon*), from which her name is derived, while the *capitamoro* carried a spray of flowers. Both went ahead of the Virgin. The *fiscal* carried an incense burner at the head of the procession. Twelve boys dressed in red tunics represented the Twelve Apostles.

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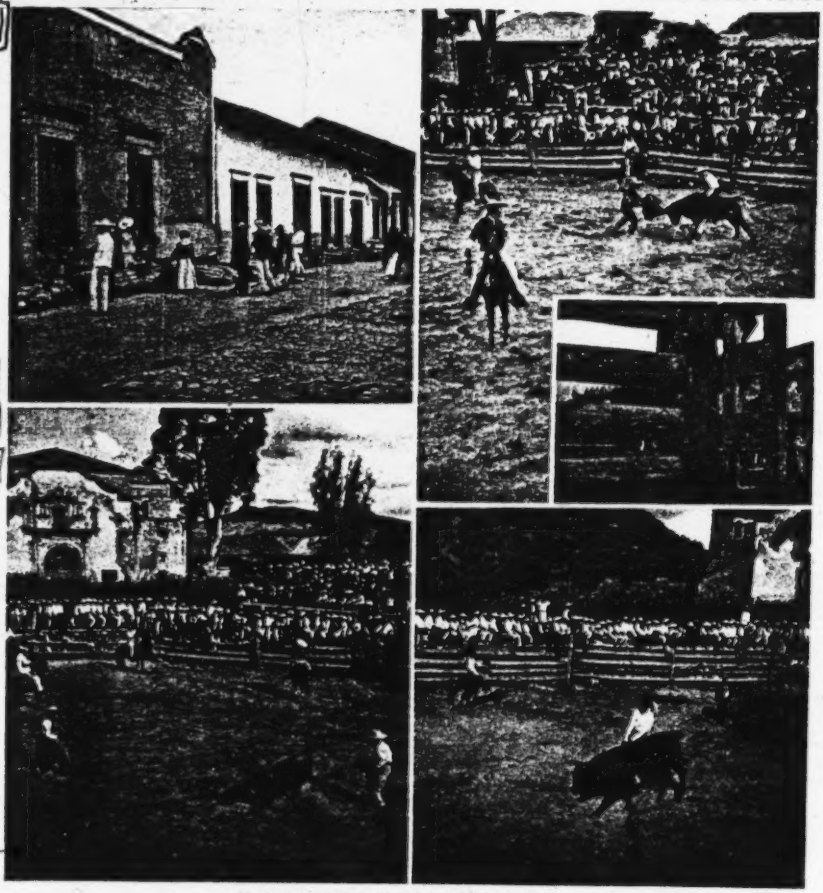
[351] [417] [335]



MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

Upper (left): Pottery before being unpacked for the market. *Upper (right):* Riding a bucking bull, the man with cape diverting it from the horses. *Lower (left):* Cowboys (*vaquero*) throw the bull in the bull ring, then tie a rope around its forequarters. *Lower (right):* Bull riding. *Inset:* Construction of bull ring fence; post on right has holes cut with ax to receive the logs forming the gate.

[End Plate 5]

796 Different towns have reputations for
giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately,
through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an advanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
can Indians has always been closely con-
621 nected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

527 The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on Saturday, but the main events take place on
543 Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make quantities of miniature breads about an inch
[436] and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
543 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a special high-pitched cry used on no other occa-
198 sion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Aríjeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
198 of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 Often a group of young men will ask per-
541 mission of the municipal authorities to collect the "*pisos de plaza,*" that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
796 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 The Octava occurs a week after Easter
443 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
541 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about
midnight and was rung intermittently all the
796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there
was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of
his duties and were not the special Masses paid
for by the town. About noon a few members
of the Cherán band gathered in front of the
priest's house and played for a time, continuing
intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza,
although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing,
cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles,
dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga
style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls
running the booths were all prostitutes, but
all the booths were completely open. In any
case, the booths are the center for most of the
drunkards and most of the fights and disorder
associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was
nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this
day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring,
digging up old posts and clearing away weeds,
while others transported new posts and logs
from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
[443] them merely located their space and unpacked
their animals, but did not unpack their goods
(pl. 5, upper left). A great many people
arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were
crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*,
while a smaller one was placed on one of the
side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com-
missioners and their assistants went to the
533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to
meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and
Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark,
when one of the most violent thunderstorms
anyone could remember deluged the party. It
was said there were no ceremonies of greeting
ordinarily and that the commissioners merely
greeted their band and led it to one of the
houses for supper. Certainly, there were no
ceremonies that night.

838 The individual in question was also said once to have lived with another woman who did the work in the household while the former acted like a man. It is also believed that she is a "man" during one month and a "woman" the next, the change being regulated by changes in the moon. During the month she is a "man" she is said to go through the streets at night, trying to entice girls to her house, or else she stands at the door of her house and offers presents to girls who will come in. At one time the woman married and had two children but later was widowed. That the individual is [158] emotionally unstable is indicated by her claim to have once "died" and come to life again, after which she brought many people messages from their dead relatives whom she had encountered in the other world.

No cases of men dressing as women or men who had homosexual relations were encountered, but there evidently are occasional instances. The only specific reports encountered were of subadolescent boys who showed a preference for doing women's work. One example cited was of a boy who washed dishes, swept, made tortillas, and did other housework. His voice was high-pitched and he refused to fight. Later, however, the boy's voice changed and he married.

● 548 Some prostitution exists in Cherán. There are several houses of assignation operated by elderly women who know the accessible women. Men go to these houses and the old woman then takes a message to some girl or woman. The younger women are often the daughters of older women who have taken this way of life, but sometimes the girls from other families will visit such houses clandestinely. Such girls become known among the unmarried men and usually have difficulty in marrying. Often they attempt to force boys to marry them by claiming to have been "stolen" by a boy and lodging complaints with the mayor, often abetted by their parents. If the girl's reputation is bad, the boy may be put in jail as a discouragement to boys who might be tempted to steal a girl without marrying her, but the boy will not be forced to marry.

The patrons of such houses are usually bachelors and older unmarried youths. Some whose wives are pregnant also visit such houses

548 occasionally. Payment, usually 50 centavos, is given to the girls prostituting themselves, part of which is given to the woman who lends her house for the purpose and arranges the meeting.

Despite the existence of prostitution, it is 864 claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Girls particularly are believed to be relatively innocent, although obviously all have knowledge of the nature of the sexual act in a setting as full of animals as is Cherán. Boys are believed to be somewhat more sophisticated because, even though they may not have visited houses of prostitution, details are talked about among them. After marriage, aside from the prohibitions on intercourse during pregnancy and confinement and 833 during menstruation, there are no restrictions on sexual relations between husband and wife. There seem to be no ideas about a fixed interval or ideal interval between sexual relations and informants thought relations were "frequent" but would not suggest any time periods. In general, the subject of sex relations proved embarrassing and informants seemed purposely to avoid definite statements.

583 The customary preliminary to marriage is for the groom to "steal" (*robar*) his bride. Virtually everyone of the older and the more articulate men in town deprecate the custom and many assert that it is a recent development. Nevertheless, no one could name a time when the custom was not practiced. Moreover, it is to be found in many other Tarascan towns, perhaps in all of them, and is regarded as an old form at Mestizo Chilchota, where most marriages also begin by stealing. Although occasionally the groom asks for the bride instead of stealing her, such cases are exceptional and seem more likely to be the innovation than does the stealing of the bride.

Only on very rare occasions is the bride stolen without her consent. Generally the entire performance, including setting the time and place, has been arranged beforehand between the bride and groom, although it is good form for the girl to struggle or at least to pretend to do so. The groom enlists the [561] cooperation of some of his age mates and they assist in carrying off the girl and in blocking pursuit. The usual time for carrying off a girl is on a Sunday when she comes out of church

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236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, [241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica- [556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

231 the plow. Care and practices otherwise are the same as for horses.

Burros.—"The poor man's mule" is one of the
231 more common animals in Cherán. Often kept
492 in a shed by the house, the burro is employed to bring in firewood (when he may be ridden to the woods), to bring in the harvest, carry goods on trading trips, and perform any other service of burden carrying. Burros may be used as light draft animals in such tasks as dragging brush over wheat fields to cover the seed after sowing. Often rented, especially at harvest time, burros are frequently lent to friends, neighbors, and relatives. Although hard-worked, they are usually better cared for and less abused than among the Mestizos. They are often fed rather than pastured, and saddle sores and other signs of abuse are relatively uncommon.

Burros are bred in the town. Jacks are not
[262] castrated. The flesh is never eaten and the
[281] hide is regarded as of little value.

Dogs.—Usually each household has one or
231 perhaps two dogs, but large numbers of starved animals are rare. Ordinarily a dog is fed what the family has, and if a dog is underfed, usually the family is also. Dogs are always named, usually for "pretty things or animals"
[552] such as Butterfly, Duke, Tiger, or Rattlesnake. Others are named for their coat color or because the name is liked. No effort is made to control the breeding of dogs.

Dogs are used in hunting, sheepherding, and to guard the house. In the latter capacity, the dogs of the *barrio* of Parícutin are much more aggressive than in the rest of the town. This may be because their masters are generally less friendly or may simply reflect the more rural character of the *barrio*.

Hunting dogs are used to chase deer, squir-
[224] rels, rabbits, and other animals after they have been wounded. Apparently no special training is given. Sheep dogs are trained by putting them on a leash with a sheep during the day and tying them near the sheep at night. They are encouraged to bark at the right time and to attack coyotes.

Cats.—Cats are not numerous in Cherán, although they are valued fairly highly because they combat the many rats which steal stored corn. Cats seem well treated and are some-

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when [262] a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

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608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
[123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
751 but there are few special treatments for them.
754 Only the evil eye must be guarded against
854 especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

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[p.172b]

751 sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently,
754 that is, the person with power to cause the evil
854 eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chile, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

553 In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be
608 chosen at a council of the adult relatives who
851 pick a name from among the deceased relatives, never the saint's day, as is the case among the Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

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553 the child of the latter being known as Pablo Juan or Luisa Juan, etc.

CHILDHOOD

854 [291] Small children are usually clothed today. Occasionally a small boy is seen wearing nothing but a shirt, but this is uncommon, while girls able to walk always have a blouse and a skirt. In early childhood there is a good deal of affection between parents and children. Adults of both sexes play with the children and carry them about a great deal. Small children are kissed by both parents. Fear of strangers is absent. While opportunities for observation were limited, on several occasions when I had opportunity to be with children while talking with parents, they responded immediately to any caress on my part, often promptly climbing into my lap, or seizing hold of my clothing if I were standing. At this age there is evidently little correction. Some children cry and whimper a good deal and are reproved for it or told to hush, but nothing is done if the child continues.

As the child grows a little older, it evidently goes through a somewhat trying period of readjustment. This probably coincides with the coming of another child and also with the increasing care of the child by older brothers and sisters. At this period some rough treatment is given by the parents. Several times children were seen to stumble and fall on the street. When the child began to cry, the father either smacked it on the rump or kicked it along, gently it is true.

854 152 A boy about 4 was observed in a temper tantrum on the Cherán plaza. The tantrum began when the mother took a large piece of sugarcane held by the child, broke it, prepared the smaller piece, and gave it to the child. The child began to scream and weep, demanding the larger piece back. The mother laughed good-naturedly and told him to come along. He refused, and finally the mother gave the boy a gentle tap on the rump with her piece of sugarcane. The child screamed and beat at the mother with his cane. She continued to laugh, made some comments to others passing by and gradually got the child moved along, but he continued screaming as long as he was within earshot. In this case the mother showed more

565 and speak better." As a matter of fact, the leader of this group is relatively poor.

The informant who was most class-conscious admitted in casual conversation that the divisions existing in the town were essentially the result of individual likes and dislikes and personal ambitions. In this unguarded conversation, he admitted that class and ideological differences were of very little importance.

565 554 To the outside observer, however, the situation is not so simple. Even though class distinctions are of little significance, nevertheless persons with little or no land who work as laborers or sharecroppers receive much less respect in conversation. It must be admitted, however, that so far as our information and observations went, they are never disparaged to their face. In addition, there are two men who seem to be pariahs to whom no one pays attention. They work as professional water carriers and porters for the most part and seem very poverty-stricken, sometimes begging at

565 houses for food. Little could be learned about
554 them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

The nearest approach to class groupings is
565 that persons seem to associate mostly with indi-
571 duals who are their own age mates and of the
185 same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[text continues on p. 100a]

[p.109a]

604 she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

General behaviors.—All more distant rela-
602 tives are expected to take part in any "labor."
476 This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for
● [554] prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obliga-
574 tions are apparent is when a family returns to
602 the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

608 Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

346 plaza but upon an atrium facing the opposite
358 direction. The change of entrance probably was made more than 50 years ago. At about that time the walls of the church were raised considerably and a row of windows placed near the top of the walls. During the revolution the roof was destroyed when the town was burned and was replaced sometime during the 1920's.

The cost of these changes and repairs, as indicated, is borne by voluntary contributions. The labor is paid for and there is no voluntary labor for the upkeep of church structures and property, although there is considerable voluntary work in connection with the ceremonials and the care of the altars and images. In the case of small improvements, the priest asks for donations of some 10 centavos, usually making an announcement from the pulpit. For larger and more extensive repairs or improvements, *comisionados* are named by the priest who go from house to house soliciting larger contributions.

A new idea was introduced, however, by the
358 priest who left Cherán in 1940, an idea which has had interesting economic repercussions. With the completion of the reroofing of the church, many other necessary improvements still remained. With some funds at his disposal, the priest succeeded in rebuilding the pulpit. The priest then announced an inaugural ceremony and issued invitations to become godparents of the pulpit. The invitations were written or printed and stated that the persons were being invited as honorable persons who led good lives. Acceptance involved a payment of not less than 1 peso nor more than 2 pesos. Practically all those invited accepted the invitation. The priest had prepared a large quantity
454 of pottery banks in the shape of pigs, made of
358 the attractive Black ware of Quiroga and Santa Fe. At the inauguration, the priest announced that additional improvements were being planned and that each person should take one of the banks and put a 20-centavo piece in it every 15 or 30 days. Moreover, the person who first
[554] "fattened" his pig, that is, filled it with 20-centavo pieces, would be put in a position of especial sanctity. With this incentive, many people filled their banks rapidly in order to be the first and even those who did it more slowly

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MAYORDOMÍAS

796 *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

For the most part the *mayordomías* are 782 undertaken to secure some future good or to 796 give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. 788 Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

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[p. 137b]

788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. [534] More than any other it may be undertaken for motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto.*"

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*troje.*" Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

796 The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* 535 (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assist-
796 ants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

585 articles. When the bride is dressed [she wears all three of the new rebozos], the parents of the couple and the principal godparents and relatives, together with the musicians brought by the parents of the groom, accompany the couple to the church to effectuate the marriage before the priest. [During the Mass a ring is placed on a finger of the bride. The groom can bring his own ring, but if he has not done so, a ring lent by the priest is used. The priest also puts silver money in the hands of the groom who in turn places it in the hands of the bride. If the groom has not brought money, the priest lends it to him. However, it is believed that the groom should bring the money and that the more he brings the greater the benediction for their life and the more fortunate the couple will be. There is said to be no use of the collar, chain, or ribbon used in some churches in Oaxaca.]

After the wedding, all leave the Mass and go to the house of the bride's parents, where she and all her relatives are left, the rest of the party going to the house of the groom's parents. Later, in about an hour, all return to the house of the bride's father [first calling for the bride's godparents to invite them] to escort the bride and all her relatives to breakfast [at the house of the groom's father] which consists only of a piece of bread and small cup of chocolate. On arriving at the house of the groom's father, the [male] guests seat themselves in a place previously prepared. The preparation consists of placing some logs of wood for seats [in two rows with others sometimes arranged as a table between the rows at a somewhat higher level] and at one of the ends they place the image of some saint of the Catholic religion [most commonly a picture of the saint] before which is a lighted candle and flowers [and sometimes an incense burner with copal incense]. Before the guests are served, it is the duty of the marriage manager to say a prayer in thanks. It should be noted that the first places [before the altar] are reserved for the marriage manager and the godfathers of both bride and groom and that only the men sit on these seats, the women being seated apart. The godmothers also sit apart [usually on mats in the center of the courtyard], the godmother of the groom [608] being distinguished by ribbons tied in her hair. These ribbons are given and tied on the hair by the godmother's *comadres*, granddaughters and sisters-in-law. [Ribbons are tied in the hair of all the godmothers of the groom, and of the godmother of the wedding.]

Upon completing the breakfast, all the relatives of the bride return to her house, taking the bride with them again and not being accompanied by the relatives of the groom. In the meantime the musicians play in the house of the groom. This is usually between 10 and 11 of the morning. [Meantime many guests may drop in and will be fed, being seated in a different place from the relatives. Everyone is welcome because the [554] more who attend, the more prestige attaches to the wedding. As outsiders, the members of the staff were usually especially welcome, as apparently we gave special *eclat* to the function.] Meantime all the sib-

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585 turned out to be a relative, was a member of the party.

Because of the early hour, the marriage manager had not arrived. The party all waited outside until the manager was found and came. The manager prayed, and then the men were given tamales to eat. The women then began exchanging bread and tamales at about 5:30. Later they drank all night and sat around and talked. They would have danced, but Doña Feliciana had provided no music.

On November 9 the groom was learning the prayers and it was intended to hold the wedding soon, but it was postponed until January because the priest said that no one could marry until after Christmas *por los velados*. As Doña Feliciana remarked, "No one knows what these are. This priest is very capricious. We have had various priests here, but never one like this."

554 585 During the interval of waiting, Doña Feliciana made it plain that, as she was a widow, she had no intention of holding a large wedding. The mother of the bride, however, was affronted and sent word that with all the Santa Claras in the town it was a shame they would not do anything. She also announced that although she also was a widow, she intended to pay for a band herself. When word of this got around, the Santa Claras became ashamed and bestirred themselves to see what could be done. Soon Agustín's father was remarking that the Santa Claras had gotten the better of the Rangéls, and perhaps they should do something. When the wedding finally was held by the Santa Claras it turned out to be, if anything, more elaborate than that given by Antonio Sánchez, described above.

585 The distribution of expenses, as it finally turned out, was approximately as follows:

Breakfast for the women—Erino Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

Breakfast for the men—provided by a cousin, a Santa Clara.

Dinner and bread—Emilio Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

One band—Doña Feliciana, the cousins, and uncles (Agustín paid a contribution for this).

Second band—brothers, sisters, and cousins of the groom, "grandfathers" of both bride and groom. (Agustín's father paid a contribution for this.)

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291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

In addition to a house and kitchen, which
343 constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen.
593 Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in
342 the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

When children come, the acquisitive activities
593 of the family become even more important.
556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as
581 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

As solid citizens the family members will
593 also have additional responsibilities. At least
556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as
554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* 186 *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 554 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally 535 performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 796 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

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535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin.
796 We were told that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, ". . . The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious
175 Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoa-
535 cán . . ." León goes on to say,

796 The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.[2]

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.[3]

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."[4]

535 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to
554 twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

[2] Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletin del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 2a epoca, T. I, Mexico, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

[3] *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

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chosen was born in another community and another was technically illegitimate—since her parents, although living together for many years, had never been wed either in civil or religious ceremony. The Huananchas came from all quarters of the pueblo. Participation itself, through enabling one to be among those directly concerned with "making the holiday," may well have been a means of acquiring prestige in the community. The Huananchas *may* have been chosen in the same manner as were the *Cargueros* (the officers of the trade groups) in the past. That is, a committee decided who should participate and then notified those nominated; these people might then beg off if they had good arguments. This was the procedure outlined for naming the *Cargueros* who were then responsible for organizing the various trade groups in past years, however no specific comments were made about the manner of choice of the Huananchas.

In the dance all of the little girls wore pink satin or sateen dresses. These apparently were made for the occasion. On their heads they wore gilded crowns with brightly colored artificial flowers attached. The elegance of each dancer's dress and the number of sprays of flowers on her crown were subjects of much comparison, both by the dancers themselves and by their mothers. It was observed that one of the dancers was visibly distressed over some unkindly comments about her hair which was not curled like that of the others, and because her crown bore fewer flowers. There is thus an informal, but effective, status ranking of the dancers and their families in terms of the costumes worn.

In the dance the four biggest girls—representing those who formerly used to carry the image of the Virgin—form a rectangle. Between them are the three shorter and younger girls. (See "a," Fig. 1). We were told that the center dancer of these last three represents the pennant bearer and is supposed to carry a blue pennant. She is known as *Pendonpasi*. One of the others was supposed to carry copal or incense, and the third one a candle. Actually, the dancers carried nothing when they performed in 1948. It is probable that the description given really refers to what the Huananchas used to carry in processions, and not what they held in their hands during the dance.

The only step for the entire dance is an extremely slow and, to the outsider, monotonous "simple" but the patterns which the dancers perform vary.[5] When dancing in the town hall for the various political and other officials the performance continued for approximately 45 minutes; at other times the dance was limited to about 20 minutes by elimination of the repetition of the various patterns. In the town hall and elsewhere the girls were surrounded on all sides by observers during their performance. In the description which follows, "front" refers to the two dancers closest to the officials, "back," to the two dancers farthest from the guests of honor. The three other dancers form a center row. All dancers face the guests of honor most of the time.

The dance begins with all seven girls making two very slow turns in place in

[5] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Here the authors have the following to say about a religious dance which they observed in the Internado in Paracho: "The dances are very prolonged and they always last several hours, accompanied by a terribly monotonous music." (Translated from the Spanish).

167 war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

565 Class or caste stratification is almost un-
556 known in Cherán. There still remains much of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. *There is much talk of rich and* poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informent put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by
[555] their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

The most influential group at present in
565 Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

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312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[1]

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[1] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. [438] During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a carga [435] (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a carga. Some people in Angahuan make a business of taking firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where ocote (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

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241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

231 556 *Cattle.*—Ownership of cattle is widespread in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

231 Cattle are raised for several economic uses: meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

234 Relatively few cows are milked, and most families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

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236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep
[262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool
[435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are
[234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese.
[438] The most important use of goats is to sell them
[262] for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and
[492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same
[184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing,
[241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor
[435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses belong to well-to-do men and primarily are indica-
[556] tors of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and
[232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses.
[422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses
[552] are given names similar to those used by
[262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse
[281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im-
[492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

Eating habits show considerable variability 264 as between families. They also change with 262 the season and the prevailing occupations. 184 Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later. [556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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262 It is believed to be injurious to eat any kind of fish when ill of the "*bilis*."

252 Game is eaten to some extent when available. Deer meat is sold in pieces or in retail quantities by the hunters in much the same fashion as beef. Squirrels, doves, and ducks are all liked. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos, doves at 5 centavos, and ducks at 50 centavos to 1 peso. Ducks come from Zacapu. A few people eat pigeons. Only adult pigeons are eaten.[15]

Eggs are eaten to a considerable extent, fried, mixed with fish, or scrambled with cheese. But poor families, even if they have chickens, prefer to sell the eggs and buy beans.

MAIZE FOODS

Maize is made into tortillas, *gordos*, posole, or tamales, and is also used to thicken some types of broths and sauces. It is also eaten green, and certain foods are made from green corn. No maize foods are salted. Maize types include white, yellow, red, and black, the latter two types not being common. White maize is sold chiefly outside the village.

Methods of initial preparation vary. For tortillas and *gordos* the maize is boiled with lime. This softens and to some extent dissolves the outer shell of the grain. After thorough washing in a special basket, it is ground into *nixtamal* or dough. If economically possible, [556] grinding is done at the power mills in the town, followed by further grinding at home. Some people are too poor to pay for the mill, and the women do all the grinding on the metate.

Tortillas are made of the *nixtamal* or maize dough. A quantity is scooped off the metate and shaped into a flat disk in the hands. This is then skillfully slapped between the palms until it becomes a thin sheet about one-eighth inch in thickness and 6 or 7 inches in diameter. This sheet is baked on a dry flat clay dish, the *comal*, with moderate heat. Usually the tortilla is turned two or three times in the process. Tortillas are served at virtually every meal, regardless of the rest of the menu, and are the main article of diet.

Gordos are smaller and thicker cakes fried

[15] The people of Ichán in La Cañada are well known for their fondness for small wild birds such as *hongotes*, doves (*huilotas*), wild pigeons, *torcazas*, and *jarvinos*.

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what [273] little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast [757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made [556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into jojóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

272 265 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

262 A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

262 511 556 One of the poorest families in town, consisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½ liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

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[p.546]

262 straits as the one mentioned above, would prob-
511 ably spend, in addition, 1 or 2 centavos daily
556 for sugar, consumed in cinnamon tea, or 3 to 6 ounces of brown sugar for use in *atole blanco*. Atole would occasionally be made of milk, 3 to 5 centavos worth being bought. Such a family [758] would drink milk only in case of illness, when a sick person might get a pint or a little more each day.

A "middle class" family, consisting of 8 persons (2 adults, 6 children aged 4 to 16), eats about 3½ liters of maize daily, about 3½ pounds of meat (a peso's worth) a week, and 10 centavos worth of cheese daily. In addition, about 25 centavos a day would be spent for other foods. (The data on the three diets given above were all collected by Sra. Silvia Rendón.)

What appeared to be two reliable quantitative records, covering 2-week periods, were obtained, the first for a wealthy family and the second for an average family. They are as follows:

Diet records of two families for 2-week period

1. Wealthy family, Don Hilaro Xhemba (10 persons in household):

Maize	111 liters
Meat	13 pounds
Cheese	2 pounds
Fruit	[1]$ 2.54
Milk	1.54
Chiles (about ½ dozen)	.03
Bread (15 pieces, whole wheat, about 4½ inches diameter, 1¼ inches thick)	.75
Beans (brown or red; little less than 3 liters)	.41
Fish (probably about ½ pound dried fish)	.21
Total expenditure	$12.50

2. Average family, Melquiades Romero (2 adults and 5 children):

Maize	75 liters
Meat	12 pounds
Fruit	[2]$0.96

[1] This amount seems high. It would be the cost of 50 to 75 oranges, small to medium size, but undoubtedly it was not all spent for oranges; in fact, it was much more probably spent for bananas, pears, and perhaps apples or peaches.

[2] Perhaps spent for 20 to 30 small to medium oranges, but probably mostly for bananas, peaches, pears, and apples.

In both cases recorded above, vegetables undoubtedly came out of the family garden and are not listed. Probably, from the distribution of purchases, this would mean cabbage daily, perhaps half a leaf per person, boiled with the

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262 meat. At this time of year there may have
511 been a few meals with immature squash or wild
556 herbs from the woods, stewed with perhaps a little milk or cheese and lard.

Evelyn Payne Hatcher kindly consented to
146 attempt an analysis of the diet of Cherán.
262 The results are full of guesswork, but they
556 are at least suggestive. The results show
511 that if yellow maize was used almost exclusively, the diet of a wealthy family would contain no outright deficiencies and in many respects provide more than the usual recommended minimum amounts of various vitamins and proteins and calories. A very poor family, on the other hand, would show a striking deficiency in vitamin B_1 and an inadequate caloric intake. Both diets would give a marked deficiency of vitamin A if white corn were used instead of yellow corn. Despite the inadequacy of the data, there seems little reason to doubt that in some cases, particularly among poor families, deficiencies in the diet are sufficiently large to have a pronounced effect upon behavior and cultural participation (Beals and Hatcher, 1943).

COMPARATIVE NOTES

262 Some interesting comparisons are afforded by
556 data from other towns. The most complete
511 information was secured from Chilchota in La Cañada.

Chilchota is a Mestizoized Indian town, i. e., the bulk of the population is of Indian descent but a number of Mestizos have moved in, the native language is scarcely spoken any longer, and the people regard themselves as non-Indian. Customs are closely similar to those in the nearby Indian towns, however. Following are some menus collected by Silvia Rendón (for Cherán menus, see Beals and Hatcher, 1943):

Chilchota menus

Luncheons (taken about 10 or 11 a. m.; no breakfast in this case):

Average household:

Broiled beef
Boiled beans
Black atole
Chile sauce
Tortillas

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262 Chile sauce
Tortillas
511 Coffee (black)

556 Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Very poor household:
Greens of wheat plants (boiled)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Pork cooked with chile
Fried beans
Tortillas

Fried pork
Boiled beans
Milk
Tortillas

Pork cooked in chile sauce (mole?)
Fried beans
Tortillas
Black coffee

Dinners (2 p. m. or later):

Average household:
Meat broth with cabbage (cooked)
Meat (beef) from which broth was made
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Meat broth with cabbage
Boiled beans
Rice, cooked in water

Pork broth (with rice and bitter *tunas* or prickly pears)
Rice boiled in water
Beans
Tortillas

Fried rice with tomatoes
Pork in chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Broth
Meat from the broth
Beans boiled with chile and silantro
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Meat broth
Meat (different from that from which broth was made) cooked with chile
Beans
Tortillas

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[P'Sbe] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Suppers (about 7 o'clock in the evening):
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Average household:

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Milk

Very poor household:

Beans
Posole (hominy, probably with a little boiled meat)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Broiled meat
Milk

Fairly common suppers are tamales (with or without meat) and atole or coffee or a piece of bread (a whole-wheat bread slightly seasoned) and a cup of tea made from the herb nurite or a type of orange leaf.

In all cases quantities are probably small, except of tortillas. Rarely would more than one piece of bread be eaten, perhaps 2 to 3 ounces at most; perhaps half a cup to a cup of beans; meat, if broiled or boiled, two pieces about 1½ inches in greatest dimension—if in sauce, perhaps a couple of tablespoonfuls with the sauce.[19]

With substitution of different foods, these would represent Cherán menus on the whole, although there would not be so much meat with breakfast-luncheon, but rather atole, while the meat broth and meat would more commonly be served together.

At the Indian town of Sopoco in La Cañada, the following midday meals were observed:

[19] See Appendix 1 for more data on Chilchota.

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[p.56b] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas
Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)—Possibly because Capacuaro is
262 a smaller village with extensive woods close by,
184 more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, góphers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

[264] Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričúskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

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471 Ownership of livestock similarly poses questions. The wealthy man who keeps a considerable number of bulls whose main use seems to be to enhance his social prestige by having the bulls selected for riding at a fiesta may also sell them for beef if he needs money for productive enterprises. Sheep are capital in much the same sense that land is capital. A yoke of oxen or a burro may be used to aid production and are also rented. A horse, on the other hand, is close to a "conspicuous expenditure."

Probably the minimal capital required in 471 Cherán is for the production of certain services. A water carrier needs only two 25-liter oil cans, a bit of rope, and a piece of wood to make a [313] yoke. A *tabla* maker (one producing heavy hewn planks or beams) needs only an ax and some oak wedges he cuts out himself, and 10 [474] pesos to join the cooperative (formerly he would have needed only enough to pay the tax for use of communal lands). A digging stick and a knife would suffice to gather *raiz de paja*, while herbs need only a bit of cloth to tie them in. At the other extreme are the owners of threshing machines, *nixtamal* mills, or trucks, the latter requiring a cash outlay of between 8 and 10 thousand pesos.

For the farmer, aside from land, very few capital goods are necessary. Ox teams and plows may be rented and paid for out of the crop; even land may be secured on a sharecrop basis. A special *machete* for weeding is, in fact, the only indispensable tool. Such farming, however, will bring a relatively small return, probably little, if any, more than could be earned by a hired laborer.

At the other extreme, a landowner, farming his own land, should own an ox team, yoke, plow, *machete*, burros, and nets for transporting the crop, adequate storage facilities, and sufficient cash to hire labor at crucial periods such as planting and harvesting. A man so situated will reap the best possible return from his labor.

The major investment of a farmer is in land, storage facilities, and livestock. His ox yoke and plow he may make himself, and the few metal tools needed are not costly. In general, the investment in tools and equipment is much less than that required in manufacturing or some service occupations. A sewing machine

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[p.636]

471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, [437] whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

[423]
[556]

494 left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into
556 Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do
494 men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves. Although trucks are not supposed to carry
[661] passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns
443 in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos.
[511] It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

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511 The motivations of consumption appear several. Primary is the need of food, shelter,
181 and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case
[626] the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

556 In general, wealthy people do not display their wealth ostentatiously except through
511 undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

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556 Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more
511 violent revolutionary days are close enough
that people conceal their wealth rather than
[669] display it. That this was not always the case is evidenced by the considerable number of ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy before the revolution. Today wealthy men live modestly. Their table differs primarily in quantity rather than in quality from that of the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule, than do other women, and on special occasions they display more and better jewelry. There
[357] are few servants in Cherán, and their place is taken by dependent relatives or orphans who are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a moro dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

435 The values of the major commodities and services in Cherán are expressed in monetary terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

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[p.876]

178 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods
435 and products. Although little evidence is yet
494 visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .26
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00–13.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Raiz de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 cuartas long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

● 556 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and
423 agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

In terms of individual wealth, the basic
556 Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico.
422 Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

556
422

property may be made up. Even silver is less safe, for someone may find the buried hoard and steal it. In addition, it is not productive. He who harvests from 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is wealthy; while the man who harvests from 8 to 15 *cargas* may regard himself as a typical Cherán citizen.

Houses and buildings are also a form of wealth. The traditional type of house is owned apart from the land and is frequently bought and sold apart from the land. This is not true, of course, of stone or adobe buildings. Except for the somewhat greater difficulty of moving

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[p. 88b]

556 them, houses are essentially portable property
422 like furniture, tools, or cattle.

Little exists in the way of incorporeal prop-
424 erty in Cherán. Perhaps the most important
556 instances are the possession of knowledge of dances or of the texts for the dialogue in such performances as the *pastorela*. Theoretically

anyone might pick up this knowledge, but there seems a tacit understanding that this should not be done without the permission of the owner. Such knowledge is valuable, as such persons are paid by the *mayordomos* to teach the performers.

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[p. Ra]

556 Other types of incorporeal property possibly
424 are the knowledge of the herb gatherers, mid-
wives, and witches. However, there is no sense of property in Cherán concerning this knowledge, and the idea of buying or selling it was not encountered. Such knowledge seems not to be differently regarded from the knowledge of how to farm or to care for animals or make bread.

A unique type of property right is the owner-
421 ship of certain images of saints and of *mayor-*
778 *domías*. Two cases were encountered. One is the ownership of the *mayordomía* of the Three
556 Kings (*Los Tres Reyes*), January 6. Several men were instrumental in starting this *mayordomía*, formerly celebrated only by the dance of the Europeans (*danza de los Europeos*). Not only did these men put on the first *mayordomía*, they put up funds, aided by contributions, to secure a fine set of images for the *mayordomía*. In subsequent years they decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year. As one of them said to me, "It looks like this *mayordomía* is going to be a good business." However, he spoke in figurative terms, for, so far as could be learned, the "owners" of the *mayordomía* expected to receive only spiritual rewards and perhaps community approbation.

The second case is the ownership of a miraculous saint. The owners found the saint, erected a chapel, and receive contributions from worshippers. The owners claim that all gifts go to clothe the saint properly and care for the chapel, a statement that is open to doubt although there is no evidence to the contrary.

The distribution of wealth in Cherán appears
556 to be relatively equitable. Certainly there are no really wealthy men in Cherán and there are relatively few impoverished individuals. So long as wealth is measured in land and most families in Cherán have a reasonable amount of land, this condition will continue. It is true that people in Cherán talk a great deal about *los ricos* (the rich men). In practice, almost no one can readily identify the rich men. Partly, of course, this is because rich men, in order to avoid envy, are careful not to flaunt their wealth. But it also is an indication that really wealthy men are probably scarce, if not absent. One of the regular assistants, Pedro Chávez, talked constantly about

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.89b]

556 the rich. Repeated efforts to pin him down resulted in the identification of not a single individual as a *rico* and the assertion that anyone who harvested 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is a rich man. As this means a cash income from this source of around $300 to $600 or $700 a year, the standard is not high, although probably wheat, cattle, and other sources add to such income. It is worth observing that almost no storekeepers are classed as wealthy—they usually do not have much land.

428 The inheritance of property in Cherán is normally from parent to children. Should an individual die without formal disposition of his property, the municipal officials would endeavor (subject to whatever influences might be brought to bear on them) to divide the property equally among children without regard to sex. Normally, however, the heirs would make the division, and it would merely be submitted to the *municipio* for approval. In this way inequalities often creep in through domination of one heir by another and the desire to avoid a fight.

It is quite common in Cherán for the property to be disposed of by the owner before death by making a will or, more commonly, by making a statement of intention to a reliable and trusted friend before witnesses. Such decisions will be respected and enforced by the *municipio*.

Property owned by women will ordinarily go to their children. However, should a couple be childless, the spouse does not inherit. There are numerous cases in Cherán of well-to-do couples where the bulk of the property is owned by the wife. Although the husband uses and administers the property, he has no rights in it unless it is formally made over to him by his wife during her life time. Similarly, a widow does not inherit except in special cases. This, again, involves a will or making over of the property during the life of the owner. Usually such an act is taken by a man only when his sons are rebellious and unfilial.

There are frequent cases where men do not leave property equally to all children or where they leave it to some other relative. In rare cases, there may have been some assignment of property to children before death. Then the child, usually the youngest, who has cared for the parent in old age, receives all the remaining

425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered
217 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where an outsider is called in to make the division.
425 Then each heir is required to sign (or someone signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

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[p.91a]

181 with the larger national economy. Some of the
556 deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

[text continues on top of p.91b]

THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in
128 several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an admin-
632 istrative unit, smaller than the usual county in
634 the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

[text continues on middle of p. 91b]

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[p.916]

181 poor indeed if there should be a maize shortage.
556 Even in normal times, the man who has to buy maize is pitied, even though he has plenty of money.

Although further analysis might be desirable, it also seems that the emphasis on nonproductive expenditures is higher in Cherán than in our own culture. The outlay in cash and goods involved in religious festivals, weddings, and similar events, seems much higher proportionately. Men often forego material advantage also for the spiritual rewards of offices connected with the church, an aspect which has not yet been discussed but which will be described later in detail. It seems doubtful if the motivations in these cases correspond entirely to those of the "conspicuous expenditures" of our own society.

THE COMMUNITY

632 the population live in the *cabecera*. Subordi-
634 nate to the *cabecera* ordinarily are a number of *tenencias*, villages of several hundred to more than a thousand population, and rancherias or other small units. All these subordinate units are administered from the *cabecera* through local, appointed delegates, the *jefes de tenencia*. Theoretically the residents in the *tenencias* and other units play an equal part with the inhabitants of the *cabecera*; in practice, government is controlled from the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the usual pattern in that the *municipio* consists of the *cabecera* and one small rancheria. Cherán, the town, is thus about twice as large as most Tarascan *cabeceras*, although the *municipio* has about the same population as others. Formerly the situation was somewhat different, with the *tenencia* of Cheranástico forming part of the *municipio*. As the result of circumstances to be related later, the people of Cheranástico withdrew from the *municipio* of Cherán and now form part of the *municipio* of Paracho. Had the population of Cheranástico been sufficiently large, it might even have become a separate *municipio*. The withdrawal of Cheranástico emphasizes the fact that *cabeceras* and *tenencias* have their respective boundaries within the larger limits of the *municipio*.

167 war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

565 Class or caste stratification is almost unknown in Cherán. There still remains much
556 of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. There is much talk of rich and poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informent put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by
[555] their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

The most influential group at present in
565 Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

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776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 356 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

821 When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.
825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

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585 the majority of persons were rather proud of the amount they had spent. Unquestionably, a wedding is the most extensive and ostentatious 556 display of wealth and social position that exists 585 in Cherán. Attempts in the past by outsiders to suppress the *costumbres* are almost always taken as attempts to suppress the weddings first of all and are met by sullen and dogged resistance. The reaction of Emilio Rojas, godfather of the bride in the Samuel Santa Clara wedding, is fairly typical:

> The custom here is pleasant, except people get very drunk. Well, not everyone, but some. It is good to take something, but not to the point of drunkenness. It is good to dance and be gay. Besides, I like weddings because I always sell something in the way of clothing. [Don Emilio is a storekeeper.]

The social prestige factors involved in weddings revolve about several aspects of the ceremonies. One is the sheer factor of display already mentioned. Whenever any group of people goes through the streets in connection with the wedding, it is accompanied by a band. Furthermore, a direct route is rarely followed. Often a circuitous route two or three times as long as the direct route is used.

Another aspect is the display and exchange of clothing and bread. Every effort is made to show the amount of bread being brought and the quantity of clothing to be exchanged. The clothing is carried on trays, usually lacquered, or in baskets either in the arms or on the head. The majority of the participants bearing clothing come in a single large procession which always makes a special effort to traverse as much of the town as is possible without making the ostentation too evident. The women bearing clothing all sit together for a time after arriving at the groom's house and spread out their clothing to make it look as impressive as possible.

The clothing exchange also has an economic aspect, for the investment involved is very considerable. To some extent, though, the gifts are formalized. Clothing for wedding gifts is usually not as well made as regular clothing. Furthermore, a large part of it is kept for exchange in future weddings. Only if a family does not expect to have any relatives marry for some time to come will it actually use the clothing, unless it is very poor and in need of the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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556 585 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. [602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should [578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, [572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

626 585 Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

585 584 As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in
342 the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important.
556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as
581 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least
556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as
554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

175 fitted into the class system of colonial
621 Mexico.

[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 The other main type of social unit in
621 rural Mexico was the privately owned es-
423 tate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 The colonial village community was the
621 primary economic unit, to some extent self-
423 sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the
175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]

[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of
[463] most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they
[438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 For various reasons differences in wealth
556 came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 83-70; Haring, 1947, 174-8.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

175 holdings.[10] Commerce also must have
[556] caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed
175 within the community, although the prop-
423 erty title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic,
[621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of gov-
624 ernment in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 With the Spanish conquest the higher
565 strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The
175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests that the system by which Indian nobles
623 controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-45, passim; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 100-108; 153-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:432-3.

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TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "*tarío*" kitchen	25–50
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosína, or one "*tarío*" kitchen and one small "*troja*."	175–200
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosína or "*tarío*" kitchen and one medium "*troja*."	375–600
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosína and two good "*trojas*."	550–800
	One trója kosína and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on p. 28 b]

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 Only in a general way is there correlation be-
556 tween house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28 b]

435 a relative or friend to permit him to use a bit of
342 land—as many do—the cost of minimal shelter
511 could be as low as $11. By begging scraps, even this figure could be reduced. Such a housing situation would, however, be regarded as "frightful" by all Tarascans.

At the other end of the scale, there are numerous Cherán residents who have much more costly establishments than those represented under *d*. Relatively few are in the condition of *b;* the great majority of Cherán residents would fall in category *c* and a fair proportion in category *d*. The discussion of house use will illustrate this point.

RELATION OF HOUSES TO

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

342 2. A special occupation, such as storekeeping, may be
556 followed.

3. There may be definite social pretensions. Of these three causes, the last seems least operative. Wealth is a necessary prerequisite to anything more elaborate than class *d* housing but wealth is often concealed. Numerous families in class *d* are far from wealthy by Cherán standards.

These judgments are somewhat subjective, but case material could be cited to support them.

[p.28b]

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo. [101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns — "The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no overt conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those
563 with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans
565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin
563 America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than 262 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than minimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vita- 556 min B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories. 511

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it [184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 ment of Agriculture Circular Nº 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, 113 **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular Nº 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin Nº 707, 1939: and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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TABLE II

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
meat	10.4	52	117	5.7	.16	1.9	1.35	875
cheese	1.6	900	7	—	.25	.37	.52	179
bread	1	70	30	0	—	.1	.02	100
bananas	5.5	230	28	7	.07	.66	.11	154
milk	16	700	75	10	.60	.28	.32	310
lard	.5	—	—	—	—	—	H.5	127
beans	5	40	71	0	—	1.1	.08	495
oranges	12	117	100	107	.32	.11	.02	175
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
chiles	.7	616	—	38	—	—	—	
Totals (without maize)		3,835 [1]	433	207.7	1.50	5.01	2.42	2,685
maize (yellow)	192	23,600	2,840	—	2.07	19.2	8.26	20,280
Total		27,585	3,318	207.7	3.57	24.21	10.68	22,965
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, wealthy family.

[1] This would be the quantity of vitamin A with white maize.

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10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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TABLE III

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	121	14,890	1,750	—	1.2	12.1	5.2	12,780
chiles	7.5	6,600	—	400	—	—	—	75
beans	1.5	10	33	—	—	.33	.02	250
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
Totals		23,120	1,807	420	1.52	12.91	5.86	13,363
(with white maize)		8,230	—					
Minimum requirements		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, very poor family.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to
624 help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
533 sioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 One commissioner for the moros is named
624 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and does not collect money, paying the entire ex-
535 pense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing
[558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 The four commissioners for the bull ring are
624 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None
358 of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

548 occasionally. Payment, usually 50 centavos, is given to the girls prostituting themselves, part of which is given to the woman who lends her house for the purpose and arranges the meeting.

Despite the existence of prostitution, it is 864 claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Girls particularly are believed to be relatively innocent, although obviously all have knowledge of the nature of the sexual act in a setting as full of animals as is Cherán. Boys are believed to be somewhat more sophisticated because, even though they may not have visited houses of prostitution, details are talked about among them. After marriage, aside from the prohibitions on intercourse during pregnancy and confinement and 833 during menstruation, there are no restrictions on sexual relations between husband and wife. There seem to be no ideas about a fixed interval or ideal interval between sexual relations and informants thought relations were "frequent" but would not suggest any time periods. In general, the subject of sex relations proved embarrassing and informants seemed purposely to avoid definite statements.

583 The customary preliminary to marriage is for the groom to "steal" (*robar*) his bride. Virtually everyone of the older and the more articulate men in town deprecate the custom and many assert that it is a recent development. Nevertheless, no one could name a time when the custom was not practiced. Moreover, it is to be found in many other Tarascan towns, perhaps in all of them, and is regarded as an old form at Mestizo Chilchota, where most marriages also begin by stealing. Although occasionally the groom asks for the bride instead of stealing her, such cases are exceptional and seem more likely to be the innovation than does the stealing of the bride.

Only on very rare occasions is the bride stolen without her consent. Generally the entire performance, including setting the time and place, has been arranged beforehand between the bride and groom, although it is good form for the girl to struggle or at least to pretend to do so. The groom enlists the [561] cooperation of some of his age mates and they assist in carrying off the girl and in blocking pursuit. The usual time for carrying off a girl is on a Sunday when she comes out of church

854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress.
[864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave mis-
736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
[195] when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 About 25 percent of the boys go to school at
871 ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

868 Actual participation in adult work begins at about 8 years for boys. At this age they
857 accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

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122 Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several 121 reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of 177 the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. [491] In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The 177 non-Tarascan families were more or less tran- 563 sient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from 121 the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p. 1c]

121 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both
177 from essentially Indian towns themselves, two
563 school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

The field work in Cherán was a cooperative
114 enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

In addition to the foregoing, many persons
115 in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost immumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

131 ritory is close to the railroad which runs
through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes.
101 The southern boundary might be defined
roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan
and thence close to the railway from Uruapan
to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from
Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs
just inside the northern limits and in others,
just outside. Within or near the borders of
the present-day Tarascan area occur a number
of old Mexican towns closely associated with the
historic Tarascans and their contemporary cul-
ture, which provide the administrative centers
and the major market places. These towns are
[361] Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los
Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other
towns of local importance have arisen more
[563] recently, towns which were once Tarascan but
are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated
Tarascans. A good example of such a town is
Chilchota.

13 Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may
be characterized generally as an elevated tem-
perate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic
soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood
forests. In detail there are differences, and a
number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake
Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of
[361] slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages
are either on the shore or upon islands in the
lake. The forests have been cleared away
[311] around the lake except upon lands too steep to
cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but
is concentrated in the summer months. The
climate is temperate and cool even in mid-
summer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile
valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about
by hills and mountains covered with forest.
Although there is but little difference in eleva-
tion from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warm-
er and some tropical or subtropical plants such
as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of
Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada.
Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as
[912] is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and
[241] extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas,
and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

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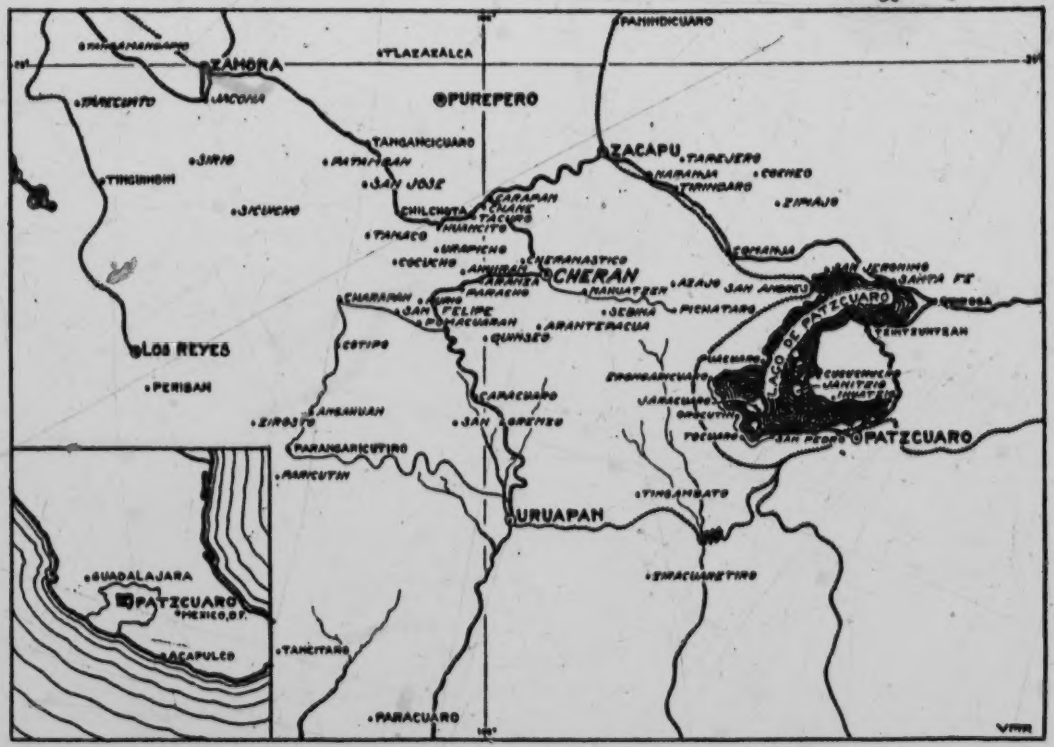

MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in italic are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestizo origin or are primarily Mestizo in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cherán; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

[p.6]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p. 15b]

312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

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[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. [438] In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a carga [435] (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a carga. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 17a]

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[829] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardina"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a
[435] father and three sons, 10, 12, and 18 years of age, cut a cord a
[563] day (16 *cargas*), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.126]
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 33.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 166.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1891, 34.

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čarándа is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čarándа soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 241 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11b--ANALYST]

TARASCAN POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 178 171 One of the outstanding developments in Tarascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the 191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign tongues existed; these represented colonies settled 563 with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[TEXT CONTINUES bottom of P. 11b---ANALYST]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirds*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirds* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirds* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[Pb] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12-b--Analyst]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cusso; Mus. Nac., leg. 98, Rel. de Charo Mathalinga.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 13[illegible]; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

[P. 12 a]

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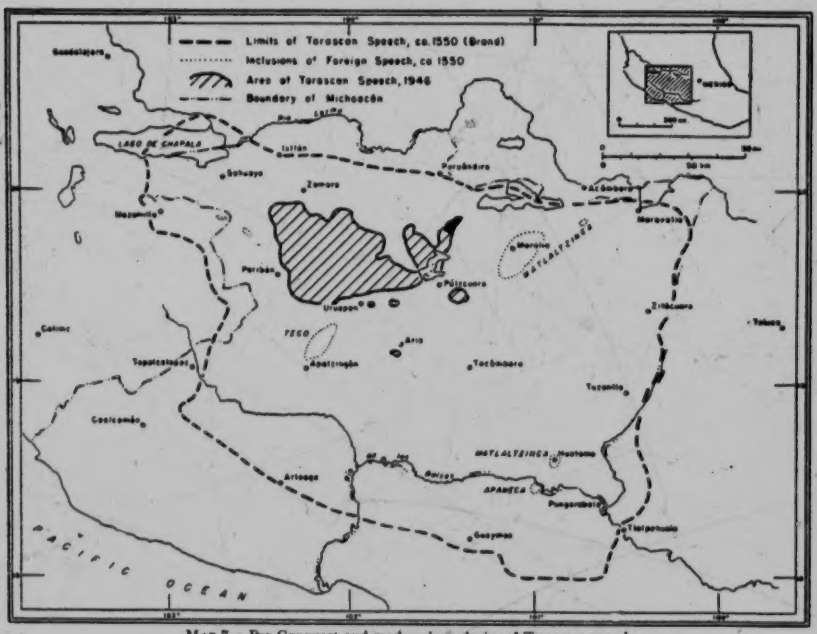

MAP 7.—Pre-Conquest and modern boundaries of Tarascan speech.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 142]

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

The western area.—Immediately west of the
563 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
191 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was
177 early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1800. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado" (in Memoria de la Legislature de Michoacán (1860); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1845; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1862.

[127]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 14.b]

563 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers
177 and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large
Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but
191 the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern
[164] plateau. In the former area disease probably decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[25] The mill settlements (*trapiches, ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians
[464] were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, ex-
191 ploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente*
[177] and the establishment of smelting centers in Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[25] In 1540 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Turpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 233).

[Text continues top of P. 17a---Analysis]

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these
66 social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its
unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight
men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political
matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at
large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly
convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases
are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by
the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are gener-
ally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme
cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings
and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distri-
bution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the
ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent in-
terest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of
formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by
that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the
same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have
been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only
[621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno,
like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending fac-
tions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political
563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using
mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have them-
selves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo cul-
ture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian
followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both
groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political de-
mands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and
supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In
the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contest-
ing state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The in-
digenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan ven-
detta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such
as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems trans-
late downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between na-
tional structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct;
the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chair-
man.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community
organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo. [101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns.—"The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no evert conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those 563 with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans 565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin 563 America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho.

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration.

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized.

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking.

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio*, *Indígena*, *Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesclado*, *Cruzado*, *de razon*, *Mestizo*, half and half, revueltas, and white.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 Ritual dancing[1]
Sorcery
462

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensi-
464 tive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

Information about day laborers indicated a
465 return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

Unemployment for laborers usually comes
464 about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angáhuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

167 war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

565 Class or caste stratification is almost un-
556 known in Cherán. There still remains much of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. There is much talk of rich and poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informent put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by
[555] their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

The most influential group at present in
565 Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

565 and speak better." As a matter of fact, the leader of this group is relatively poor.

The informant who was most class-conscious admitted in casual conversation that the divisions existing in the town were essentially the result of individual likes and dislikes and personal ambitions. In this unguarded conversation, he admitted that class and ideological differences were of very little importance.

565 554 To the outside observer, however, the situation is not so simple. Even though class distinctions are of little significance, nevertheless persons with little or no land who work as laborers or sharecroppers receive much less respect in conversation. It must be admitted, however, that so far as our information and observations went, they are never disparaged to their face. In addition, there are two men who seem to be pariahs to whom no one pays attention. They work as professional water carriers and porters for the most part and seem very poverty-stricken, sometimes begging at

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

565 houses for food. Little could be learned about
554 them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

565 The nearest approach to class groupings is
571 that persons seem to associate mostly with indi-
185 duals who are their own age mates and of the same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[text continues on p. 100a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 100a]

565 571 185 once he understood the words, in classifying the people he knew in these categories. The second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (‡). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).

FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[29] is extended to the brothers and

[29] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.126] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 53.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 12ff.; Zurita, 1891, 188.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1861, 34.

175 565 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.

Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [651] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's responsibility to supply a definite number of [467] laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento, mita,* or *coatequil.*

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas,* and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of economic and cultural autonomy, but they 621 never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading, 621 paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish enterprise, and losing individuals to the 565 growing free lower classes *(castas),* they

5. Sorokin, 1930, 1:560.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.13a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 621 fitted into the class system of colonial Mexico.

[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 621 423 The other main type of social unit in rural Mexico was the privately owned estate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, i. e. "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 621 423 The colonial village community was the primary economic unit, to some extent self-sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the cult and the support of the Church.[9]

175 [241] [463] Agriculture was the economic basis of most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they [438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 556 For various reasons differences in wealth came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 563.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-5.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, passim; 1943, Chapter 3.

175 holdings.[10] Commerce also must have
[556] caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed
175 within the community, although the prop-
423 erty title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic,
[621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of gov-
624 ernment in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 With the Spanish conquest the higher
565 strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The
175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests
623 that the system by which Indian nobles controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-45, passim; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 100-108; 162-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422-3.

2:Car.asco F -4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 159] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 This fight turned out to be an attack on
423 inalienable landed property in general, in-
cluding the Indian communal lands. The
668 purpose was to free those lands thus re-
moved from commerce and throw them to
the free play of the market, creating a class
[565] of small farmer-owners with a well de-
veloped idea of property which would
make for social and economic progress.

The abolition of landownership by civil
175 and ecclesiastical corporations was first
668 written into law in 1856 and incorporated
into the 1857 constitution during the period
423 of Mexican history known as the *Re-
forma*.[21] The enforcement of these meas-
ures, in so far as they concerned the lands
of Indian towns, was usually delayed until
the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

The Indians' communal lands were al-
175 lotted as private property among the vil-
lagers. Once the property title was in in-
423 dividual hands, with the possibility of be-
ing sold to anybody, outsiders found the
648 way open to acquire land which, through
communal land title, had formerly been re-
served for the villagers. The greater eco-
nomic power of the non-Indians, and fre-
quently unfair practices, allowed them to
acquire a great amount of land from Indian
villages. The concentration of land in
haciendas and the impoverishment of the
villages were thus facilitated. This pro-
cess was accelerated during the Porfirio
Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the
general economic progress of that period.
[471] The inflow of capital, building of railroads,
development of mining and other indus-
tries, also led to a rise of land values and
an increase of capital seeking to invest in
land.[23]

* * *

In summary, after the reforms of the end
175 of the nineteenth century, the haciendas
grew enormously at the expense of the
423 formerly communal land of the village
communities or of land allotted to individ-
668 ual Indians who were not able to keep pos-
648 session. On the other hand, the remaining
village communities changed from units
of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates
of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the ex-
pense of the land-holding villages and the
change within the villages from communal
to private property represented the general
national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phipps, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 136.
23. Phipps, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enríquez, 1909, 56-8.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.32a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

668 agrarista groups to identify the cult and
the festivals with the land order against
794 which they were revolting. Thus the local
situation tied itself up with the national
798 anticlerical policy of the government.

The agraristas kept the priest out of town and closed the church. If it had been burned during the Revolution they did not rebuild it,[52] or they used the church and the priest's house for other functions such as social centers or schools.[53] Cargos and fiestas were forbidden as they were seen to be the causes of excessive expenditures and drunkenness.[54]

We have already presented the causes for the failure of the agraristas to maintain their power in villages where small landowners prevailed. The agraristas became
[565] an exclusive privileged minority, opposed to the interest of most of the villagers. Their anticlerical policies also led them to reforms in an aspect of culture—religion and festivals—which were deeply ingrained in the traditional culture. Resistance to their economic policies thus became associated with resistance to culture change. In such conservative villages, reaction against the agraristas was always prevalent,[55] and it had a militant Catholic ideology. Even during the period of the most strongly antichurch policy of the government, some villagers managed to hide a priest,[56] and others, like Cherán, smuggled one in to say mass in private houses without the anticlerical minority's being strong enough to dare speak.[57]

Still in other more conservative villages
791 the lack of a priest led not to obsolescence of religion, but to manifestations of folk religion which the priests would not have allowed. In Ocumicho, a woman called María Doncella (Mary the Maiden) claimed to have heard the voice of God in a slit stone in a ravine near the village. The news spread throughout the region and many people began to come to Ocumicho in pilgrimage. María Doncella baptized the children herself and songs were made to her in which she was called the daughter of God. Once she said that the Virgin of Cocucho had come to Ocumicho and taken the patron San Pedro with her, and she organized a procession of people to go to Cocucho and pray to have San Pedro come back. According to skeptical informants

52. Urapicho: Beals, 1946, 131.
53. Tzurumútaro, Puácuaro.
54. Sáenz, 1936, 96; Simpson, 1937, 497.
55. Sáenz, 1936, passim; Foster, 1948, 175.
56. Tzintzuntzan: Foster, 1948, 175, 224.
57. Beals, 1946, 119.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo. [101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns — "The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no overt conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those 563 with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans 565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin 563 America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 13-a]

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the
566 east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
191 contributed more than any other factor to the loss
177 of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Taintamtean were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castillo, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 68; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

565 houses for food. Little could be learned about
554 them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

565 The nearest approach to class groupings is
571 that persons seem to associate mostly with indi-
185 duals who are their own age mates and of the same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[text continues on p. 100a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

565 once he understood the words, in classifying
571 the people he knew in these categories. The
185 second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

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FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[29] is extended to the brothers and

[29] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will
517 always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums.
517 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well
525 patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5
[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

Tastes are fixed even in some matters of
291 dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944). 608 66

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo. [631]

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who, at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect. 572 66

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits. 622 572

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno. 571 66

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
66 ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have
[621] been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political
563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

556 585 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. [602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should [578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, [572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

Resentment and avoidance seem to be the 626 only methods of retaliation for neglect at 585 Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

As a neutral third party, the marriage man- 585 ager also smooths over differences of opinion 584 more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944). 608 66

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo. [631]

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect. 572 66

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits. 622 572

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno. 571 66

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

[p.102a]

604 she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

General behaviors.—All more distant rela-
602 tives are expected to take part in any "labor."
476 This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family
[554] wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obliga-
574 tions are apparent is when a family returns to
602 the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

608 Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day
527 before, including three women with "a little
443 religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting *"Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,"* who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

Some street cleaning began on this day.
527 Trash was burned in the streets and the streets
364 were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day.
527 Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together
796 the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members
[574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

Sunday the market was in full operation, and
527 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the
535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

[p.129a]

A special food for Easter week is
796 tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
[262] boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *coketes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

Although most private fiestas are described
342 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of
574 a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

342 always assisted by various relatives, who also
put pressure on him to hold the event. For
● 574 the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins pro-
vided the music. A relative of the husband
[602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband
supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of
the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes
[335] are put in place and nailed by the master car-
penter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the
[602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the
cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of *curípo*, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob-
[533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra)
arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

342 and are served. While all this is going on, a few women start dancing.

574 Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuelgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuelgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuelgas*. Single *cuelgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

[273] The host, on the occasion observed, drank very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

796 A few data collected on fiestas from other towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colchas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
[123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
754 but there are few special treatments for them.
854 Only the evil eye must be guarded against especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

585 lings and cousins and grandparents of the groom together have hired another band and at this time they separate themselves from the rest of the groom's relatives. [They go through the streets with the musicians, ultimately going to the house of one of the groom's uncles where they eat dinner. The remainder of the groom's relatives and the guests eat at the house of the groom. Tortillas, kurúndas (tamales), and čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and chunks of beef) are served.]

After the dinner is served, the party is prepared to go for the bride. This is called the p'ipejperakua. The party consists of the parents of the groom and their brothers and all the friends of the parents. [574] [Actually not all go; those who are invited to go on the party are given iris leaves which they carry with [123] them. Staff members at weddings were frequently given invitations to accompany the party in this same form.] The same relatives of the bride are all assembled at her house, ready, as are the friends of the parents. [The party of the groom's relatives is accompanied by musicians. The party goes first to the house of the godparents of the bride. They serenade the house outside and then the closer relatives enter the house. They form a circle before the godfather and the godmother of the bride. The marriage manager makes a long but informal speech, asking permission to take the bride. The godfather replies, giving his permission. All present then shake hands with the godfather and godmother, making a movement simulating kissing the hand. The group leaves the house, accompanied by the godparents.] Arriving at the house of the bride's parents, the groom's relatives immediately ask for the bride. [Actually, only the closer relatives again go inside, accompanied by the musicians. The marriage manager again asks for the bride.] When consent is granted, they start for the groom's house, carrying with them the clothing they have ready. [For a big wedding a procession of a hundred or more people may have formed by the time the group returns to the groom's house.] In the meantime the other relatives of the boy [the siblings, cousins, and grandparents] arrive with their musicians and do the same [that is, they take off the siblings, cousins, and grandparents of the bride] who carry quantities of clothing. This consists of shirts for men and women, trousers for men, jackets for men and women, sashes for women, and bags, and tortilla cloths, the latter two objects to be given the groom at the time all the others are changing clothing and bread. In the house of the groom's father the guests are all seated as before. [The godmothers are again seated on mats in the center and the bride sits for a time beside the godmother of baptism. Guests continue to arrive and additional ribbons are tied in the hair of the godmothers and long and elaborate paper ornaments fastened to sticks are placed in the hair. All the relatives of the groom give cigarettes to the groom's father when they arrive in the courtyard for the first time and also give cigarettes to the godfathers

517 159 574 Agustín arrived in Cherán from the United States on January 25, 1940. For 17 days he did not eat at home. There were no fiestas but he was "taken around." He was brought chocolate and bread before he got up. February 5 there was a wedding, which he attended for a while in the evening and part of the next day. February 6 was Carnival and he went on horseback to Nahuatzen, where he followed the music about for a time. In March, during Holy Week, he went to church Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. He spent some time watching the *Judíos* chase small boys with their spears. The boys blew whistles to annoy them. Between Carnival and Holy Week there were several weddings, but he did not attend any of them for more than an hour or two. At the fiesta of the Octava following Holy Week he spent 4 days going about with the musicians. He spent 3 days at a fiesta in Nahuatzen, coming home each night. At Corpus he spent 4 days, following the music and visiting various parties. He spent 1 day at the *carguero's* house on the day of San José, April 10. After Corpus he spent a whole day at one wedding and an hour or two at another. On San Juan's day, June 24, he spent the whole day watching the horse racing and other activities. On the day of San Pedro in June he ate posole at various houses and walked around all day. In August he spent 2 more days at another fiesta in Nahuatzen and spent an evening and a day in connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves. He also attended three weddings, spending an entire day at each. In September he visited the Ahuiran fiesta for 1 day. In October he spent 4 days at the fiesta of the patron saint in Cherán. A half day was spent at the Huansito fiesta in La Cañada. The Day of the Dead was almost all spent at the graveyard and at people's homes. In December he danced with the *negrito* dancers for 4 days and in January danced with the *viejos* or *Europeos* for 4 days (he did not count any of the practice time which was in the evenings). In January he spent 1 day at a wedding.

517 Another informant, between 40 and 50 years of age, spent the following time in fiestas:

Carnival, 2–3 hours
Wedding, 1 day
Holy Week, 3 days at church

769 people hid them when the priest approached, placing them out again when he moved on.
782 The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of nákatamales, bread, and fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop
[574] to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the
[text continues on top of p. 210b]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

Of immediate concern in dealing with a group
121 as large as the Tarascans is the question
184 whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

Final resolution of the question raised seems
121 to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a
[text continues on middle of p. 210b]

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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ROOFING FIESTA AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Men eating at a house-roofing fiesta; baskets of tortillas, jars of water, and dishes of salt lie on the ground. Remaining photographs, a Cherán wedding. *Upper (right):* Preparing to distribute bread, while one of the godmothers oversees the work. *Lower (left):* Bringing in paper ornaments for distribution. *Right (middle):* The godmothers and close relatives of the groom. *Lower (right):* Tying a ribbon in a godmother's hair.

[End Plate 7]

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

STORAGE

343 The Cherán house is really a storehouse. The
251 loft and, sometimes, the lower floor are employed for storage of crops and food reserves. The lower floor is used for the storage of clothing, furniture not in immediate use, and for the family altar and the image of the saint. On occasion, it may be used as a sleeping room for guests. Supplementary sheds also may be used for crop storage, especially for fodder for animals.

SLEEPING AND COOKING

362 Cooking and eating is all done in the kitchen.
574 Guests may be fed in the kitchen, outside, on the house veranda, or in the house. Female visitors are usually entertained in the kitchen. Male visitors are more apt to be entertained outdoors or on the house veranda, depending on the
362 weather.
513 In mountain towns, sleeping is always in the

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
● 514 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT
CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

574 609 with whom especially friendly relations exist, normally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

351 574 184 So far as is known, customs in other mountain towns are similar in all respects except for the attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 136 The major insect pests are fleas. In some villages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 164 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to [515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the
578 Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.114b]

575 794 668 578 sciously fostered by some elements in the Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32] Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 [186] The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

578 626 A great variety of minor conflicts constantly reach the office of the mayor. Many of these never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

695 685 Another case illustrates the handling of minor offenses. A woman was brought before the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.166]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.119a]

793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

575 794 Another activity, about which little is known, is in connection with the various societies. As indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

794 578 798 There can be little doubt that Cherán is a strongly Catholic community. During the height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 578 who were opposed to Church domination in political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

2:Carrasco E-4,6 (1945)1952
[P 279] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 621 the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 476 Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

175 794 The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuniso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

175 794 575 Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

175 794 575 621 743 This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
624 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young girls, other times older women; they were
624 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages for which there is information.[20] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival
796 each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1908, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 289] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 Besides the cargueros of the hospital
794 there were other religious officers. Sodali-
575 ties other than those of the hospitales with
624 funds for the cult were rare, and existed
only in very few towns. But as a rule there
were also other sponsors of festivals to
saints not connected with the hospital.
Common to all villages were several spon-
sors (*capitanes, fiesteros*, or other names)
who organized the festival to the patron
saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 Financing the cult involved payment of
794 alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep
651 of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments,
wafers and wine, etc.) and also the ex-
penses involved in folk ceremonial ele-
ments such as the dancers' costumes, ban-
queting, and other entertainments like
fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees
were fixed by the Bishop and were called
arancel (book of rates). They were pri-
marily for mass and the administration of
the sacraments. In Michoacan every vil-
lage had an arancel of its own called *pinde-
cuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pin-
dékua*, custom); besides those fees, the
contributions for the support of the priest
were mentioned. These were often in kind
and were periodical, frequently coinciding
with the main festivals. As long as the
union of Church and State lasted, these
aranceles had also the approval of the civil
authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 In the eighteenth century, many of the
743 hospitales had property devoted to the sup-
423 port of their activities. Most generally this
575 was in the form of cattle pastured on the
794 village commons. One of the cargueros or
a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and
received the milk as a personal reward. In
other cases, land was also owned by the
hospital and worked in common, or more
often rented. In one case the hospital

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
423 erty, this financed not only the cult and
fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
575 hospital officers, such as caring for the sick
794 and paying for masses of the dead. In addi-
tion, the cargueros could use this same
source of income to provide food for the
villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One
village had a cofradía in order to pay the
pindecuario and another one to pay for the
sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had
more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] be-
sides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
735 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring
himself out as a muleteer servant [sirvi-
794 ente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very im-
poverished and sometimes almost like a
slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the
mayordomos of different saints bound
(cautivan) themselves for a long time in
order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On
the other hand, in Tangamandapio and
Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer
held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Estado, 1944, passim.
29. Ibid., 475.
30. Ibid., 480.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Estado, 1944, 477, 479.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*
252 more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed
[751] with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they
[576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with čurípo but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the
[265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets
[435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.1026]

608 may be entered into in some cases without children being involved. In many parts of Mexico, both Indian and Mestizo, the *compadrazgo* is an extremely important aspect of social relationships and it has taken on many special localized forms. As yet, the only adequate study of the institution is that made by Spicer for the Arizona Yaqui.[30]

The following account of the *compadrazgo* was written by one of the Tarascan assistants, Pedro Chávez. Additions to the original Chávez manuscript are in parentheses.

The *compadrazgo* is very common among the Tarascans and is highly respected. All *compadres* and [576] *comadres*, when they meet on the street, must salute each other with the phrase "*Buenos dias compadre*" (good-day) or "*Buenos dias comadre*," or its equivalent in Tarascan "nájeranku kumbáo (or koméri)." This obligation is especially strong between *comadres* or *compadres de pila*, as are called the *compadres* of baptism of a child. In this case it is obligatory to shake hands in sign of a certain mutual respect the two maintain. (These obligations endure for life, even though the child may have died long since.)

Classes of *compadres:* Among the *compadres* exist the following classes:

1. *Compadres* of baptism.
2. *Compadres* of confirmation.
3. *Compadres* of the crown (*corona*) or circumcision.
4. *Compadres* of marriage.

The degree of mutual respect and appreciation between *compadres* is approximately in the order in which they are given. (It should be noted that there are really two classes of *compadres* of marriage. There are the godparents of the bride and groom, usually a married couple, and the relatives of the bride and groom who become *compadres* as described below.)

608 Duties: The main duties are those of *compadres* of baptism. Immediately after the act of baptism (in 851 which the infant is carried to church and the small fee paid by the godparents), they say to each other "*comadre*" or "*compadre*" or "koméri" and "kumbá," which are the same as the Spanish. This is the first duty and the first occasion it is said. From this arises the duty to care for the godchild, for example, to treat it as nearly like a son as one's resources permit. The godparents have the duty of giving the godchild some kind of clothing, such as a hat, shirt, or trousers, whenever they can afford to do so. This can be done as often as the godfather wishes. The father of the boy or girl has the duty of educating the child, telling him that he has the obligation to speak to the godparents with the words "pagrínitu" or "magrínitu." (If the godchild dies before the age of 10, the godfather must provide the burial clothing.)

[30] Spicer, 1946, p. 91 ff.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 199a]

CASE 7

(3 people in family.)

461
462

	Hours
Tortillas (½ hour morning and afternoon)	1
Going to mill	½
Carrying water, 3 ollas, twice a day	⅔
Preparing food	1/12
Marketing	½
Sweeping	¼
Shelling corn	½
Visiting mother daily	1
Care of child	2 to 3
Resting	½
Daily minimum (exclusive of rest periods) about	5

Washing and bath, Fridays, about 4 hours.

CASE 8

(4 people in family.)

	Hours
Tortillas, morning and afternoon, total	1½
Going to mill	¼ to ⅜
Carrying water (5 to 7 ollas daily)	⅔
Preparing food	⅔
Sweeping (twice a week)	½
Marketing	½
Shelling corn	⅔
Resting	½ to 1
Visiting, not every day	1
Daily minimum (exclusive of resting and visiting)	5½

Washing and bath, Wednesdays, 9 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m.

None of the women interviewed were too poor to pay for having their maize ground. If they had ground their own maize on the metate, the hours of labor would have been materially increased.

576

In addition to learning the techniques of earning a living and acquiring the necessary sense of responsibility to manage one's affairs, adult life usually requires the learning of a number of rules of behavior. Adults should know that it is never proper to enter a house yard without an invitation, even though it be unfenced. Visitors knock on the gate or call out until an invitation is given. Usually someone comes to the gate to inquire what is wanted, unless the person is very well known. Men are never invited in unless the man of the household is present. If one calls on a person about business, one always stands and talks about other things for a bit first.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 199b]

576 When one meets friends of the same sex, one says "Good day," "Good afternoon," or "With God" (*Buenos días, buenos tardes, adiós*). If persons stop to talk, they touch hands in greeting and on farewell. A person of opposite sex, if well known, will be greeted in the same way verbally, but the hands will not be touched and, unless the persons are relatives or *compadres*, they will not stop and talk.

If a man visits a friend in his field or his *solar* when he is working, he always helps a bit. A woman calling at the house will help a little with any work going on. If one sees a stray animal and knows the owner, it is good manners to take it to him; if the owner is unknown, the animal should be taken to the municipal building. If one is in a group and people become angry, efforts should be made to dissuade them from fighting unless they are drunk. It is all right to drive another person's dog away (although usually people just give strange dogs a wide berth), but a pig should never be molested unless it is trespassing. It is not proper to punish another person's child, but if he throws a rock, for example, it is all right to throw rocks back.

576 432 If you hear a piece of land is for sale and do not know the owner, you get all the information you can about the land and then send the person giving the information to talk to the owner. If you know the owner you go yourself. Most commonly the owner will come to you. It is proper to stand and talk about other things for a while and then make an appointment to go to see the land. On the trip, the final arrangements about the price are usually thrashed out if you decide to buy the land. Then you go together to the municipal building and have a bill of sale made out, for which you pay.

576 264 At meals the oldest man present is served first, unless there is a male guest present. Then the other men are served and then the women and children. Of course, there are always the small children who come about pestering their mothers for a tortilla and, as Agustín remarked, "Of course you want to get rid of those guys first." When water is passed around and one drinks out of a common pitcher, it is polite to pour a little water on the ground,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.200a]

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías,* and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje.*" Both sexes like

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL

FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals among those working. When the work is com-
476 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterwhrd returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are
[531] fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[6] The house

[6] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

538 heaven, are opposed to the bad super-
779 naturals, the Devil and the demons in hell; the right Religion and the Church are set against superstition and lack of religion; good behavior against bad (sin); the idea of the good going to heaven at death against that of the sinful being punished in hell.

Ethical values are apparent in the rea-
● 577 sons given for the destruction of the world
538 and the creation of the Devil, in the actions
[779] of the saints in rewarding good behavior and punishing evil, in the acts of the Devil in sponsoring bad behavior, and in the destiny of the dead.

Taking this concept of good and evil as the main theme, we can give an outline of practically the whole, and certainly the most important part, of Tarascan religious ideas. Nonethical concepts are few and of secondary importance. They are mainly miscellaneous beliefs or tales (in which some natural elements are personified), omens, and so on.

Creation stories are not common among
773 the Tarascans. In those collected, the con-
538 cept of good and evil is apparent. The duality of the supernatural—God and the
577 saints against the Devil—is explained as the consequence of the bad behavior of one of the sons of God who revolted against his Father and was punished by being made into the Devil. Insubordination and lack of respect for paternal authority are the causes of this punishment.

In several myths about the creation of animals, the good animals are created by God while the bad ones are related to the Devil. Thus, when Jesus and the children of the Devil play making mud figures,
[825] those of Jesus become birds while those of the Devil become "snakes and lizards, and scorpions and all sorts of bad animals". The coyote was a dog which deserted his master, the Devil.

Most important are the myths regarding
773 the destruction of the world. In these we have a blend of Spanish and Indian ele-
538 ments in which the Indian motives, nonethical in origin, are reinterpreted and subordinated to the Catholic concept of Good and Evil. A number of stories give two destructions of the world. A first one by water is identified with the Christian flood, although it keeps also some traits of the Mesoamerican flood myth; and a second by fire embodies Indian traits but is identified with the advent of Christianity and the Spanish conquest. Some ver-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539
The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uaxcata vónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
577

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the
809 pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and
561 heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal
517 behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the
173 Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and
867 thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is pro-
182 vided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

The town of Cherán has a population of
632 about 5,000. The community is unique among
162 Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherias. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherias or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the
632 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
311 a large area. Much of this area is mountain
578 and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan
361 agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

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425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán
578 are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which sons remain in the family group and which
593 function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

All inheritances are supposed to be registered
428 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

Even though many details of the economic
181 system of Cherán are still not known in detail,
556 some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

632 forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter. Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

632 578 It was evidently felt that the *representante* would be involved in boundary disputes if they affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *tenencia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

632 621 In addition to the function of the *barrio* or *cuartel* as an administrative device as described above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

632 621 312 The major duty performed by the *barrio* is the maintenance of the water system. Each *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p, 1B B]

665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him as the leader of a bloody riot.

159 As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

An entirely different type of organization is 474 the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed [578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still 474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás- 159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically [195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

The organization of the cooperative would 474 give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest 313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the
● 578 Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the
Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region
668 of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of
the church in Cherán will be presented under
religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about
[186] conflicts within the town. Efforts are made
to convince the outsider that the town is a
harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to
secure data to the contrary. The impression,
after many months in Cherán, is that a great
deal of hostility underlies the apparent har-
mony. In part, this is apparent in the pre-
valence of witchcraft and some of the evidence
is presented under that heading. Interfamily
and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, how-
ever carefully concealed, cropped up time and
again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little
definite information could be secured. Any
efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in
conversation were usually adroitly countered.
Consequently, the material presented in this
section consists primarily of the more overt
conflicts which, under certain circumstances,
lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
578 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these
626 never pass the stage of discussion and informal
settlement. For example, a man had been
drunk all week, insulting people indiscrimin-
ately. One man finally struck the drunkard.
The case was discussed at length. Some
argued that the drunkard should be arrested.
Others claimed that both should be arrested.
Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone
present in the *municipio* could enter the dis-
cussion, word probably got around to both
parties. The drunkard's relatives probably
restrained him and the man giving the blows
kept out of sight.

695 Another case illustrates the handling of
minor offenses. A woman was brought before
685 the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate),
charged with stealing a blanket from a man
while he was drunk. The woman was accused
vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

793 branches, and large numbers came to visit him. Despite these efforts, a new priest arrived some 2 weeks after the departure of the old priest.

The household and assistants of the priest vary somewhat. The mother of the old priest served as his housekeeper, and there were several servants. The old priest relied primarily on the *cabildo* or ačes for his aides in church. The new priest brought a household whose exact composition I did not learn. In addition, he brought a sacristan and one or two other assistants, who took over several of the functions of the *cabildo*. In general, the new
793 priest adopted a much more aggressive atti-
578 tude. Not only did he immediately get into a bitter quarrel with the *cabildo* (to be described later), but he interfered with customs on every hand, wore his priestly dress in public and permitted people to kneel in public and kiss his hand, and mixed in political matters. Considerable numbers of Cherán residents resented his attitude bitterly, including many of the devout members of the community.

The support of the priest is based on volun-
793 tary contributions, but in Cherán the priest is aggressive. Formerly, the *cabildo* kept the priest informed as to the amounts of harvest, and the priest, often personally, at other times through one of his assistants, directly asked for "alms." The amount suggested is the traditional tenth; in some cases people give him this amount, but many give less. The payments are mostly in kind, usually wheat or corn, which is brought to the priest's residence and placed by him in a storehouse in charge of the kéɲi. It was reported that the priest normally sells corn and wheat to needy local residents at about 1 peso a bushel below the market price. The facts in the case at the time of inquiry were somewhat obscured by the quarrel with the *cabildo*.

The functions of the priest in Cherán are numerous. Not only does he say the obligatory Masses, but he also celebrates special Masses in connection with every fiesta and *mayordomía*. All weddings are also celebrated with special Masses. He also arranges for such special events as visits of the Bishop for confirmation.

The Bishop paid one visit to Cherán during the time of the study. The priest appointed four *comisionados* in each *barrio* to gather con-

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[p.119a]

793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

575 794 Another activity, about which little is known, is in connection with the various societies. As indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

794 578 798 There can be little doubt that Cherán is a strongly Catholic community. During the height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 578 who were opposed to Church domination in political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

794 these men illustrates the situation clearly, par-
578 ticularly as it came to a head in 1940. That the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

> The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is
> 793 entering into political matters and speaks from the
> 578 pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended,
> 794 he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.
>
> This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.
>
> I believe that this priest is very disruptive (*muy divisionista*) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

Some of the minority faction in the town
578 who are inclined to be anticlerical are un-
177 doubtedly affected by their experiences in the United States. A former mayor was very out-
793 spoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

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[p,132b]

796 They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.
794 The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about $250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, [578] however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortíz, a noted conservative. Ortíz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described, about the *cabildo*, Ortíz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

796 794 [535] kéŋi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[36]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuŋánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 794 793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[36] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

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578 793 794 other group, although he was one of the few active supporters of Almazán in the previous presidential election. In the opinion of the best informants there had existed no movement against the *cabildo* until Guerrero undertook his campaign, although obviously the roots of the charges and bad feeling were already present.

At the *junta* between 75 and 100 persons were present. Guerrero spoke, charging the *cabildo* with demanding gifts from the *cargueros*, stealing from the church, driving out the previous priest, and being very drunken. The last charge was what many believed to have convinced the new priest so that he turned against the *cabildo*. An arrangement was reached in which the assignment of *mayordomías* would be taken from the *cabildo* and persons wishing to "take a saint" would ask it of the priest.

At the first *junta* everyone agreed with the charges. A second *junta* was called. In the meantime the *prioste*, one Magdaleno Guerrero (no relation to David) went to the Bishop in Zamora and secured a letter (which I saw) categorically stating that neither he nor anyone else had attempted to have the former priest removed. This letter was presented at the second *junta* by the *representante del pueblo*, who defended the *cabildo*. (The *cabildo* did not attend. Magdaleno Guerrero said for a while they were afraid they might be killed.) This made the people less bitter, but they still agreed to abolish the *cabildo*.

With regard to the other charges, the *prioste* asserted that all the work of the *cabildo* was voluntary, while his own expenses as *prioste* amounted to between $100 and $200 for the year. Among his duties was to pay for Masses on December 8 and December 25. Following the latter Mass, the *cabildo* met at the house of the *prioste* who served food. To this assembly came people who wished to ask for a saint. They brought presents of cigarettes, while the wives brought bread. These presents, the *prioste* asserted, were voluntary and were not demanded. The names of the persons were put down on lists in the order applications were received and each *mayordomía* was awarded to the person whose name headed the list.

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578 794 793 With regard to the charge of drunkeness, the *prioste* asserted that this had been true "in the time of our grandfathers" but it was not true today. What gave color to the charge, he said, was that people brought them many bottles of *charanda*. These the *cabildo* sold in the stores and returned the empty bottles to the donors.

It was quite evident that the *prioste* was filled with bitterness over the situation. The dance of the *pastorela*, he felt, was especially the dance of the *cabildo* and the *prioste* and one which gave much pleasure to the people, and now they would lose it. (Even our most anti-Church informants agreed that the dance was the best given in Cherán, partly because it was unaccompanied by the drunkenness and rowdiness associated with other dances.) The *prioste* also said that the *cabildo* was accepting the will of the people and was neither speaking nor making propaganda with anyone. After all, he pointed out, the *cabildo* gained, and especially the *prioste* and *colector* gained because they now did not have to spend their money. However, he had gone to the church and taken out the large candles and some small ones left by his wife. This, he said, was custom, for the old *prioste* always took the remains of the candles and the new *prioste* provided others. The priest had asked why he removed the candles and the *prioste* had explained the situation. The priest then asked if he was not disposed to leave the candles, but he refused. After this the *prioste* scarcely left the house, and never went either to the plaza or the church, partly because of fear, partly because in church he would have to see those who had thrown him out of office and this "caused him anger which it is better not to have before the Lord."

The *prioste* suggested that the leader of the opposition was an ambitious man who was furthering some devious and as yet undisclosed project to further his own interests. He also said the *cabildo* had made no move to seek a new *prioste* or kéŋi, which they ordinarily did by August. He also said he had no idea whether the priest would appoint new officials to take the place of the *cabildo* or go on naming people to perform their duties from day to day as he was doing. Incidentally, he pointed out

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578 793 794 that never before had the church been closed when the priest left town.

In addition to the above accounts, which seem reasonably correct as far as they go, there were floods of rumors and stories. At one time I was told authoritatively by several people that my landlord had been named the new chief of the *cabildo*. When I asked him about it, he was completely surprised and it finally appeared that no new *cabildo* was to be named.

With regard to the story told by the *prioste* of taking his candles from the church, a much more lurid version was circulated. One woman's account of the quarrel was as follows:

> When the new priest came he asked one of the *cabildo* to bring him maize from the storehouse. The *cabildo* had taken all the maize from the storehouse but the man pretended not to know this. He went to the storehouse and returned, saying, "Father, there is no maize." "What has happened to it? There is supposed to be maize." The priest gave the man money to buy maize for that day. Next day the priest made inquiries. People told him the *cabildo* had stolen the maize. He called the *cabildo* together and accused them. They denied the theft. The priest said, "Do you want me to bring witnesses?" They conferred and said, "No. We took the maize." The father began to scold them, and they said, "What right have you to scold us? We collected the maize and we have a right to live." The priest became angry and told them they could no longer serve in the church. They went away. For 2 or 3 days they did nothing. Then they came in a body and began stripping the church of all the altar cloths, vases, and decorations. The priest interrupted them. They said, "These things are ours; we bought them. If we cannot serve here, we will take these away." They argued. The priest said, "These things belong to the community." But he realized it was not becoming for him to argue in this way and kept still. When they finished, he said, "Now have you everything belonging to you?" They thought and said, "Everything but the saints." At this the priest flew into a rage and said, "The saints belong to the community. Now take the other things and leave the church and do not let me ever see your faces again."

This is a very interesting tale, but it contains very little truth. The major fact which seems correct as compared with the *prioste's* tale is that the *cabildo* did actually remove all the vases, altar cloths, and other things they had bought.

One man, regarded as a fairly reliable source of information, stated that the *cabildo* had received the alms given at church but had

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578 794 793 formerly given them all to the priest. In recent years, he stated, the *cabildo* members began taking half for themselves. When the new priest came, people decided they no longer wished the *cabildo* and spoke to the priest. He abolished the *cabildo* and barred the members from the church so that alms would now be given directly to the priest.

Still another man, one who probably gave the best-informed statement, which gained weight because he was both an anti-Church and anti-*cabildo* man on general principles, pointed out some of the history of the affair. According to this informant, when the priests were forbidden to function in the church, the *cabildo* was responsible for bringing priests to town secretly and helping them to hold services in private houses. This involved very considerable expenses. (There seems little reason to doubt these statements, which were verified in other connections.) In the meantime, inasmuch as people believed it necessary to take seeds, i.e., maize and wheat, to the church, they continued their gifts, which were received and stored by the *cabildo*. This informant believed, however, that the quantities were probably less than usual inasmuch as there was no one to urge them. Out of this fact probably rose the real basis of the quarrel. When it began to appear that there was small likelihood of a resident priest returning, the *cabildo* began selling the accumulated grain, utilizing the profits to defray the considerable expenses of smuggling priests into the town. For the people it was difficult to tell whether the expenses claimed were correct or not. When a priest finally was reestablished in Cherán, the *cabildo* presented him with an account of their transactions. Many believed that this account was incorrect and that the *cabildo* had been guilty of defalcation. It was then that the idea began that the *cabildo* should be done away with. However, it is unlikely the *cabildo* received any profits after the return of the priests. The priest made an investigation of the affair and as a result the *cabildo* tried to force him to leave the town. (This last accusation seems adequately disposed of by the letter from the Bishop mentioned above.) When the new priest arrived in 1940, he announced his inten-

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578 tion of reopening the investigation and stated
793 that, as the *cabildo* would probably try to get
794 rid of him, too, he had better get rid of the *cabildo* right away.

An aspect of the situation which had not been resolved at the termination of the study was the effect of the change upon the *mayordomías* formerly in the charge of the *cabildo*. It was the belief of many, including the priest, that applicants for a *mayordomía* would simply apply to him. The priest was quoted as saying that he had no intention of interfering with the local customs. None of the *cargueros* consulted seemed ever to have thought of the possibility of the change effecting the operation of the system. The *cabildo* nevertheless has a proprietary interest in the saints and there were some indications that the *cabildo* was willing to suppress some of the customs. The *uanánčes* did not perform the *pastorela* in 1940. The *prioste* refused to put up anything for the dance, or even participate when a cousin offered to pay all the expenses. The parents of all but one of the *uanánčes* also apparently welcomed the excuse for avoiding the expenses involved. The *cabildo* also attempted to forbid the *carguero* of the Holy Child to sponsor the performance of the *negrito* dance (described below) although this was a traditional duty of the *carguero*. As he was one of those who attacked the *cabildo* and claimed to have been forced to make heavy contributions in order to get the *mayordomía*, he sought the permission of the priest and held the dance despite the *cabildo's* objections.

The progressive element in the town was of the opinion that the demotion of the *cabildo* would mean the early disappearance of the *mayordomías*. However, this overlooked the several *mayordomías* which functioned outside the *cabildo* system, and it is doubtful if the disappearance of the *mayordomías* will be particularly accelerated by this change. There is some possibility of this, of course, and one of the curious features of the situation is that a priest who apparently is conservative and who does not wish to interfere with the local customs should have been responsible for this attack upon them and for alienating the most conservative Church group from his support.

844 organization. It is believed all the midwives in Cherán were interviewed by the staff. Most of them are elderly women past childbearing age. Some 4 or 5 years before the study, all of the midwives apparently had received instruction from a doctor called in by the priest. This is reflected to some extent in the methods used, particularly in some efforts at asepsis and the use of antiseptics. The following biographical data were secured from the midwives, the individuals being referred to by number.

No. 1. About 55 years of age; 4 years' experience. Formerly was a curer. No one in her family had been a midwife; she entered the profession "by accident" and "knew how" by the grace of the Holy Virgin.

No. 2. Age unknown, but has had 20 years' experience. Her mother was a midwife and urged her to become one also. She became a midwife because her small business was not enough to keep her alive. She had been married and had one daughter in 6 years of marriage, apparently taking up midwifery after loss of her husband.

No. 3. About 55 years of age, 4 years' experience. Learned by observing a grandmother who was a midwife. Other "grandparents" also tried to teach her. She believes, in addition, she possesses a special "virtue" for such work. Before becoming a midwife she was a curer, devoting herself especially to women who suffered abdominal pains from overwork, using massage. She still does curing, but since her husband died, 5 years before, has been a midwife. She likes the work. She says the Virgin of Monserrato is the patroness of the midwives.

No. 4. New to the profession. Has attended only two births; one of the patients accused her at the court of causing swelling of the organs because of inexperience and refused to pay her fee.

No. 5. Has been midwife 5 years. No further data.

No. 6. Has been a midwife 30 years. Was assistant to another midwife for a long time. One day a child was being born dead; the sub-
[845] ject took cotton and put a medicine she knew on the head of the mother and the child was born successfully. There was a quarrel, but finally
[578] the midwife, who was very old, began to teach

844 her; "but God gave me the power to know
[578] medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from $1.50 to $2.50. One midwife charges $2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being $1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the $1.50, according to the
[578] midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

According to some midwives, if there is time,
844 the midwife goes to church before the delivery,
782 saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a
844 prayer to her just before the delivery. Mid-
[751] wives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino*, considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed,
[782] a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

556 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing
585 may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend.
[602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should
[578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons *be had affronted. At the wedding of the* daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez,
[572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

Resentment and avoidance seem to be the
626 only methods of retaliation for neglect at
585 Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

As a neutral third party, the marriage man-
585 ager also smooths over differences of opinion
584 more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

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593 Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cul-
[578] tures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

Within the household certain routines and
512 habits are common. Labor is rather strictly
593 divided along sexual lines also. For example,
[462] the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and sups at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

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252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čuripo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	Barrio
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

The main reason for the preservation of
[178] Indian communities seems to be that this
area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
character, forests, and cold climate did
[132] not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

The changes within the surviving Indian
[621] towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1928, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 86-89.

175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the
621 villages were responsible for the splitting of the villages into opposite parties in re-
578 lation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have
[651] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

> "The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 22-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 23; Beals, 1946, 21, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 170-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 19a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
[323] tery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
175 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic
668 development of the country, a period of unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. Ibid., 66.
61. Ibid., 67, 68.
62. Ibid., 63.
63. Ibid., 56-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.21b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

423 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio.
661 Here an agrarista group was formed and was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that
[798] led many peasants to lose their lands brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, in a small farmer-owner environ-
423 ment a new privileged minority was
668 formed, which seized the lands of political enemies or of the community, assumed
578 control of the town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values re-
175 lated to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

668 *Sinarquismo* is a political movement strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajio region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 175.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 36-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1949, 289, 292.

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
66 ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Duraxno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Duraxno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only
[621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Duraxno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Duraxno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Duraxno political
563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Duraxno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 The formal government in Duraxno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and 178
giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, 796
although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various
reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the [467]
old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community 796
"played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took
place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political 578
upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected [622
mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. 662]
The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and 533
woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as
the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Hua- 796
nancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances per- 535
formed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day 796

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

632 ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the
652 general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The functioning of government in Cherán is
467 often affected by unofficial organizations and
665 informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanas*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise violent disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

The development of this informal organiza-
661 tion grew out of another and earlier organiza-
579 tion that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940–41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

661 confidential talks, and even then it is doubtful
579 whether all the details were abstracted from unwilling witnesses. The story as learned does not seem to call for all the secrecy involved, and this gives weight to the suspicion that the truth of the underlying factors was not secured and that these factors are more operative today than anyone would admit.

At the height of the agrarian movement in Michoacán, the control of the *municipio* was secured by a group of some 30 men calling themselves "agrarians (*agraristas*)." Everyone seemed agreed that there was no genuine agrarian problem in Cherán and that the members of the group had no desire for land but only for power. Perpetuating themselves in office, members of this group at first were tolerated but gradually became more and more overbearing in their attitude. When people finally began to show signs of discontent, the "agrarians" asked the State authorities for aid on the grounds that the people were rebellious. As a result, a detachment of soldiers was stationed in Cherán under the command of a lieutenant to enforce order and the authority of the municipal officials. The young lieutenant apparently soon saw that his troops were perpetuating an illegal and unpopular group in power and tried to get his superiors to make a real investigation, but with no success. The tyranny of the ruling group now became unbearable.

The climax came when a drunken member of the group began firing his revolver on the main streets and threatening people. One of the soldiers endeavored to arrest the man and was shot and killed. The lieutenant now succeeded in having the situation thoroughly investigated, and as a result the detachment of soldiers was withdrawn. The following day occurred the *zafarrancho*. Some 10 to 12 of the "agrarians" were killed and the rest fled the town. In 1940, they were still living in exile in nearby towns.

664 For a time following this, Cherán was
665 governed by a *presidente militar*, an appointed
467 army officer. Technically, this was true in 1940, but the commander rarely even visited the town and all troops had been removed some time before. The present "progressive" government has effectively been in power since the affair. This is also the group which has

681 flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

[683] October 9. A man knocked down a child and hurt her head. He was placed in jail overnight.

681 October 12. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail (no term in-
689 dicated).

October 15. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 16. A drunken man broke onto a house. He was placed in jail until the eighteenth.

October 22. A woman was "disobedient" (probably disorderly conduct of some sort). She was placed in jail overnight.

681 November 3. A man raped a young woman,
[684] his second offense. He was placed in jail until
[183] the 10th. It should be observed that according to Cherán ideas a properly brought up girl whose parents looked after her as they should would never have been in a situation where rape would be possible.

[685] December 3. A man "abused confidence" by trying to register a piece of land as his own which actually belonged to his mother-in-law. He was put in jail overnight.

The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

Despite the fact that Cherán has a bad repu-
579 tation in other towns for violence, there seem to be relatively few serious fights. Drunks often fall to fisticuffs, usually ineffective, but knife fights are rare and the use of firearms is even more unusual. In ordinary times there is probably not more than one killing a year. However, a very serious affair occurred shortly before the close of the study.

At a wedding the new priest appeared after the drinking was well under way. He reproved the people soundly for their excessive drinking and urged them to go home. One of the men, who was already very drunk, took the priest's words to heart and started home. Crossing the bridge to the *barrio* of Parícutin, he was shot from ambush and killed. That night the *ronda* went from house to house asking for certain persons, but up to the time the study closed

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of four types. Central to the system are those
796 church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

208 stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touch-
66 ing the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but
661 with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Duraxno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Duraxno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

667 The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

579 The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil
664 war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Duraxno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Duraxno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

171 Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

114 1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

841 track of the periods are used but some account is kept of the phase of the moon and an approximate idea formed. The normal menstruation is regarded as lasting 3 or 4 days. Slight or excessive flows during the period are believed to be bad. No special garments are worn, but the ordinary underwear is carefully washed after the flow ends.

[834] Women should not have relations with men during the menstrual period, and most women do not resume relations with their husbands until they have bathed, although some do so as soon as menstruation ends. Violation of this [753] rule is believed to be bad for the men and to cause them to contract a disease with ulcers. 841 Women may prepare food for themselves and others, but they must not eat certain foods. 262 These include "cold" things, such as avocados or prickly pears. Beans, if eaten, must be consumed with quantities of onions. Rice, pork, and preserved chiles (because the liquid is very "cool") are also believed to be bad. Dried chiles may be eaten. *Aguardiente* is also avoided, although a little in coffee or orange-leaf tea is believed to be helpful. The majority, if possible, drink chocolate in the mornings even though they may not normally do so or may even dislike it. In connection with the concept of "coldness" it should be noted that this refers to the supposed effects on the person, not to the quality of the thing itself. Cold water, for example, may be consumed freely. Aside from sexual restrictions, men have no special rules to observe when their wives menstruate.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONSHIPS

581 Marriage is the normal state of the Cherán adult and unmarried persons are relatively rare, except among the aged. Although sexual inverts were reported, in every case they had 838 married. One woman is known to be an invert and is called *toro-vaca*. As a girl she attempted to seduce other girls, and a woman told Rendón that in her childhood the individual in question once tried to drag her into a vacant lot, stopping her mouth with a *rebozo*, but she tore loose and screamed and was rescued by her father. Various charges were also made against the woman in court, but nothing was ever done.

583 after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

584 Opportunities for courting and for making arrangements are few. The boy may visit the girl's house only on rare occasions, such as the *melebris* before Christmas, although he may occasionally have accompanied his parents on a visit. He also may speak to the girl at the door of her courtyard or exchange a word or two when she is on the streets with her mother carrying water. The best opportunities are the rare occasions when the girl may be allowed on the streets alone in the daytime to visit a relative or to run an errand nearby and especially when she has been allowed to go somewhere with other girls. Sunday afternoon is the main time for courting. A boy uses a [198] special whistle to attract the attention of a girl. If she is with other girls, all stop, and the boy uses signs to indicate which one he wishes to talk to. The other girls go on slowly and the indicated one, if she is interested, lingers behind for a few minutes' conversation.

581 The standards for choice of spouse by a boy are several. A boy wants an attractive-looking girl who is fairly tall and of medium build and who also is industrious and of good family. This means her family is not completely poverty-stricken, her father not a drunkard, and her mother not "perverse" (apparently meaning "immoral"). Also, the girl should be 582 either the same age or a year or two younger than the boy. In a few instances the girl is a 587 year or two older. No cases were reported of widows marrying younger men, but sometimes a widower marries a younger woman. One case cited is a man of over 65 who has a wife

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

163 For the years 1936–39, inclusive, there were 690 registered births in Cherán. The sex ratio was very nearly 1:1, with 347 male births and 343 female births. The distribution is shown in table 11. It is of interest that great excess of female births occurred in 1936, reaching a peak in June of that year, while a considerable excess of male births occurred in 1939, also reaching a peak in June.

585
582

TABLE 12.—*Marriages in Cherán, 1937-39*[1]

Age of married person	Married men		Married women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
13			3	2.0
14	1	0.7	23	15.4
15	2	1.3	49	32.9
16	12	8.1	26	17.4
17	8	5.4	9	6.0
18	32	21.5	6	4.0
19	12	8.1	2	1.3
20	15	10.1	3	2.0
21	5	3.4		
22	10	6.7		
23	5	3.4	2	1.3
24			2	1.3
25	9	6.0	5	3.4
26	5	3.4	1	.7
27	1	.7		
28	5	3.4	3	2.0
30	3	2.0	2	1.3
31	1	.7		
32	2	1.3		
35	4	2.7	2	1.3
37	2	1.3	1	.7
38	1	.7		
39			1	.7
40	4	2.7	2	1.3
45	3	2.0	3	2.0
47	1	.7		
48			1	.7
53	1	.7		
55	1	.7	1	.7
60	2	1.3	2	1.3
80	1	.7		
82	1	.7		
Total	149	100.0	149	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

Data on the 149 marriages for 1937, 1938, and 1939 are shown in table 12. The age data are subject to the same probable inaccuracy in age estimates as is the case with the data on adult men. However, inasmuch as many Cherán residents are today sensitive about the early age of marriages and it is known that the ages given for young persons about to be married are often exaggerated, the data underscore the early age of marriage. In round numbers, 2 percent of girls married were only 13, 15 percent were 14, 32 percent were 15, 17 percent were 16, and 6 percent were 17. Only 2 percent of girls married were aged 20. It is significant that no marriages were recorded for girls aged 21 or 22. In all probability all, or nearly all, marriages recorded after this age were remarriages.

582 The earliest age recorded for married males
585 is 14, this age group comprising 0.7 percent of the total male marriages. However, there is reason to believe that the age of males is falsified at marriage more than that of females. Most marriages, according to the statistics, take place at 16 or after; 8 percent of males marry at the age of 16. Five percent were married at 17, 21 percent at 18, 8 percent at 19, and 10 percent at 20. None were married at age 24, but 6 percent were married at 25. Some marriages listed at this age are probably remarriages, and certainly few first marriages take place after 25. The emphasis placed upon marriage as a normal state is indicated by the considerable age of some persons married. Two women and two men are shown as married at 60, while one man is shown as married at 80 and another at 82.

No particular season of marriage preference is evident if marriage frequencies are analyzed by months, despite assertions that most marriages take place in the winter after harvest. Evidently marriages take place when people have resources, regardless of the time of year. The fluctuations from year to year probably could be accounted for in terms of variable economic conditions. It must be remembered that the month of marriage reported is the time of the civil registry and church wedding. Probably the majority of marriages are consummated before these events.

In addition to the statistical data, even earlier marriages are believed to take place. One girl, whose age was alleged by several people independently to be only 15, had four children. Gossip told of another case of a girl of 10 years who was "half married," that is, the groom's parents did not yet permit him to sleep with his wife. But at the age of 14 the girl was said to have had two children. Before the Tarascans are censured for the practice of such early marriages, it should be born in mind that Bishop Quiroga, who had so much influence on the Tarascans, in his ordinances authorized the marriage of boys over 14 and girls over 12 (Arriaga, 1938).

Data on family composition and fertility
163 were obtained by interviews with 53 families
842 where the wife was 47 years of age or older and had not borne children recently (table 13).

[text continues on p. 97b]

882 from their parents. In an overheard conversation, two young men commented at length on how fast people got old at their ages, while people over 30 did not seem to age at all.

The transition for girls is even less clearly defined than that for boys. As girls are sometimes married even before their first men-
[881] struation, this physiological transition hardly seems to mark a status change. From the age of 6 or 8, girls essentially perform adult labors in assisting their mothers. Youth is essentially a transition to adulthood and marriage. As a general thing, girls are married soon after the
[582] first menstruation.

Informants were agreed that most girls ex-
881 perience the first menses at about 14 years of age; whether this is the ideal age or the actual age could not be determined. No cases of failure to menstruate were known. Menstrual disorders apparently do occur sometimes and the aid of midwives is sought in such cases, but no details could be secured. Men, at least, believe that girls are generally ignorant of the menstrual period until they experience the first occurrence, and this belief coincides with a few statements by women. Some girls are said to be a little depressed or frightened, but the experience is not severe. Mothers explain to their daughters that the phenomenon is perfectly natural, and girls never become ill.

The mother always informs her husband
882 when the first menstruation occurs. At this time the father increases his admonitions to his wife to watch over the girl. Careful mothers from now on do not let the girls go alone for water or to church or walk about the streets. Care is taken that girls do not see "bad" things. Well-brought-up girls, in fact, are hardly allowed out of the house until they are married, but if this ideal were really lived up to, it is difficult to see how either marriages could be arranged or "stealing" occur. Cherán, though, feels its standards are much above those of other towns and people mention some
[186] of La Cañada towns, especially Tacura, as being very bad. The latter town is said even
[835] to have many cases of sexual relations between father and daughter, which is said never to happen in Cherán.

Most women early become regular in their
841 menstrual periods. No devices for keeping

583 after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

584 Opportunities for courting and for making arrangements are few. The boy may visit the girl's house only on rare occasions, such as the *melebris* before Christmas, although he may occasionally have accompanied his parents on a visit. He also may speak to the girl at the door of her courtyard or exchange a word or two when she is on the streets with her mother carrying water. The best opportunities are the rare occasions when the girl may be allowed on the streets alone in the daytime to visit a relative or to run an errand nearby and especially when she has been allowed to go somewhere with other girls. Sunday afternoon is the main time for courting. A boy uses a [198] special whistle to attract the attention of a girl. If she is with other girls, all stop, and the boy uses signs to indicate which one he wishes to talk to. The other girls go on slowly and the indicated one, if she is interested, lingers behind for a few minutes' conversation.

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After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
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[661] ties are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p. m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 mercial transactions and specialized production for sale outside the region), whereas the women, mostly sequestered in their homes, remain conservative, and consequently more "Indian-like." The responses may, however, represent a real sex differential, i.e., more women than men native to the community — with men from elsewhere marrying into the community. In 201 matings where data on the birthplace of both spouses were available, both were from Paracho in 72.6 per cent of cases, 10 per cent of the husbands were from elsewhere, 8.5 per cent of the wives were from other communities, and in 9 per cent of cases both were born elsewhere. Slightly more men than women, therefore, do marry into the community, but this difference is not large enough to explain the sex difference in ethnic attribution.

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621
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TABLE 1

186

"RACE" OF FATHER AND "RACE" OF MOTHER

Mothers reported as	Fathers reported as Indian	Fathers reported as Mestizo	Total
Indian	130	33	163
Mestiza	16	61	77
Total	146	94	240[5]

x^2 with one degree of freedom: 300.28 $P < 0.0001$

Whereas sex of the parents does influence the responses, sex of the respondents seems to have virtually no effect. Females reported 66.9 per cent of 139 parents to be Indian, whereas males reported 63.5 per cent of 386 parents to be Indian. The difference is not statistically significant.

When the data taken from the record sheets are compiled in terms of the age of the respondent (see Table 2) another tendency may be noted. Both relatively and absolutely more Indian parents are reported by older respondents. Those 40 years old or less reported 48 per cent of fathers and 54 per cent of mothers to be Indian, in contrast to 73 per cent and 76 per cent respectively by individuals who were 41 years old or over. Conversely, of course, the percentage of Mestizo parents is approximately the same as that of Indian parents through the 40 year age group, but thereafter the proportions change markedly and membership in the Mestizo group is claimed for far fewer parents.

These age trends may be interpreted in several ways. First, the younger informants, in ascribing to their parents membership in one or the other ethnic group, may reflect an awareness that their current way of life is less Indian than it is Mestizo, and may extend this to their parents. With more education and a wider outlook one would expect to find among youth a greater bias toward being counted as belonging to a larger ethnic entity than that of the region, and to the ethnic group with a somewhat higher education — the Mestizo in both instances. On the other hand, the marked

[5] Some variation in total number from table to table results from the fact that not all respondents gave information on all points. Furthermore, where data on parents rather than on respondents are tabulated information from only one sibling interviewed is included.

579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of
796 four types. Central to the system are those church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

548 occasionally. Payment, usually 50 centavos, is given to the girls prostituting themselves, part of which is given to the woman who lends her house for the purpose and arranges the meeting.

Despite the existence of prostitution, it is 864 claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Girls particularly are believed to be relatively innocent, although obviously all have knowledge of the nature of the sexual act in a setting as full of animals as is Cherán. Boys are believed to be somewhat more sophisticated because, even though they may not have visited houses of prostitution, details are talked about among them. After marriage, aside from the prohibitions on intercourse during pregnancy and confinement and 833 during menstruation, there are no restrictions on sexual relations between husband and wife. There seem to be no ideas about a fixed interval or ideal interval between sexual relations and informants thought relations were "frequent" but would not suggest any time periods. In general, the subject of sex relations proved embarrassing and informants seemed purposely to avoid definite statements.

● 583 The customary preliminary to marriage is for the groom to "steal" (*robar*) his bride. Virtually everyone of the older and the more articulate men in town deprecate the custom and many assert that it is a recent development. Nevertheless, no one could name a time when the custom was not practiced. Moreover, it is to be found in many other Tarascan towns, perhaps in all of them, and is regarded as an old form at Mestizo Chilchota, where most marriages also begin by stealing. Although occasionally the groom asks for the bride instead of stealing her, such cases are exceptional and seem more likely to be the innovation than does the stealing of the bride.

Only on very rare occasions is the bride stolen without her consent. Generally the entire performance, including setting the time and place, has been arranged beforehand between the bride and groom, although it is good form for the girl to struggle or at least to pretend to do so. The groom enlists the [561] cooperation of some of his age mates and they assist in carrying off the girl and in blocking pursuit. The usual time for carrying off a girl is on a Sunday when she comes out of church

583 after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

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● 583 girl that afternoon after the Rosario. The corner of Morelos and Galeana was where the boy and girl had the place arranged for the stealing. When we knew that the Rosario was just about to be finished, we came down the highway to the plaza where we sat down at the municipal offices. Then the people began to come out from the Rosario and were called back by the priest to move the rocks in back of the priest's house. The girl's father called us to help move the rocks but instead we moved over to the corner of Morelos and Ocampo where we sat and waited until they finished.

After a little the girl came by and she looked at us. As she turned the corner up Morelos, she got ahead of her folks about 10 feet and just stood there. Then she turned back and looked at us to see if we were going to do anything. She was with five women. Knowing that we were not going to do anything, she evened up with the rest of her folks. Then we followed her; we went straight and she turned the corner of Morelos and Galeana. Then we ran so that we could beat her to the corner of Hidalgo and Arista and we stood there until she came.

When she came, the groom stood in the middle of the street and two of us stood on each side of the street and the other stood a little ways from the corner. When the girl passed us, the groom grabbed her by the arm and I took the other arm on the other side. The mother just said, "Maria Purisima, where do you take my daughter? Why do you take her and who are you?" We just ran to beat everything. When we were crossing the bridge (to Paricutin), one of the kids hollered, "Hurry up, because the father is just in back of you."

When I turned to look back the girl's father was just about half a block behind us. Then we separated at the street junction across the bridge. The boy and girl took the upper road and we went on the lower road. We just walked a little ways to where it was dark and changed blankets. Then we walked back as if we were innocent bystanders. We saw the girl's father after the boy and girl. We just made out we didn't know anything and said, "I wonder who was the kid who took the girl." Then we said, "Let's follow them," and we did. When we reached the corner of Madero and Salazar the girl's father was madder than a wet hen. He was saying, "If I ever catch the guys who did it, I will kill them," swearing to beat anything. Then he left and we followed him up Salazar and past the calvary to his house.

His wife was waiting for him in the doorway. His wife then said, "Didn't you catch the boys who stole my daughter?" He answered, "No, I didn't catch them. How do you expect me to catch them when I didn't know who they were?" They argued for a while in the doorway and then went inside. We came back to the saloon and when we got back they were already drunk (the groom and another helper). Then we went home. We were just afraid that if the father knew who we were he might call us in at the mayor's office and get us put in jail overnight.

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583 The boy and girl had agreed to go out together since the last time they talked together. The father was chasing us because he was trying to get the girl before she had reached the boy's house. The girl was not taken to the house of the boy when we stole her but to the house of one of his relatives. If the father caught up with us, we would have to take what was coming to us and not fight back. Some boys tried to make a blockade on the road when the father was chasing. He had three friends with him and so he got by.

The following day Agustín's fears were realized; he was summoned to the mayor's office and shut up in jail from about 5 until 8 o'clock. Then, since it was a first offense, he was let out (although he had helped steal a number of other girls) with the warning that next time it would be a couple of days. The mayor also scolded the boys severely, pointing out that several people had been killed stealing girls; in fact, the implication was that he had put them in jail for their own protection, not because there was anything wrong with stealing the girl. As during the winter scarcely a Sunday passes without a girl being stolen in the plaza, the mayor's shock could not have been great.

Another less typical case involved a girl who had three suitors. The three suitors agreed to steal her and make her choose between them. If she refused to choose, then one of them, José H———, was to take her. The aid of three other youths was enlisted to guard all the approaches to the plaza in case the girl tried to flee. The plan fell through, because the girl did not come to church as she had promised.

The following week José made signals to a girl in Paricutin that he wanted to talk with her. She was with two other girls, carrying water. She stood and talked for a while and José then started home. After a block or two he discovered the girl following him. He made a circuit beside the *barranca*, but she still followed. He waited for her and asked where she was going. She replied, "I am going with you." On this, José ran down into the *barranca*, followed it down to the plain, and after a very long circuit, returned home. He had scarcely arrived when the police summoned him to the mayor's office. There was the father of the girl, accusing José of stealing his daughter. José denied the accusation and explained, but he had no witnesses and the girl insisted. The mayor ordered José to marry the girl; he

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583 refused, as he was interested in the girl he had hoped to steal the previous Sunday and the present girl he knew visited one of the houses of assignation. José was then put in jail, but when his mother stood responsible for him he was let out in a couple of days. The girl's mother went around town talking about the wrong that had been done, while José went around town telling everyone bad things about the girl. Eventually José had to run away and no one knew where he had gone.

Normally, sexual relations are begun between the bride and groom soon after she is stolen. [608] Permission of the girl's baptismal godfather (and perhaps the godfather of confirmation) should be sought and is usually given; to refuse might cause hard feeling. Cases were cited where the godfather and the boy's parents became very angry with each other over a refusal. On the other hand, evidently the boy is stimulated to accumulate the property necessary to hold the wedding if sex relations are not permitted.

The stealing of a girl sets in motion a complex series of events constituting perhaps the most complicated aspect of Cherán culture.

The following account of marriage is one written by Pedro Chávez. Parts in brackets represent additional comments made by Sr. Chávez on other occasions or data gathered from other sources. All the features of the wedding were verified by observation and utilization of other sources of information.

A TARASCAN WEDDING

Marriage among the Tarascans of the town of Cherán embraces many points of great importance. In the first place, it is now a custom that the groom, when he desires to enter into marriage, steals the girl. This theft consists of catching her and carrying her off forcibly or, sometimes, willingly without force. But in either case, as much in the first instance as in the second, the bride goes in accordance with an agreement made in advance and the action is merely feigned by the two.

585 When the theft of the bride is completed [by taking the girl to the house of an uncle or other relative or, more rarely, to the house of the groom], the parents of the groom proceed to the house of the bride and appear before her parents. This act is called the puátperankua or "the pardon." It should be taken into account that in order to present themselves before the parents of the bride, the parents of the groom must take a person called t'ałepiti diósa uandári [who is a professional

585 almost as complex, particularly if it is the first
587 marriage of one of the parties. A widow or widower is not expected to marry for 6 months after the death of his or her spouse, but marriage usually occurs soon after that time. Marriage is regarded as the normal state for an adult, and one who does not marry is thought to be queer. "Here they believe that a man without a woman or a woman without a man cannot be either man or woman and they are not respected." Moreover, life is very difficult for the widow or widower. The woman has difficulty getting her fields properly cultivated, even though she may own sufficient property. A man, unless he has relatives who will take him in, also has great difficulty in getting food, for no man knows how to cook. Women do not wish to take a widower as a boarder, fearing either that he will make some attempt on their virtue or that their reputation will suffer. Husbands are also much opposed to such an arrangement, so the widower must marry, if he is to eat decently.

583 In Mestizo Chilchota, Rendón found many similarities with the Cherán wedding customs. The bride is sometimes stolen, sometimes not. If stolen and then not married, the girl finds marriage difficult, and mothers will not let their daughters talk to such a girl. Chilchota residents assert that in the Tarascan villages of La Cañada this is not the case, but such evidence from Mestizos is notoriously unreliable.

Generally the bride is stolen. In Chilchota, Rendón definitely secured the impression that this custom is older than asking for the bride. The bride is taken to the house of a friend or to the godparent of baptism of the bride. According to some women marrying in this way, the marriage was not consummated until after the wedding ceremonies; others said they had relations with their husbands the day they were stolen. If the girl is asked for, rather than stolen, the relatives of the groom take mescal and cigarettes when they visit the bride's parents. They are accompanied by an old man skilled in such matters.

585 The wedding takes place traditionally in the house of the groom, but among the "snobs" it takes place in the house of the bride. Guests take a kilo of salt, a kilo of chiles (preferably dry chiles which are more expensive), several

535 feathers are stuck in their hair, and they carry
796 bows and arrows. Their dance is purely leaping about. They form a circle, leap about, shout, and make gestures with their bows and arrows. They never speak but make a sort of buzzing noise and make signs with an arrow to indicate what they want. They have guitar and drum music.

The three groups are said to signify that when the Christ Child was born, there appeared a star and various persons had to follow the star, performing their dances in various places. The three dances represent those of the tribes of the Three Kings who went in search of the Child. The Apaches were the last and were the most savage.

535 The various groups (and more than one group may appear for each dance) go about to
584 various houses where there are unmarried girls
796 or girls approaching marriageable age, and especially to houses where one of the boys has a sweetheart. Usually the girl is warned in advance (through the agency of some small boy) if she is to be visited. She prepares presents of balls of pinole and brown sugar, wrapped in maize husks, often elaborately painted. Sometimes some of these are made in the shape of a rooster or some animal. The girl gives these to the boy who has been courting her if she favors him, and the plain pinole balls to the others. They are also often given food. One of the surreptitious groups in 1940 at a well-to-do house were given coffee with *charanda* in it and boiled squash. When the dancers first enter the house yard, they shake hands with the girl. After eating, they dance a while. Then they say a word of thanks in Tarascan, shake hands with the girl again, and leave. "The idea," said unmarried Agustín, "is just to touch the girl's hand and see how neat her cooking and housework is." Obviously the dances are significant parts of the mating selection, for on almost no other occasion would a boy have a chance to see how a girl's house was run or have a chance to touch her hand openly.

According to one informant, a burlesque of the Mass is given by the dancers. This was not verified from any other source. It is the sort of thing which might sometimes have been done, but it seems foreign to the main purpose of the dances.

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587 discusses his choice with his parents or with
584 one of his uncles. Although no specific data could be secured on the subject, from the facts
604 that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
583 does the marriage not follow. Her parents, however much opposed they may be, must
522 always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authori-
583 ties should force a youth to marry a girl after he has stolen her. If they do not, the authori-
[606] ties are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p.m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

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556 585 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. [602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should [578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, [572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

626 585 Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

585 584 As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
584 forced but went willingly. There is no reason to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am not concerned in the matter but come to speak for the parents of the groom. They have come as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the evening the father returned and agreed to the marriage, but he said little and clearly was angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
162 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means
602 that the two families, in the most extended sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male relatives will help to move a house or roof a house, while the bride's female relatives will be called on to work in the kitchen on the same occasions. Both families will likewise be concerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in varying degree, especially when a grandchild marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion
585 for celebration, the release of tensions through drinking, the provision of diversion with the dancing, and the general stimulus through extensive social interaction is very considerable. For the participants, weddings probably rank as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for social contacts and amusement.

A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
585 weddings is the much greater participation of
987 the older women. Young women with children usually do not take a very active part in the kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the exchange of clothing. The old women, on the other hand, are in the forefront of all activities. Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in many respects. Old women are the most active in the kitchen. They are the first to start drinking, although they rarely drink to the excess common among the men, and they are the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the playing of dance music has an almost compulsive effect. Time and again, when dance music is being played, even though it is not time for dancing, some of the old women will be seen quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

Although the ceremonies of marriage are
585 most elaborate in the case of first marriages,
587 often marriages of widows or widowers are

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593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
512 on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

512 The general weekly routine of the family of
517 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels
[515] and go to the bathing place in one of the *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or
[132] rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people. After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for steal-
[584] ing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 823 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 [539] [361] The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most significant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to furnish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 584 [178] The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 49 [539] The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

28 Cost for 6-pound blanket:
433 Wool, 9 pounds (varying with year and season) $11.25
434 Labor: Days
[435] Purchase of wool 1
Cleaning and washing, actual labor (covering 2 or 3 days' time) 1
Carding 2
Spinning 2
Weaving 2
Total 8

[435] Asking price $25.00
Average sales price 20.00
Gross profit 8.75
Return for labor per day ..... 1.09 plus
Return per day for total days spent on part-time basis ..... .58 plus

Comment: Although involving only 8 days' actual labor, the work would be spread over about 15 days. Weavers usually would have to take 1 or 2 whole days off to get wood and some days or parts of days when the weather might be unpleasant. In addition, repairs to equipment and houses must be made, perhaps an animal must be looked after, and so on.

Belt weaving:

Equipment:
Loom, home-made

Costs:
Materials, thread and yarn ..... ?
Labor, part time ..... 2 days
Asking price $1.25
[435] Actual selling price 1.00
Gross profit, estimated ..... .80–.90
Daily labor return (part time, probably 5–6 hours) ..... .40–.45

Clothing manufacture:
294 Capital investment:
433 Sewing machine $40.00–150.00
434 Expenses:
Materials (for work on order) ..... None
Returns per day (from various workers' statements) ..... $0.75–$1.30

Comment: Most workers, especially men, are part-time operators; many work only on order, when daily income for elaborate garments may be much higher. Income figures are hence misleading, as they are based on steady work on low-priced garments.

[585] Clothing made for exchange at weddings usually is
[431] only single-stitched; regular clothing is double-stitched.
[435] Prices for sewing men's cotton trousers vary from 10 to 15 centavos for single stitching and 15 or 25 centavos for double stitching. Men's shirts vary in cost from 25 to 40 centavos (or more for fancy rayon shirts). Women's aprons cost 12 centavos.

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163 For the years 1936–39, inclusive, there were 690 registered births in Cherán. The sex ratio was very nearly 1:1, with 347 male births and 343 female births. The distribution is shown in table 11. It is of interest that great excess of female births occurred in 1936, reaching a peak in June of that year, while a considerable excess of male births occurred in 1939, also reaching a peak in June.

TABLE 12.—*Marriages in Cherán, 1937-39*[1]

585
582

Age of married person	Married men		Married women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
13	.....	.....	3	2.0
14	1	0.7	23	15.4
15	2	1.3	49	32.9
16	12	8.1	26	17.4
17	8	5.4	9	6.0
18	32	21.5	6	4.0
19	12	8.1	2	1.3
20	15	10.1	3	2.0
21	5	3.4	.....	.....
22	10	6.7	.....	.....
23	5	3.4	2	1.3
24	.....	.....	2	1.3
25	9	6.0	5	3.4
26	5	3.4	1	.7
27	1	.7	.....	.....
28	5	3.4	3	2.0
30	3	2.0	2	1.3
31	1	.7	.....	.....
32	2	1.3	.....	.....
35	4	2.7	2	1.3
37	2	1.3	1	.7
38	1	.7	.....	.....
39	.....	.....	1	.7
40	4	2.7	2	1.3
45	3	2.0	3	2.0
47	1	.7	.....	.....
48	.....	.....	1	.7
53	1	.7	.....	.....
55	1	.7	1	.7
60	2	1.3	2	1.3
80	1	.7	.....	.....
82	1	.7	.....	.....
Total	149	100.0	149	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

Data on the 149 marriages for 1937, 1938, and 1939 are shown in table 12. The age data are subject to the same probable inaccuracy in age estimates as is the case with the data on adult men. However, inasmuch as many Cherán residents are today sensitive about the early age of marriages and it is known that the ages given for young persons about to be married are often exaggerated, the data underscore the early age of marriage. In round numbers, 2 percent of girls married were only 13, 15 percent were 14, 32 percent were 15, 17 percent were 16, and 6 percent were 17. Only 2 percent of girls married were aged 20. It is significant that no marriages were recorded for girls aged 21 or 22. In all probability all, or nearly all, marriages recorded after this age were remarriages.

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582 The earliest age recorded for married males is 14, this age group comprising 0.7 percent of
585 the total male marriages. However, there is reason to believe that the age of males is falsified at marriage more than that of females. Most marriages, according to the statistics, take place at 16 or after; 8 percent of males marry at the age of 16. Five percent were married at 17, 21 percent at 18, 8 percent at 19, and 10 percent at 20. None were married at age 24, but 6 percent were married at 25. Some marriages listed at this age are probably remarriages, and certainly few first marriages take place after 25. The emphasis placed upon marriage as a normal state is indicated by the considerable age of some persons married. Two women and two men are shown as married at 60, while one man is shown as married at 80 and another at 82.

No particular season of marriage preference is evident if marriage frequencies are analyzed by months, despite assertions that most marriages take place in the winter after harvest. Evidently marriages take place when people have resources, regardless of the time of year. The fluctuations from year to year probably could be accounted for in terms of variable economic conditions. It must be remembered that the month of marriage reported is the time of the civil registry and church wedding. Probably the majority of marriages are consummated before these events.

In addition to the statistical data, even earlier marriages are believed to take place. One girl, whose age was alleged by several people independently to be only 15, had four children. Gossip told of another case of a girl of 10 years who was "half married," that is, the groom's parents did not yet permit him to sleep with his wife. But at the age of 14 the girl was said to have had two children. Before the Tarascans are censured for the practice of such early marriages, it should be born in mind that Bishop Quiroga, who had so much influence on the Tarascans, in his ordinances authorized the marriage of boys over 14 and girls over 12 (Arriaga, 1938).

Data on family composition and fertility
163 were obtained by interviews with 53 families
842 where the wife was 47 years of age or older and had not borne children recently (table 13).

[text continues on p. 97b]

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608 The *compadres* both have the duty of visiting one another when one of them is sick or has encountered some difficulty and, if it is possible, help him in some form. When one of the *compadres* has a duty (that is, a wedding, funeral, *mayordomía*, house roofing, house moving, or fiesta duty), it is the duty of the other to accompany him as many days as may be necessary. (The same mutual obligation exists between godparents and godchildren.)

When a godson kidnaps a girl with intention of marrying her, it is the duty of the father of the youth, before all else, to go to the house of the godfather of the youth, that is his (the father's) *compadre* and give him the news so that they may present themselves together in the house of the bride. This is a duty of the godfather. This duty (the father) has toward the three godfathers, of baptism, confirmation, and crown.

The duties of the marriage *compadres* are limited solely to accompanying each other when one has some obligation (such as wedding, *mayordomía*, etc.), the moving or termination of a house, and the duty of saluting each other with the name of "*compadre*."

Method of selecting *compadres*. In selecting the *compadres* some of the following characteristics are taken into consideration:

1. When a family wishes to have *compadres*, in general if it is rich it endeavors to find *compadres* in the same category.

2. If the family is poor, it tries to have a *compadre* in its same category, as it has been seen that sometimes when a poor person seeks a rich man as *compadre*, the latter accepts but afterwards he is ashamed to say "*compadre*" to the other who is somewhat poor. For this reason the latter (rich *compadres*) are not common.

3. Many times they (the parents) try to find a *compadre* who knows how to read. They say this is [212] with the object that the infant will also be intelligent and know how to read. This is a belief among many, but it is not universal.

4. On other occasions efforts are made to find a *compadre* who is distinguished as a valiant person, in the sense of having bravery or, better, to be bold to fight when occasion offers—this, in general, indicates what among us is meant when a person is called "valiant"—with the object that the child will grow up and may be equally valiant as his godfather.

5. There are also cases in which a godfather is selected because he has done a favor on some past occasion or because of hope to receive some favor in the future. In general, this is the method of selecting a godfather. All usually try to find their *compadre* in an equal (social) category with these exceptions already noted.

608 The marriage *compadres:* In order to recognize one another as *compadres* of marriage, it is necessary to 585 perform a certain act or ceremony in the moments when the last act of the marriage is about to terminate. This act takes place in the house or the kitchen (usually the latter) of the bridegroom. Present are the t'Arepiti diosv uandari (marriage manager), the parents

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608 of the bride and groom together with all their brothers,
585 sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the
[516] bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre.*" One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari ka auándaɹu anápueskari ka uéke diósa éskaksa no méni ambé arijperoka. Na čúskuskiá kumba." Meantime the t'aɹépiti is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

608 To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished,
[782] she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.[31]

In some parts of Mexico—for example,
[171] among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

[31] In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Cherán.

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583 refused, as he was interested in the girl he had hoped to steal the previous Sunday and the present girl he knew visited one of the houses of assignation. José was then put in jail, but when his mother stood responsible for him he was let out in a couple of days. The girl's mother went around town talking about the wrong that had been done, while José went around town telling everyone bad things about the girl. Eventually José had to run away and no one knew where he had gone.

Normally, sexual relations are begun between the bride and groom soon after she is stolen. [608] Permission of the girl's baptismal godfather (and perhaps the godfather of confirmation) should be sought and is usually given; to refuse might cause hard feeling. Cases were cited where the godfather and the boy's parents became very angry with each other over a refusal. On the other hand, evidently the boy is stimulated to accumulate the property necessary to hold the wedding if sex relations are not permitted.

The stealing of a girl sets in motion a complex series of events constituting perhaps the most complicated aspect of Cherán culture.

The following account of marriage is one written by Pedro Chávez. Parts in brackets represent additional comments made by Sr. Chávez on other occasions or data gathered from other sources. All the features of the wedding were verified by observation and utilization of other sources of information.

A TARASCAN WEDDING

Marriage among the Tarascans of the town of Cherán embraces many points of great importance. In the first place, it is now a custom that the groom, when he desires to enter into marriage, steals the girl. This theft consists of catching her and carrying her off forcibly or, sometimes, willingly without force. But in either case, as much in the first instance as in the second, the bride goes in accordance with an agreement made in advance and the action is merely feigned by the two.

585 When the theft of the bride is completed [by taking the girl to the house of an uncle or other relative or, more rarely, to the house of the groom], the parents of the groom proceed to the house of the bride and appear before her parents. This act is called the puátperankua or "the pardon." It should be taken into account that in order to present themselves before the parents of the bride, the parents of the groom must take a person called t'arepiti diósa uandári [who is a professional

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all [437] assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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585 [183] weeks or even months. In at least one case the religious marriage took place before the civil marriage, although on the same day. However, the priest normally refuses to perform the service unless the certificate of civil marriage is presented. The relatives accompanying the couple are parents, uncles and male first cousins of the groom, the parents and close relatives of the bride, and the godmothers of the groom and the godmother for the wedding. The latter stands by the couple when the legal formula is read by the secretary or the mayor. All the relatives sign the papers as witnesses. Sometimes the secretary or mayor makes a little speech, pointing out to the husband that now he has to support his bride and can not expect her father to go on supporting her. He also may deliver a homily on behavior, pointing out that a married man shouldn't have two women or a married woman two men, warning them to avoid divorce, etc.]

After following the course indicated by the authorities, the proper steps are taken for the religious marriage. On the vespers of the day of the marriage they celebrate the t'irénkua or the dance. For this the parents of the bride hire a band with the object of going to the house of the groom with the music to take him the clothing called Aríperata, or gifts, which consist of a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of trousers (*calzones*), three shirts, and a hat. The cost of this is divided by the godparents and relatives of the bride in this way: one pair of trousers, a shirt, and a sash from each of the two godfathers of the bride and the rest from her father. The groom is dressed in this clothing by the grandfathers, grandmothers, siblings, and first cousins of the bride. [One of the latter actually dresses the groom. The groom is called tembuča and his siblings and cousins of both sexes are called tembučas. Similarly, the bride is called tembunga and her siblings and cousins are called tembungas. The female tembučas give the female tembungas narrow colored ribbons or bands to wear in their hair.] [602] Immediately the dressing is completed, the musicians play some regional tune and the groom has to dance, with which ends the affair of the gifts of the groom. [Atole is sometimes brought to this function also. The custom seems to be decaying.]

On the day of the wedding the parents and godparents of the groom, together with the grandfathers, uncles and cousins, are those charged with going to the house of the bride very early in the morning when the bells ring the first call to Mass to take her clothing also, that is to say, the Aríperata. [The bride has returned to her own house a few days before the wedding. During this time the groom may visit her freely.] This consists of three rebozos, a shirt and blouse, earrings, *corales* (red glass beads), sash, and a pair of shoes. The cost of these is divided as follows: one rebozo from each godfather, these being the blue rebozos of Paracho, and the father of the groom a very fine white rebozo [it is not actually white but one of the remarkably fine mixed color rebozos from Tangancicuaro, costing anywhere from 20 to 80 pesos] and all the other

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● 585 articles. When the bride is dressed [she wears all three of the new rebozos], the parents of the couple and the principal godparents and relatives, together with the musicians brought by the parents of the groom, accompany the couple to the church to effectuate the marriage before the priest. [During the Mass a ring is placed on a finger of the bride. The groom can bring his own ring, but if he has not done so, a ring lent by the priest is used. The priest also puts silver money in the hands of the groom who in turn places it in the hands of the bride. If the groom has not brought money, the priest lends it to him. However, it is believed that the groom should bring the money and that the more he brings the greater the benediction for their life and the more fortunate the couple will be. There is said to be no use of the collar, chain, or ribbon used in some churches in Oaxaca.]

After the wedding, all leave the Mass and go to the house of the bride's parents, where she and all her relatives are left, the rest of the party going to the house of the groom's parents. Later, in about an hour, all return to the house of the bride's father [first calling for the bride's godparents to invite them] to escort the bride and all her relatives to breakfast [at the house of the groom's father] which consists only of a piece of bread and small cup of chocolate. On arriving at the house of the groom's father, the [male] guests seat themselves in a place previously prepared. The preparation consists of placing some logs of wood for seats [in two rows with others sometimes arranged as a table between the rows at a somewhat higher level] and at one of the ends they place the image of some saint of the Catholic religion [most commonly a picture of the saint] before which is a lighted candle and flowers [and sometimes an incense burner with copal incense]. Before the guests are served, it is the duty of the marriage manager to say a prayer in thanks. It should be noted that the first places [before the altar] are reserved for the marriage manager and the godfathers of both bride and groom and that only the men sit on these seats, the women being seated apart. The godmothers also sit apart [usually on mats in the [608] center of the courtyard], the godmother of the groom being distinguished by ribbons tied in her hair. These ribbons are given and tied on the hair by the godmother's *comadres*, granddaughters and sisters-in-law. [Ribbons are tied in the hair of all the godmothers of the groom, and of the godmother of the wedding.]

Upon completing the breakfast, all the relatives of the bride return to her house, taking the bride with them again and not being accompanied by the relatives of the groom. In the meantime the musicians play in the house of the groom. This is usually between 10 and 11 of the morning. [Meantime many guests may drop in and will be fed, being seated in a different place [554] from the relatives. Everyone is welcome because the more who attend, the more prestige attaches to the wedding. As outsiders, the members of the staff were usually especially welcome, as apparently we gave special *eclat* to the function.] Meantime all the sib-

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585 lings and cousins and grandparents of the groom together have hired another band and at this time they separate themselves from the rest of the groom's relatives. [They go through the streets with the musicians, ultimately going to the house of one of the groom's uncles where they eat dinner. The remainder of the groom's relatives and the guests eat at the house of the groom. Tortillas, kurúndas (tamales), and čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and chunks of beef) are served.]

After the dinner is served, the party is prepared to go for the bride. This is called the p'ipejperakua. The party consists of the parents of the groom and their brothers and all the friends of the parents. [574] [Actually not all go; those who are invited to go on the party are given iris leaves which they carry with [123] them. Staff members at weddings were frequently given invitations to accompany the party in this same form.] The same relatives of the bride are all assembled at her house, ready, as are the friends of the parents. [The party of the groom's relatives is accompanied by musicians. The party goes first to the house of the godparents of the bride. They serenade the house outside and then the closer relatives enter the house. They form a circle before the godfather and the godmother of the bride. The marriage manager makes a long but informal speech, asking permission to take the bride. The godfather replies, giving his permission. All present then shake hands with the godfather and godmother, making a movement simulating kissing the hand. The group leaves the house, accompanied by the godparents.] Arriving at the house of the bride's parents, the groom's relatives immediately ask for the bride. [Actually, only the closer relatives again go inside, accompanied by the musicians. The marriage manager again asks for the bride.] When consent is granted, they start for the groom's house, carrying with them the clothing they have ready. [For a big wedding a procession of a hundred or more people may have formed by the time the group returns to the groom's house.] In the meantime the other relatives of the boy [the siblings, cousins, and grandparents] arrive with their musicians and do the same [that is, they take off the siblings, cousins, and grandparents of the bride] who carry quantities of clothing. This consists of shirts for men and women, trousers for men, jackets for men and women, sashes for women, and bags, and tortilla cloths, the latter two objects to be given the groom at the time all the others are changing clothing and bread. In the house of the groom's father the guests are all seated as before. [The godmothers are again seated on mats in the center and the bride sits for a time beside the godmother of baptism. Guests continue to arrive and additional ribbons are tied in the hair of the godmothers and long and elaborate paper ornaments fastened to sticks are placed in the hair. All the relatives of the groom give cigarettes to the groom's father when they arrive in the courtyard for the first time and also give cigarettes to the godfathers

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585 of the groom. To the mother and the godmothers of the groom are given 5 or 10 centavos each. The form of presentation is always the same; the money is placed in a china plate covered with a cloth. The recipient tips the plate so the money slides into her hand without the amount being visible to anyone else. The recipient shakes the hand of the donor and in the case of the mother, who is standing, curtseys. Sometimes money is given to the males in lieu of cigarettes. If the family is large, the godmothers and the mother may receive from 8 to 15 pesos. Shortly after the arrival of the bride's party, the parents and uncles of the bride and groom, and sometimes other relatives, all enter the kitchen. There the marriage manager performs a ceremony (described on p. 103) by which all become *compadres*.]

The father of the groom now orders the distribution to all the relatives of the bride [and in observed weddings, to everyone present] of one piece of bread each. The bread was prepared in advance and is an obligation of the father. This is called the ɣaɣáki t'iréŋ́kua. Ordinarily these pieces are in the form of a crown which we call kanákua. [The *compadres* or brothers of the groom's father help him with the distribution, handing him a piece of bread which the father himself usually hands to each guest on a lacquered tray (pl. 7, upper right). The order of events in the account here does not coincide with any wedding witnessed. The distribution of bread usually came after the exchange of clothing and bread described below. Only if there were to be little or no clothing exchange or dancing would the distribution of bread be this early in the proceedings. The time of distribution is regarded as indicating the probable length of the wedding; the later it is distributed, the longer the wedding will last. In the case of the latest distribution observed, the wedding lasted 3 days. Similarly, the beginning of the drinking usually did not take place until the clothing and bread exchange was well under way.]

When this act [the distribution of the bread] was
[273] finished, they begin to bring out the bottles of *charanda* and all begin to drink until they are quite drunk. It should be noted that only the relatives of the groom have the right to buy and carry liquor, the relatives of the bride drinking what is offered them [which is abundant. The person who produces a bottle drinks from it first.] While they are drinking, at the same time they are making the exchange of the clothing and bread in the following form.

All of the women relatives of the bride such as the maternal and paternal aunts give clothing to the uncles and aunts and other relatives (of the groom) as well as the parents, who are those who receive the best clothing. These in their turn in recompense return bread in a quantity not more than $1.50 and not less than $1.00, while the musicians are playing regional tunes and *jarabes* and others are dancing. [For a somewhat different sequence of events with some additional details, see the account of the Sánchez wedding below.] In a word, there is a very great movement.

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585 [Each person giving a garment presents it to a relative of the groom who had given bread to the person at the ceremony 8 days after the pardon.] In another locality the same acts are being performed by the others who have a separate group of musicians. These are the brothers and grandparents of the bride and groom. Comes a moment when the groom is taken by the arms and they hang about his neck bags and tortilla cloths (*servilletas*). The groom is made to dance to two tunes. With this he leaves [the brothers, cousins and grandparents] and the remainder continue drinking and dancing until it is late and time to leave, only the bride remaining in the house of the groom, with which ends the events of the day of the wedding.

The following day is another small fiesta called the kauíjanękua. On this day it is an obligation of the parents of the groom to go to give thanks to the godparents of baptism and of the marriage in their houses, accompanied by their close relatives, making their thanks concrete by all getting drunk in the house of these godparents. On the other hand the brothers, sisters, cousins of both sexes, and grandparents of the bride hire musicians and go to the house of the groom to wash all the pots used the previous day, which is an obligation of the bride, although actually it does not result this way as they arrange to drink *charanda* and very few pots are washed. When they are all good and drunk again, celebrating this drunkenness among the cousins, brothers, and grandparents of the bride and groom, the marriage events end. As a regular thing there has been an expenditure of between 200 and 300 pesos for all the parts of the marriage ceremony, which must be paid by the father of the groom. [Written by P. Chávez, Cherán, Michoacán, October 10, 1940.]

The foregoing account represents the thoughtful view of a Cherán wedding as seen by an intelligent and well-informed native resident of the town. As is to be expected, certain aspects of the celebration are overlooked. Some of these have been inserted in brackets in the account given above; others will be added below. The Chávez account also presents a slightly different order from that observed at several weddings. In all probability the Chávez account is in part somewhat inaccurate in its order; very likely it also represents an expression of one of several possible arrangements. Some weddings are much more elaborate than the generalized description, while others are much simpler.

The most elaborate wedding during the time of the study was that of Samuel Sánchez, son of Antonio Sánchez, a well-to-do farmer with a large number of relatives (pl. 6, left, center). The most significant points are discussed below. Samuel stole his bride about the middle of July,

585 and the wedding occurred on August 17. On August 16 the women of the household, aided by relatives, soaked and washed between 5 and 6 *fanegas* of maize for tamales and tortillas. Also, a beef was killed, cut up, and placed in the storage loft. The evening of the same day new clothing was taken to the groom by the bride's relatives, and he was dressed, everything but his pants being changed in the patio. The dressing should be done by a male first cousin of the bride. (Agustín, for example, dressed the groom when the daughter of his mother's sister was married.)

The wedding in church took place at about 4 a. m. So early a wedding is unusual, partly because it costs more, but the Sánchez family obviously planned to make the most of the wedding. The bride was dressed in new clothing before the wedding. After the wedding the bride and her party went to her parents' house. Between 10 and 11 o'clock they returned to the

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●585 groom's house, where breakfast was served. The godmother of baptism and the godmother of the wedding were seated on mats in the patio with the bride at the right hand of the godmother of baptism (pl. 7, right, center; fig. 18). Both received gifts of ribbons and coins, but only the godmother of the wedding had the paper ornaments on sticks placed in her hair (pl. 7, lower right). When breakfast was finished, the bride and her relatives returned to her house.

A group went out with the musicians and brought back a large quantity of bread. On such trips with the musicians a direct route is never followed, particularly on the return, but a circuitous route is taken to display the bread and the crowd to as many as possible. As soon as the bride's relatives had left, dinner began to be served to the relatives of the groom, the men eating under the shed separately from the women. The bread was put on a table deco-

[p. 184c]

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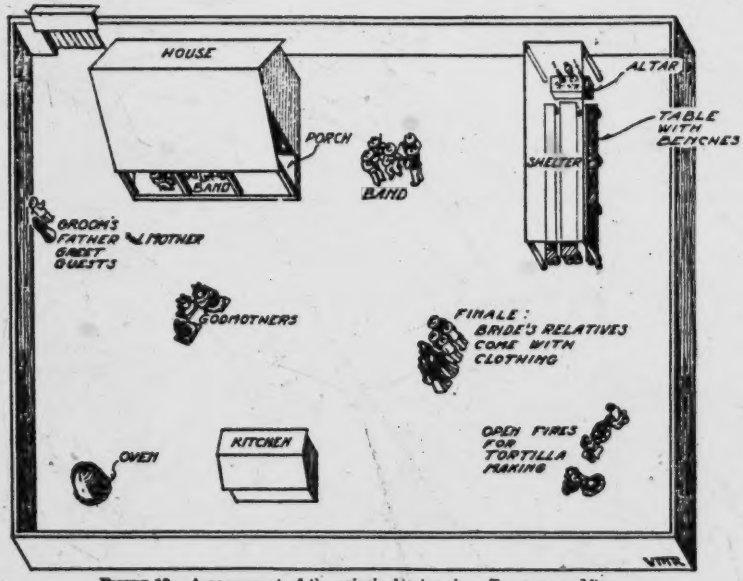

FIGURE 18.—Arrangement of the principal actors in a Tarascan wedding.

585 rated with ferns. The serving of food to the men was done by brothers-in-law of the groom's father. Cigarettes were passed around by one of the groom's uncles.

About 12:45 p. m. a second band arrived. While the mother was not occupied she sat on a mat in front of the house where she received coins from guests. The father received cigarettes, which were placed beside the altar under the shed until needed, when they were passed about to the guests. After eating, many went to the house of one of the other relatives of the groom where they ate again. The bride's relatives were given dinner at her home by her parents.

Iris leaves were distributed to the men selected to go for the bride, and they left with the band hired by the groom's father. The godmothers moved under the house porch where they sat on mats. A procession of women came in bearing lacquered trays on their heads filled with fruit and bottles of soda pop. These women were female relatives of the groom who had not helped in the kitchen work. The soda pop was given to the men who had been assisting, while the fruit was given to the women assistants. Some of the men fastened quantities of breads and cookies to strings suspended from the roof of the shed where the bride's male relatives would sit again on their return.

A number of women bearing cornstalks and flowers (cannas, dahlias, and calla lilies) left with the second band and some of the men, including the groom's father. They were going to get bread.

In the meantime the bride and her relatives arrived. The bride's male relatives went to the shed where they all grabbed at the breads and cookies, each trying to get the most. The female relatives sat in a group in another place (see fig. 18) with the clothing before them arranged to make the greatest possible display. The bride sat beside the godmothers. She was barefoot and accompanied by a small girl.

The first lot of bread was brought in. The godmothers with the first band, which had returned with the bride, went out into the street to meet the bread. About 15 minutes after this the bride went into the house where she stayed the remainder of the ceremony, accompained by a number of younger girls.

585 The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and four or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the [532] form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

585 Before the exchange of clothing and bread was completed, the godmothers began the
535 dancing. No one was supposed to dance until
608 the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

585 The dancing was interrupted at this point by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men [482] carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

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585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The [184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took [605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the [587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

585 was a widower but still young. The girl lived
587 with an aunt, for her mother had become a woman of loose morals after having an affair with a worker on the highway and at the moment was in jail in Uruapan for disorderly conduct. The bride's father was dead. Another aunt refused to attend the wedding because she did not approve of the girl's marrying a widower.

In this instance the groom had not stolen the girl but had asked for her, taking bread to the house of the aunt, accompanied by musicians. Agustín, with other relatives of the girl, took her to church for the civil wedding, where she was delivered to the groom's father. She was not returned to her own home and there was no breakfast. As the groom's father was poor, there was no celebration in his house, but at noon the girl's aunt did the best she could to rectify the matter by serving a dinner in her house.

585 At another simple wedding attended, the general forms were gone through in truncated fashion. The dinner was over before 12 o'clock, and immediately following it the groom's father distributed the special breads in the form of crowns. This early distribution indicated that there would be no exchange of clothing on a large scale (although there was a little) and no drinking. There were no music and no dancing, and the affair was over by about 2 p.m.

Another of the weddings observed in some detail presents a number of interesting features. This was the wedding of Samuel Santa Clara,
[115] son of the widow, Doña Feliciana, principal informant regarding herbs.

Again, as the families knew each other well and it was certain that the girl's mother, also a widow, would consent, the girl was not stolen. Indeed, Doña Feliciana and her "brothers" went to the girl's house on a Thursday evening and asked for her. There were no music and no marriage manager on this occasion. The following Monday, September 9, Doña Feliciana and all the groom's relatives ate at her house and then went to the bride's house, starting about 2:30 p.m. This hour is early and was arranged for my special benefit so I would be sure to see everything. Unfortunately, I had not been advised of the plan and was not in Cherán that day, but Agustín, who as usual

[p.187a]

585 turned out to be a relative, was a member of the party.

Because of the early hour, the marriage manager had not arrived. The party all waited outside until the manager was found and came. The manager prayed, and then the men were given tamales to eat. The women then began exchanging bread and tamales at about 5:30. Later they drank all night and sat around and talked. They would have danced, but Doña Feliciana had provided no music.

On November 9 the groom was learning the prayers and it was intended to hold the wedding soon, but it was postponed until January because the priest said that no one could marry until after Christmas *por los velados*. As Doña Feliciana remarked, "No one knows what these are. This priest is very capricious. We have had various priests here, but never one like this."

554 585 During the interval of waiting, Doña Feliciana made it plain that, as she was a widow, she had no intention of holding a large wedding. The mother of the bride, however, was affronted and sent word that with all the Santa Claras in the town it was a shame they would not do anything. She also announced that although she also was a widow, she intended to pay for a band herself. When word of this got around, the Santa Claras became ashamed and bestirred themselves to see what could be done. Soon Agustín's father was remarking that the Santa Claras had gotten the better of the Rangéls, and perhaps they should do something. When the wedding finally was held by the Santa Claras it turned out to be, if anything, more elaborate than that given by Antonio Sánchez, described above.

585 The distribution of expenses, as it finally turned out, was approximately as follows:

Breakfast for the women—Erino Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

Breakfast for the men—provided by a cousin, a Santa Clara.

Dinner and bread—Emilio Santa Clara, a "grandfather."

One band—Doña Feliciana, the cousins, and uncles (Agustín paid a contribution for this).

Second band—brothers, sisters, and cousins of the groom, "grandfathers" of both bride and groom. (Agustín's father paid a contribution for this.)

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Civil wedding—Domingo Hernández, a "grandfather."
Church wedding—Doña Feliciana.

According to report, Doña Feliciana provided only a new *rebozo* for the bride in the way of clothing, but this was not verified. No data were secured on who paid for the liquor.

The church wedding took place about 7 a. m. on January 9, this being the cheaper hour. The bride was returned to her home, then brought with her relatives to the groom's mother's house for breakfast. After breakfast, the party went to the municipal offices for the civil registry. This order was quite incorrect, as customarily the civil registry should precede the religious ceremony, usually by about a week. After this, matters proceeded as usual with the dinner. The older brother of the groom functioned as the male head of the household. Had the groom had no older brother, Doña Feliciana would have had to discharge the functions of the male head; none of her brothers or those of her deceased husband would have taken this position.

Late in the afternoon a number of poles were brought into the courtyard. Stuck in holes in these poles were many small sticks to which were attached small flaglike ornaments of paper of many colors which were divided among the women and children with a great deal of shouting and disorder (pl. 7, lower left). These banners are not produced at any other time than the period preceding Carnival.

The crownlike breads were not produced until quite late, about 4:30 p. m., and were not distributed until some time later (pl. 7, upper right). In turn, the dancing was late in starting in the groom's house, although it began some time earlier in the house of the grandfather entertaining that group.

Just before dusk the priest arrived and scolded the party for getting drunk. One of the men who took this to heart started home; [674] he was shot and killed while crossing the bridge to Parícutin by an unknown enemy, but none of these events stopped the wedding, which turned into one of the most prolonged large-scale drinking bouts occurring during the time of the study. Atole was served at midnight, while between 4 and 6 a. m. and again at 8 a. m. *posole* was served. The atole was provided by

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585 Antonio Sánchez (whose son's wedding is the first described) and his brother. The *posole* was provided by the cousins of the groom.

At 10 o'clock the following morning, water for dish washing was carried through the streets accompanied by a band. At 11:30 additional maize was taken to the mill, again accompanied by a band. On both occasions numerous people were dancing with the procession. Several other processions occurred during this and the following day when the wedding finally terminated.

Doña Feliciana estimated the expenses for the wedding to be about $100 for food and bread, paid for by the relatives. Doña Feliciana supplied 9 *fanegas* of maize, worth [435] $36, and paid $25 to one of the bands, and she still owed $20. She also killed a cow with an estimated value of $60. The second band, which did not stay the entire time, was paid $20 by the relatives. This makes a total expense of $261, not counting the fees for the civil registry and the priest. Neither does it include the very considerable quantities of liquor consumed. Doña Feliciana collected $21 in gifts given by her female relatives.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez mentioned above cost his father $150. In addition, Don Antonio's brothers spent at least $50. Don Antonio also killed a beef, and 7½ *fanegas* of maize was consumed. The civil registry cost $6 and the Mass $13, a total expenditure of approximately $309 exclusive of the liquor.

Alfredo Romero, pointing out that even poor families had to make every effort to give a proper wedding so the parents of the girl would be satisfied, reported that his wedding cost $135, 5½ *fanegas* of maize, and some beans, "and it did not last more than 3 days" (but his group of relatives is smaller and there were fewer guests than at some of the other weddings). He had to buy a beef "which hardly lasted" and there was expense for musicians, bread, lard, salt, onions "and who knows what else." Romero was forced to sell a lot in Parícutin and two small pieces of land, despite aid given him by his relatives.

In general, the attitude of disapproval voiced in the previous paragraph is not shared in Cherán. Although accounts of expense were given with a good deal of headshaking, obviously

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585 the majority of persons were rather proud of the amount they had spent. Unquestionably, a wedding is the most extensive and ostentatious
556 display of wealth and social position that exists
585 in Cherán. Attempts in the past by outsiders to suppress the *costumbres* are almost always taken as attempts to suppress the weddings first of all and are met by sullen and dogged resistance. The reaction of Emilio Rojas, godfather of the bride in the Samuel Santa Clara wedding, is fairly typical:

> The custom here is pleasant, except people get very drunk. Well, not everyone, but some. It is good to take something, but not to the point of drunkenness. It is good to dance and be gay. Besides, I like weddings because I always sell something in the way of clothing. [Don Emilio is a storekeeper.]

The social prestige factors involved in weddings revolve about several aspects of the ceremonies. One is the sheer factor of display already mentioned. Whenever any group of people goes through the streets in connection with the wedding, it is accompanied by a band. Furthermore, a direct route is rarely followed. Often a circuitous route two or three times as long as the direct route is used.

Another aspect is the display and exchange of clothing and bread. Every effort is made to show the amount of bread being brought and the quantity of clothing to be exchanged. The clothing is carried on trays, usually lacquered, or in baskets either in the arms or on the head. The majority of the participants bearing clothing come in a single large procession which always makes a special effort to traverse as much of the town as is possible without making the ostentation too evident. The women bearing clothing all sit together for a time after arriving at the groom's house and spread out their clothing to make it look as impressive as possible.

The clothing exchange also has an economic aspect, for the investment involved is very considerable. To some extent, though, the gifts are formalized. Clothing for wedding gifts is usually not as well made as regular clothing. Furthermore, a large part of it is kept for exchange in future weddings. Only if a family does not expect to have any relatives marry for some time to come will it actually use the clothing, unless it is very poor and in need of the

556 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing
may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for
●585 gifts. Informants estimated that each garment
was exchanged two or three times; probably
the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend.
[602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he
does not wish to create hard feeling. Should
[578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such
as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or
mayordomías would be boycotted by the persons
he had affronted. At the wedding of the
daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez,
[572] representative of the town, very large numbers
of nonrelatives attended in order to show their
liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

Resentment and avoidance seem to be the
626 only methods of retaliation for neglect at
585 Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at
least, relatives who do not attend a wedding
are sought out by their fellows and forcibly
brought to the wedding where they have to
parade through the kitchen bearing a water
bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger
wedding the arrangements are too complex to
be known properly to most people and the
successful carrying out of the wedding depends
on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage
manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear
in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous,
for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous
individual.

As a neutral third party, the marriage man-
585 ager also smooths over differences of opinion
more successfully than the principals could
584 ordinarily do face to face. This is especially
marked when the bride's father is annoyed with
the theft of his daughter. For example, at one
"pardon," the father had left for the mountains
and only an uncle of the girl was in the house.
He claimed to be sick and refused to come out
of the house for some time. When he did, he
gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
584 forced but went willingly. There is no reason to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am not concerned in the matter but come to speak for the parents of the groom. They have come as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the evening the father returned and agreed to the marriage, but he said little and clearly was angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
182 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means
602 that the two families, in the most extended sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male relatives will help to move a house or roof a house, while the bride's female relatives will be called on to work in the kitchen on the same occasions. Both families will likewise be concerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in varying degree, especially when a grandchild marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion
585 for celebration, the release of tensions through drinking, the provision of diversion with the dancing, and the general stimulus through extensive social interaction is very considerable. For the participants, weddings probably rank as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for social contacts and amusement.

A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
585 weddings is the much greater participation of
987 the older women. Young women with children usually do not take a very active part in the kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the exchange of clothing. The old women, on the other hand, are in the forefront of all activities. Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in many respects. Old women are the most active in the kitchen. They are the first to start drinking, although they rarely drink to the excess common among the men, and they are the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the playing of dance music has an almost compulsive effect. Time and again, when dance music is being played, even though it is not time for dancing, some of the old women will be seen quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

Although the ceremonies of marriage are
585 most elaborate in the case of first marriages,
587 often marriages of widows or widowers are

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585 almost as complex, particularly if it is the first
587 marriage of one of the parties. A widow or widower is not expected to marry for 6 months after the death of his or her spouse, but marriage usually occurs soon after that time. Marriage is regarded as the normal state for an adult, and one who does not marry is thought to be queer. "Here they believe that a man without a woman or a woman without a man cannot be either man or woman and they are not respected." Moreover, life is very difficult for the widow or widower. The woman has difficulty getting her fields properly cultivated, even though she may own sufficient property. A man, unless he has relatives who will take him in, also has great difficulty in getting food, for no man knows how to cook. Women do not wish to take a widower as a boarder, fearing either that he will make some attempt on their virtue or that their reputation will suffer. Husbands are also much opposed to such an arrangement, so the widower must marry, if he is to eat decently.

583 In Mestizo Chilchota, Rendón found many similarities with the Cherán wedding customs. The bride is sometimes stolen, sometimes not. If stolen and then not married, the girl finds marriage difficult, and mothers will not let their daughters talk to such a girl. Chilchota residents assert that in the Tarascan villages of La Cañada this is not the case, but such evidence from Mestizos is notoriously unreliable.

Generally the bride is stolen. In Chilchota, Rendón definitely secured the impression that this custom is older than asking for the bride. The bride is taken to the house of a friend or to the godparent of baptism of the bride. According to some women marrying in this way, the marriage was not consummated until after the wedding ceremonies; others said they had relations with their husbands the day they were stolen. If the girl is asked for, rather than stolen, the relatives of the groom take mescal and cigarettes when they visit the bride's parents. They are accompanied by an old man skilled in such matters.

585 The wedding takes place traditionally in the house of the groom, but among the "snobs" it takes place in the house of the bride. Guests take a kilo of salt, a kilo of chiles (preferably dry chiles which are more expensive), several

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585 kilos of rice, and a basket of corn or beans. The male relatives of the bride supply one or two loads of wood and also present to the groom agricutural tools if he is a farmer or utensils of his trade if he has some other occupation. The male and female relatives of the groom also dress the bride in a complete new outfit and present her with clothing and household and kitchen equipment. Gifts received by the bride and groom are divided with their respective relatives. The sisters of the groom carry rosaries made of *amole* tubers to indicate that they should wash with this and not with soap. (This statement is ambiguous and needs further investigation; possibly it refers to bathing the bride.)

The church wedding takes place in the early hours of the morning and is followed by a breakfast in the house where the celebration is to be held. Invariably the breakfast consists of bread and chocolate. After breakfast there is a dance, which continues through the day except for intervals in which to eat. The food is *mole* of chicken or turkey, fried rice, beans, and tortillas. After the meal a drink made of [273] pulque and called *charape* is served. If it is [272] not the season for pulque, the *charape* is made of a wild plant resembling the maguey and called timbiriče.

After dancing a while following the dinner, the bride is taken to the house of the godparents of the groom, in case she has been stolen, or to her own parents' house, if she has been asked for. The bride spends the night at this house without her husband. Some time during the day the sisters of the groom wash the bride and dress her.

The following day the godparents of the wedding hold a fiesta in their house similar to that on the preceding day but with some additional features. Early in the morning, when the invited guests arrive, they are served breakfast of bread and chocolate made with water. Then there is dancing. At midday a dinner is served, consisting of many of the typical Tarascan foods such as čuripo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and meat), kurúndas (yellow tamales), chayote, and cooked squash (*chilacayote*).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the dancing goes on in the house of the godparents of the wedding, the godparents of baptism of

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585 both the bride and groom organize a group to carry the atole. A large *olla* is filled with atole. The *olla* is decorated with green branches, flowers, and paper streamers. A carrying basket full of bread and bottles of *aguardiente* is also carried. The atole can be of whatever type is usual at the season of the year, while the bread must be of the type known as *pan grueso*, "thick bread." Various members of the group take turns carrying the bread and atole. At each corner the person carrying the bread or atole dances, while his companions circle about him.

A group of relatives by marriage of the groom known as the "cats" now attempt to take away the *olla* of atole. They carry bundles of nettles and similar plants and strike the bearers of the atole until they succeed in getting it away. They carry it to a store and "sell" it for *aguardiente* or cigarettes.

Another group, known as the sisters, *hermanas*, composed of consanguineal relatives of the groom, attempt to defend the *olla* of atole. When it is finally stolen, they must "buy" it back from the storekeeper for the value of the goods given to the "cats." This is repeated several times before the atole is finally brought to the house of the godparents about sundown.

The godparents of the wedding meantime have strung a rope across the street and receive the group with the atole with lighted splinters of pitch pine to symbolize their late arrival. For a time the party with the atole are not allowed to pass the rope, but eventually they climb over or under it and get into the house.

The godparents of baptism now give the godparents of the marriage *charape*, mescal, and cigarettes. In return they receive presents of clothing and mescal. In the Tarascan villages of La Cañada it is said the exchange of clothing is much more extensive. A supper is served of tamales, *bunuelos* (a sort of fried bread dough dipped in sugar), and *charape*, and there is more dancing. Later the bride is carried to the house of the parents or relatives of the groom. The relatives of the bride are present. Female relatives of the bride toast chiles on a *comal*, and the groom has to enter the smoke to prove that he is a man. The bride is now given to the groom.

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585 The following day there is a ritual meal in the house of the bride to which come the bride's relatives and many friends. The women of Chilchota often dress in traditional Tarascan costume for this meal, wearing the *rollo* or pleated skirt. They also wear straw hats much decorated with flowers and paper streamers. Men dress in *calzones* or trousers of Indian style. If they have money, a band is hired and the group dances at every corner. The meal served consists of boiled cabbage (without meat or meat broth) and beef tripe cooked with herbs and chile.

Soon after the wedding, the groom takes the bride's parents one or two large baskets of bread, chocolate, sugar, and from $10 to $100 (depending on his economic status) to show his thanks. There is some sort of ceremony in the house of the bride's parents.

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535 a Mestizo town, the male and female relatives of the bride dance in the streets on the day of the wedding. The group has a band and dances at each street intersection in the town, the men in one file, and the women in another. The men make a circuit of the women's file and return to their places. The women do the same and then the group moves to another corner. The persons in the files are arranged according to their stature. A sister of the bride accompanies the group, and represents her. The night after the wedding the relatives of the groom do the same, lighting their way with pitch pine torches.

588 A dozen or more families in Cherán live in
586 "free union," that is, a couple lives together without marriage. In most cases one or both parties to the arrangement have been married previously and divorced according to Cherán standards but not according to law. The majority of such free unions are said to result in successful households, and children of such unions suffer no stigma. Children of free unions inherit from their parents in the same fashion as children of legal or church marriages. This type of union is said to be fairly recent, and at first persons living in this fashion were not permitted by the priest to hold any church office or to act as godparents. Children of free unions were also refused baptism. In

588 recent years it is said that these restrictions
586 have disappeared.

One reason for the free union is the difficulty of securing a legal divorce. Such a divorce can be granted only by a court of first instance (*juzgado de primer instancia*). The nearest court of this kind is in Uruapan, and to secure a divorce requires many trips to Uruapan and an outlay of more money than most Cherán residents can afford. Moreover, most people do not understand the needed steps.

Causes of divorce are drunkenness, wife
586 beating, failure to support the family, or abandoning the family for another woman on the part of the man. On the part of the woman, infidelity is an important cause. Lack of children is rarely if ever the direct cause of divorce, and is not recognized as a sufficient reason. Incompatibility evidently may play a part also. Uncles and grandfathers of the married couple and the godparents of the marriage intervene if a marriage is not going smoothly, and attempt to persuade the couple to change their habits.

In all cases of divorce for whatever cause, the officials of the *municipio* investigate. If they find the divorce not justified, the officials may force the couple to continue living together. If the causes are deemed sufficient, the officials do not interfere, although they may supervise disposition of children so that they will have the best care. If children are less than 6 or 7 they are usually put in charge of the mother. Over that age they are usually given to the parent best able to rear them properly. If the mother is industrious and the father a drunkard, the children will be given to the mother, but if the mother is careless of her obligations, the father will receive the children. Dislike or quarrels rarely arise between relatives of a divorced couple. In free unions, as in mar-
[593] riages of widows or widowers, sometimes a parent is jealous of the spouse's children by a previous marriage, sometimes not.

ADULT LIFE

895 Entry into adult status is closely associated
585 with marriage. Normally a child is not consulted in family affairs until he is married; the only exceptions are a few families where youths have not married at the customary ages. Usu-

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

593 For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[85] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

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ROOFING FIESTA AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Men eating at a house-roofing fiesta; baskets of tortillas, jars of water, and dishes of salt lie on the ground. Remaining photographs, a Cherán wedding. *Upper (right):* Preparing to distribute bread, while one of the godmothers oversees the work. *Lower (left):* Bringing in paper ornaments for distribution. *Right (middle):* The godmothers and close relatives of the groom. *Lower (right):* Tying a ribbon in a godmother's hair.

[End Plate 7]

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it Another special
342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth
585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a
[608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses.
591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com-
651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re-
364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

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583 after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

584 Opportunities for courting and for making arrangements are few. The boy may visit the girl's house only on rare occasions, such as the *melebris* before Christmas, although he may occasionally have accompanied his parents on a visit. He also may speak to the girl at the door of her courtyard or exchange a word or two when she is on the streets with her mother carrying water. The best opportunities are the rare occasions when the girl may be allowed on the streets alone in the daytime to visit a relative or to run an errand nearby and especially when she has been allowed to go somewhere with other girls. Sunday afternoon is the main time for courting. A boy uses a [198] special whistle to attract the attention of a girl. If she is with other girls, all stop, and the boy uses signs to indicate which one he wishes to talk to. The other girls go on slowly and the indicated one, if she is interested, lingers behind for a few minutes' conversation.

581 The standards for choice of spouse by a boy are several. A boy wants an attractive-looking girl who is fairly tall and of medium build and who also is industrious and of good family. This means her family is not completely poverty-stricken, her father not a drunkard, and her mother not "perverse" (apparently meaning "immoral"). Also, the girl should be 582 either the same age or a year or two younger than the boy. In a few instances the girl is a ● 587 year or two older. No cases were reported of widows marrying younger men, but sometimes a widower marries a younger woman. One case cited is a man of over 65 who has a wife

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582 aged 20. The instance is regarded as exceptional and as undesirable. As a rule, the boy
587 discusses his choice with his parents or with
584 one of his uncles. Although no specific data
604 could be secured on the subject, from the facts that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
583 does the marriage not follow. Her parents, however much opposed they may be, must
522 always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authori-
583 ties should force a youth to marry a girl after he has stolen her. If they do not, the authori-
[661] ties are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p. m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

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585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The [184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took [605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the [587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

585 was a widower but still young. The girl lived
587 with an aunt, for her mother had become a woman of loose morals after having an affair with a worker on the highway and at the moment was in jail in Uruapan for disorderly conduct. The bride's father was dead. Another aunt refused to attend the wedding because she did not approve of the girl's marrying a widower.

In this instance the groom had not stolen the girl but had asked for her, taking bread to the house of the aunt, accompanied by musicians. Agustín, with other relatives of the girl, took her to church for the civil wedding, where she was delivered to the groom's father. She was not returned to her own home and there was no breakfast. As the groom's father was poor, there was no celebration in his house, but at noon the girl's aunt did the best she could to rectify the matter by serving a dinner in her house.

585 At another simple wedding attended, the general forms were gone through in truncated fashion. The dinner was over before 12 o'clock, and immediately following it the groom's father distributed the special breads in the form of crowns. This early distribution indicated that there would be no exchange of clothing on a large scale (although there was a little) and no drinking. There were no music and no dancing, and the affair was over by about 2 p.m.

Another of the weddings observed in some detail presents a number of interesting features. This was the wedding of Samuel Santa Clara,
[115] son of the widow, Doña Feliciana, principal informant regarding herbs.

Again, as the families knew each other well and it was certain that the girl's mother, also a widow, would consent, the girl was not stolen. Indeed, Doña Feliciana and her "brothers" went to the girl's house on a Thursday evening and asked for her. There were no music and no marriage manager on this occasion. The following Monday, September 9, Doña Feliciana and all the groom's relatives ate at her house and then went to the bride's house, starting about 2:30 p.m. This hour is early and was arranged for my special benefit so I would be sure to see everything. Unfortunately, I had not been advised of the plan and was not in Cherán that day, but Agustín, who as usual

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
584 forced but went willingly. There is no reason to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am not concerned in the matter but come to speak for the parents of the groom. They have come as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the evening the father returned and agreed to the marriage, but he said little and clearly was angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
162 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means that the two families, in the most extended
602 sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male relatives will help to move a house or roof a house, while the bride's female relatives will be called on to work in the kitchen on the same occasions. Both families will likewise be concerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in varying degree, especially when a grandchild marries at some future date.

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585 almost as complex, particularly if it is the first
587 marriage of one of the parties. A widow or widower is not expected to marry for 6 months after the death of his or her spouse, but marriage usually occurs soon after that time. Marriage is regarded as the normal state for an adult, and one who does not marry is thought to be queer. "Here they believe that a man without a woman or a woman without a man cannot be either man or woman and they are not respected." Moreover, life is very difficult for the widow or widower. The woman has difficulty getting her fields properly cultivated, even though she may own sufficient property. A man, unless he has relatives who will take him in, also has great difficulty in getting food, for no man knows how to cook. Women do not wish to take a widower as a boarder, fearing either that he will make some attempt on their virtue or that their reputation will suffer. Husbands are also much opposed to such an arrangement, so the widower must marry, if he is to eat decently.

583 In Mestizo Chilchota, Rendón found many similarities with the Cherán wedding customs. The bride is sometimes stolen, sometimes not. If stolen and then not married, the girl finds marriage difficult, and mothers will not let their daughters talk to such a girl. Chilchota residents assert that in the Tarascan villages of La Cañada this is not the case, but such evidence from Mestizos is notoriously unreliable.

Generally the bride is stolen. In Chilchota, Rendón definitely secured the impression that this custom is older than asking for the bride. The bride is taken to the house of a friend or to the godparent of baptism of the bride. According to some women marrying in this way, the marriage was not consummated until after the wedding ceremonies; others said they had relations with their husbands the day they were stolen. If the girl is asked for, rather than stolen, the relatives of the groom take mescal and cigarettes when they visit the bride's parents. They are accompanied by an old man skilled in such matters.

585 The wedding takes place traditionally in the house of the groom, but among the "snobs" it takes place in the house of the bride. Guests take a kilo of salt, a kilo of chiles (preferably dry chiles which are more expensive), several

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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Mestizo

585 The following day there is a ritual meal in the house of the bride to which come the bride's relatives and many friends. The women of Chilchota often dress in traditional Tarascan costume for this meal, wearing the *rollo* or pleated skirt. They also wear straw hats much decorated with flowers and paper streamers. Men dress in *calzones* or trousers of Indian style. If they have money, a band is hired and the group dances at every corner. The meal served consists of boiled cabbage (without meat or meat broth) and beef tripe cooked with herbs and chile.

Soon after the wedding, the groom takes the bride's parents one or two large baskets of bread, chocolate, sugar, and from $10 to $100 (depending on his economic status) to show his thanks. There is some sort of ceremony in the house of the bride's parents.

585 535 In San Juan Parangaricutiro, also primarily a Mestizo town, the male and female relatives of the bride dance in the streets on the day of the wedding. The group has a band and dances at each street intersection in the town, the men in one file, and the women in another. The men make a circuit of the women's file and return to their places. The women do the same and then the group moves to another corner. The persons in the files are arranged according to their stature. A sister of the bride accompanies the group, and represents her. The night after the wedding the relatives of the groom do the same, lighting their way with pitch pine torches.

588 586 A dozen or more families in Cherán live in "free union," that is, a couple lives together without marriage. In most cases one or both parties to the arrangement have been married previously and divorced according to Cherán standards but not according to law. The majority of such free unions are said to result in successful households, and children of such unions suffer no stigma. Children of free unions inherit from their parents in the same fashion as children of legal or church marriages. This type of union is said to be fairly recent, and at first persons living in this fashion were not permitted by the priest to hold any church office or to act as godparents. Children of free unions were also refused baptism. In

588 recent years it is said that these restrictions
586 have disappeared.

One reason for the free union is the difficulty of securing a legal divorce. Such a divorce can be granted only by a court of first instance (*juzgado de primer instancia*). The nearest court of this kind is in Uruapan, and to secure a divorce requires many trips to Uruapan and an outlay of more money than most Cherán residents can afford. Moreover, most people do not understand the needed steps.

Causes of divorce are drunkenness, wife
586 beating, failure to support the family, or abandoning the family for another woman on the part of the man. On the part of the woman, infidelity is an important cause. Lack of children is rarely if ever the direct cause of divorce, and is not recognized as a sufficient reason. Incompatibility evidently may play a part also. Uncles and grandfathers of the married couple and the godparents of the marriage intervene if a marriage is not going smoothly, and attempt to persuade the couple to change their habits.

In all cases of divorce for whatever cause, the officials of the *municipio* investigate. If they find the divorce not justified, the officials may force the couple to continue living together. If the causes are deemed sufficient, the officials do not interfere, although they may supervise disposition of children so that they will have the best care. If children are less than 6 or 7 they are usually put in charge of the mother. Over that age they are usually given to the parent best able to rear them properly. If the mother is industrious and the father a drunkard, the children will be given to the mother, but if the mother is careless of her obligations, the father will receive the children. Dislike or quarrels rarely arise between relatives of a divorced couple. In free unions, as in mar-
[593] riages of widows or widowers, sometimes a parent is jealous of the spouse's children by a previous marriage, sometimes not.

ADULT LIFE

885 Entry into adult status is closely associated
585 with marriage. Normally a child is not consulted in family affairs until he is married; the only exceptions are a few families where youths have not married at the customary ages. Usu-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat
593 difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[851] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

596 they have lived thus far. In the few cases
591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

593 More commonly a joint family will not be
591 established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

593 Much the same situation will obtain regard-
423 ing farm lands. A father may give his son
885 some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
352 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

592 and the number of persons in the household. A
362 sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent
125 of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which

they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

592 It is evident that in an appreciable number of cases more than one family occupies a lot. This
362 situation may be due to several causes. In some
[735] instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty.
[591] In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

362 In those cases where no house existed, 15 out of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however,
[735] that cases may exist where the person may be relatively comfortable financially and has not built a house because he has no agricultural land and hence no great need for storage space. In most cases where more than 1 family occupied a lot, there is a separate kitchen for each family. In the 22 cases in which more than 1 family occu-

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it Another special
342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth
585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a
[608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses.
591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com-
651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re-
364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

[p.184c]

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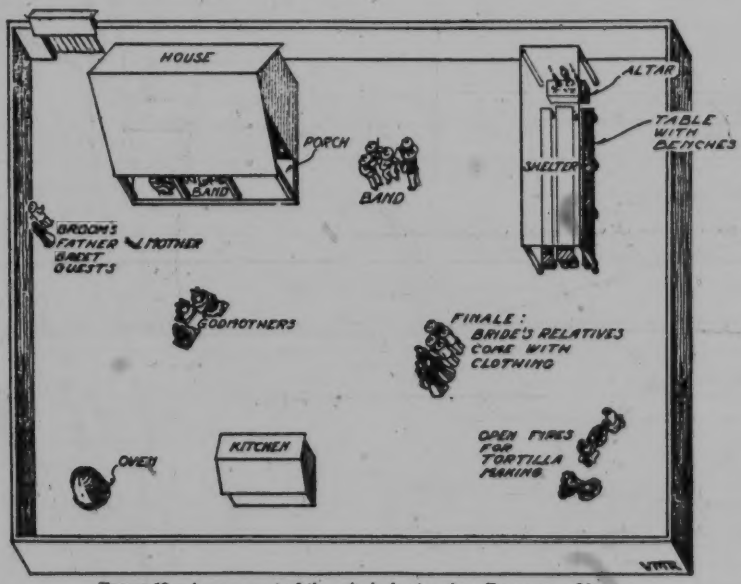

FIGURE 18.—Arrangement of the principal actors in a Tarascan wedding.

596 they have lived thus far. In the few cases
591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

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592 In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
352 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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Objects found in a house or "*troje*":

Sleeping mats
Small table
Chairs, either low chairs, regular size chairs, or stools, one for each man in the household and usually two or three for guests.
Serape, worn by the man during the day and serving as a blanket for man and wife at night. A second *serape* will often be found if there are children.
Chest, box, or trunk for extra clothes
Saint's picture
Candle and candle holder
Flower holder
Ladder for getting to loft
Gun (sometimes)
Cross beam suspended from the ceiling on which are hung clothing, blankets, etc.

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Objects found in the kitchen:

Wooden hooks for hanging up "anything"
Stump and flat stone for burning pitch pine for light
Corn husk mats for holding up pots(at least three)
Large comal
3 "frying pans" of Patamban pottery for cooking meat
1 "frying pan" of Patamban pottery for cooking eggs
Several round and oblong wooden bowls
Grass-root pot brush
Atole strainer
4 cane splint baskets of various sizes
2 pottery jars
Broom for sweeping yard (of brush)
Broom for sweeping house (of broom straw)
Paring knife
Bowls of Quiroga ware or Guanajuato ware for serving broth and meat on special occasions
Charcoal-burning flat iron
Gourd canteens for use at harvest time or in woods
½ dozen china plates
½ dozen china cups
Tea pot
China bowls
½ dozen wooden spoons of various sizes
Tin can for dipper to fill water jars
Chocolate beater
Tortilla baskets
2 water ollas
1 small pitcher
5 large 2-handled pots
8 smaller 1-handled pots
Clay fireplace
Firefan
Small metate for chiles
Large metate for maize

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

592 Table
352 8 chairs (usually small low style)
415 Machete
½ dozen spoons
2 table forks (rare)
1 table knife (rare)
1 can opener (rare)

Objects found in a lot:

412 Pear picker (if there is fruit on the lot)
592 Hollowed logs for water and feeding pigs
Smooth rock and wooden paddle for washing clothes
Wooden pitchfork
Wooden hook
Carrying crate with tumpline (occasional)
Frame for carrying water *ollas* on donkeyback (occasional)
Clay oven with shovel and broom (occasional)
Hoe

In addition to these items there are the tools of work to be acquired. A farmer needs a plow, yoke, goad, oxen, carrying nets, weeding machete, and perhaps other items. A forest worker needs an ax, a hafted blade for splitting shakes, a wooden mallet, oak wedges, a 2-man crosscut saw about 8 feet long, and an oil can (to oil the saw). A mason will need a trowel, hammer, sledge hammer, and string for guide and plumb lines. A traveling merchant will need burros, pack saddles, and halters.

291 Clothing must also be secured. The man will own *huaraches*, or sandals, two or three pairs of *calzones*, or cotton trousers, often a pair of overalls, a pair of shoes, shirts, knitted cotton undershirts, a blanket or poncho, belt, straw hat, straw or rubber raincoat, a rubber cover for the hat, and a Catholic amulet. In addition, many will own a jacket or coat and pair of trousers of "citified" style to wear when going to Uruapan.

The wife will need a skirt, petticoat, blouse, sashes, jacket, shawl or *rebozo*, bead ornaments, and shoes for special occasions. For working about the house she may have a few cheap cotton dresses of Mestizo style.

As children arrive, clothing must also be provided. Boys usually own *calzones* or cotton trousers with a strap fastening, straw hat, small blanket, shirt, sandals, and perhaps an amulet. Girls will have skirt, petticoat, blouse, jacket, sashes, *rebozo*, and sometimes shoes.

Not everyone will have the above things, but some will have more. The lists given are

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
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TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "*teréle*" kitchen	25–50
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosina, or one "*teréle*" kitchen and one small "*troje*."	175–200
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosina or "*teréle*" kitchen and one medium "*troje*."	375–400
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosina and two good "*trojes*."	550–600
	One trója kosina and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on p. 28 b]

RELATION OF HOUSES TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

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Only in a general way is there correlation between house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28 b]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
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Sierra Tarascans

USES OF THE
TARASCAN HOUSE

362 kitchen. With few exceptions, the entire family
513 sleeps on mats about the fire. Cold weather and lack of bedding are given as the reasons for this. Even where a masonry-adobe structure with a bed exists, the family normally sleeps in the kitchen.

On ceremonial occasions modifications occur.
362 The house to some extent becomes a center of activities, while cooking will move into the open or under supplementary sheds. These occasions are not many. In the main, family life takes place outdoors when the weather permits; in the kitchen when it does not. The term "house" in practice is a euphemism, and some members of the family may not enter the structure for days at a time.

592 HOUSE SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

362 A survey of Cherán houses was made to deter-
125 mine the relationship between size of buildings

[p. 28d]

592 and the number of persons in the household. A
362 sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent
125 of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which

they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

592 It is evident that in an appreciable number of cases more than one family occupies a lot. This
362 situation may be due to several causes. In some
[735] instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty.
[591] In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

In those cases where no house existed, 15 out
362 of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however,
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TABLE 6.—*Data on Cherán houses showing relation between size of house and number of persons in household in comparison with similar data on Sevina houses*

Town and sector	Data														
	Lots	Houses measured	Families per lot		Persons per lot		House size per lot		Average living space		Average sleeping space per lot	Average kitchen area		Remarks
			Average	Range	Average	Range	Average	Range	Per lot	Per person		Per lot	Per person	
Cherán:	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Feet	Feet	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	Sq. ft.	
Cuartel 1	180	10	1.7	1-3	6	3-11	12X14	9X9-12X18	205	33	128	207	49	3 out of 10 lots had no houses.
Cuartel 2	280	13	1.6	1-3	5	3-10	14X16	12X9-20X40	340	68.5	178	143	28	4 out of 13 had no houses.
Cuartel 3	260	17	1.65	1-3	5.47	3-10	15X17	12X13-20X28	420	80.3	200	104	20	3 out of 17 had no houses.
Cuartel 4	270	13	1.6	1-3	5.25	3-8	12X11	9X9-20X20	230	43	76	68	19	2 out of 13 had no houses.
Sevina		19	1.4	1-3	4.67	2-6	18½X19½	9X7-24X28	482	97	206			

[p. 19 c]

592 **Functional aspects.**—Among the Tarascans the agglomeration of buildings in an individual lot include the principal house, the kitchen, burro stable, hogpen, and frequently certain storage structures. The head of a household may build two or more sets of houses and kitchens in his lot for his married sons. The main house (the wooden
342 *troje* in the Sierra or the adobe structure in the surrounding areas) serves principally as a storehouse. The maize harvest is stored in the loft
[251] (*tapanco*), which is floored with heavy planks and entered through a trap door by means of a ladder or notched log. In the lower room (floored with planks in the wooded *troje*, often dirt-floored in the adobe house) are stored small grains, clothes, personal valuables; it is also used to house images of various saints, to entertain guests, and as sleeping quarters for them; some members of the family (usually marriageable girls) often sleep in

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

● 592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic,
66 plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Durazno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mints and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

428 property, a form of ultimogeniture. Such cases are understood and usually cause no friction. Other instances sometimes give rise to bitter feelings. Cases were recorded where children had broken away from parental authority and had become established through their own efforts. Sometimes the elderly persons were cared for by a niece or nephew, or even by some person not related at all, who received all the property. Resentment is generally felt by the children, even though they may have well deserved such treatment.

If properties are small, the daughters are sometimes slighted. If a lot, for example, is too small to divide and there are a son and daughter, the son will get the lot. On the other hand, if the lot is large, it will be divided between them. Often, however, the brother will take advantage of his sister, who, to avoid a quarrel, will accept an unfair division but will lose no chance of getting even. An example that came to attention was a division of a lot in which the brother took the part containing most of the fruit trees. When the brother went on a 3-day [593] trip during pear season, his sister and her husband cut all the pears and sold them. The brother hesitated to do anything about it because it would have brought out the unfairness of the original transaction.

Frequently, the division of personal and movable property is unfair. Children who are away from home are apt to get nothing. However, their land rights are usually more or less respected. Even so, on their return, they may appeal to the *municipio*, which will force the other heirs to make a proper settlement.

Various adjustments are made to meet special 428 situations. Often an expert in property values 423 is called in to make the division. For example, a man with two children may have left a lot and a piece of farm land too small to divide. The expert decides the value of each and the one receiving the least valuable parcel is recompensed through sale of personal property. Where a lot cannot be divided, a piece of land may be sold from the estate to buy a lot for one of the children.

Conflicts also arise from transactions entered 428 into by the owner before death without inform- 425 ing the heirs. For example, Agustín Rangel's father bought a house from his own father.

425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p.101b]

601 ever, should the parents happen to have been
602 close friends, they might continue to call each other primo(a) and continue to observe the appropriate behavior.

The major kinship obligation is to attend at certain functions and to assist with labor under certain circumstances. All close relatives must be greeted by relationship terms when encountered on the street or in the house, but this greeting may not be given to persons who still have reciprocal obligations such as distant cousins.

593 *Parent-child behavior.*—Parents are expected to look after the material needs of children, provide the necessary education, seek the proper godparents for them, and aid them to have a proper wedding. Children are expected to be respectful and to aid parents in their old age. If they do not conform to expectations, they may be disinherited.

Behavior of siblings.—The ideal pattern of Cherán evidently expects siblings to be close friends and to help one another. To a certain degree this behavior exists. Only for brother or sister would a man give monetary aid or give free labor at any other time than a house moving. Nevertheless, numerous cases were

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 101c]

593 encountered of bitter quarrels between siblings, usually over inherited property or property transactions. In some cases this extended to refusal to assist in traditional ways in which the aid even of remote relatives is expected.

604 *Avuncular-nepotic relationships.*—Data on behaviors in this category are inadequately documented. Evidently boys often have close relationships with their uncles. This relationship is evidenced most clearly in the fact that a boy often tells an uncle when he has "stolen" a girl and may take his fiance to live in his uncle's house, while the uncle first breaks the news to the boy's father. In general, boys seem to turn to their uncles in crisis rather than to their fathers. There likewise seem close relations between girls and their aunts and uncles. Cases are known where a niece rather than a child has cared for old people (and in some cases inherited the property). Comfortably situated families with few children may care for a niece from a poor family with many children, feeding the child well and often buying new clothing. In return, the child will help, running errands and doing housework. In at least one case, the niece really took the initiative. Invited to spend the day,

868 10 they may guide the plow and do other field work, for short times. By as early an age as
857 15, boys may be working for wages. When a boy begins to accompany his father and to aid in his work, he no longer plays with girls. There seems no rule about this, but about this time, when a boy is not working, he goes into the streets and plays with other boys of his own age, while the girl no longer plays outside but always stays near her mother unless sent on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is
[861] disobedient, he may be struck once or twice with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or
[593] punishment at this time and the relations between father and son and mother and daughter are close and affectionate once the child begins active participation in the adult activities. The period of conflict, then, seems a rather limited one, between the time when a child is no longer carried about and the time when it begins to participate in the adult life. These remarks again are based on very inadequate data and observation.

Some time between the ages of 6 and 10,
852 usually toward the upper limits of the age
869 period, the child is usually confirmed. There is very little ceremony involved, but when a
608 visit from the Bishop is expected there will be a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

588 recent years it is said that these restrictions
586 have disappeared.

One reason for the free union is the difficulty of securing a legal divorce. Such a divorce can be granted only by a court of first instance (*juzgado de primer instancia*). The nearest court of this kind is in Uruapan, and to secure a divorce requires many trips to Uruapan and an outlay of more money than most Cherán residents can afford. Moreover, most people do not understand the needed steps.

586 Causes of divorce are drunkenness, wife beating, failure to support the family, or abandoning the family for another woman on the part of the man. On the part of the woman, infidelity is an important cause. Lack of children is rarely if ever the direct cause of divorce, and is not recognized as a sufficient reason. Incompatibility evidently may play a part also. Uncles and grandfathers of the married couple and the godparents of the marriage intervene if a marriage is not going smoothly, and attempt to persuade the couple to change their habits.

In all cases of divorce for whatever cause, the officials of the *municipio* investigate. If they find the divorce not justified, the officials may force the couple to continue living together. If the causes are deemed sufficient, the officials do not interfere, although they may supervise disposition of children so that they will have the best care. If children are less than 6 or 7 they are usually put in charge of the mother. Over that age they are usually given to the parent best able to rear them properly. If the mother is industrious and the father a drunkard, the children will be given to the mother, but if the mother is careless of her obligations, the father will receive the children. Dislike or quarrels rarely arise between relatives of a divorced couple. In free unions, as in mar-
[593] riages of widows or widowers, sometimes a parent is jealous of the spouse's children by a previous marriage, sometimes not.

ADULT LIFE

885 Entry into adult status is closely associated
585 with marriage. Normally a child is not consulted in family affairs until he is married; the only exceptions are a few families where youths have not married at the customary ages. Usu-

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat
593 difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[851] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

596 they have lived thus far. In the few cases
591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

More commonly a joint family will not be
593 established even though the son and his wife
591 may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

Much the same situation will obtain regard-
593 ing farm lands. A father may give his son
423 some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son
885 may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
592 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools
352 and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in
342 the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important.
556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as
541 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least
556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as
554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

593 Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cul-
[578] tures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

Within the household certain routines and
512 habits are common. Labor is rather strictly
593 divided along sexual lines also. For example,
the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the
[462] morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and supps at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
512 on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

512 The general weekly routine of the family of a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent
517 the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels and go to the bathing place in one of the
[515] *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or
[132] rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people. After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for steal-
[584] ing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the cacicazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

[10] [105] [423] 128

The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete political functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.

594 66 612 423 66

A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat
593 difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[85] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

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591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

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593 Much the same situation will obtain regard-
423 ing farm lands. A father may give his son
885 some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
352 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

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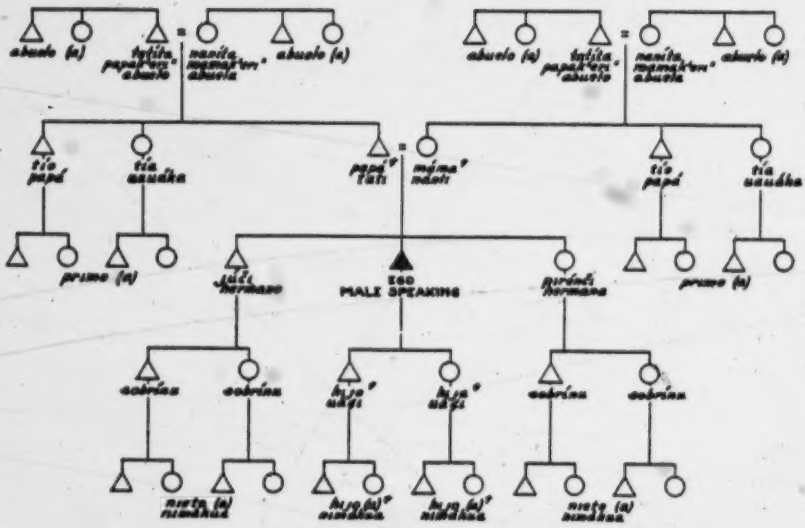

FIGURE 12.—Cherán kinship, male speaking. In general, the first form given is that most frequently used except where the form is vocative.

[p. 99c]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 100a] Sierra Tarascans

565 once he understood the words, in classifying
571 the people he knew in these categories. The
185 second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (‡). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).

FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[29] is extended to the brothers and

[29] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

601 sisters of grandparents, but the other grandparent terms appear to be confined to the actual grandparents. Of some interest in the descending generation is the fact that ego's own grandchildren are called by the same terms as ego's children in Spanish discourse, while the children of nephews and nieces are called by the Spanish grandchild terms. In Tarascan discourse, however, ego's grandchildren and the grandchildren of ego's brothers and sisters are all called by the same term regardless of sex.

In the affinal terms, survival of a Tarascan term for sister-in-law (woman speaking) may be noted. Puzzling (and possibly incorrect) is the reappearance of the term for brother (man speaking) in the term for daughter-in-law. The parents of a child's spouse are referred to as *compadre* and *comadre;* in this connection it should be observed that they actually become *compadres* and *comadres* as a part of the wedding ceremony, along with most of the other close relatives of the spouse. The terms *páli* and *máli* applied to brothers and sisters of a child's spouse are simply terms of respect or appreciation which may be applied to one's own children or to a completely unrelated person.

Two terms not appearing in the charts should be mentioned. Tarámba refers to the daughter-in-law of a third person, that is, of neither the person speaking nor the person addressed. Similarly tarámpiri refers to father-in-law of a third person. In Spanish discourse, first cousins (children of parents' brothers and sisters) are sometimes referred to as primo(a) hermano(a).

In addressing or speaking of any person be-
601 yond the range of the charts, usually the terms
602 tio(a) and primo(a) would be used, depending upon age. All persons with whom kinship obligations are recognized would be so called, even though neither person could remember the degree of relationship or trace the connection. In general, an individual regards the cousins of his uncles and aunts as pretty remote relatives, although he will call them tio(a) and their children primo(a) and usually will be able to trace the relationship. It would be unlikely for the children of such distantly related cousins to maintain the kinship address, even though of the same family name. How-

[text continues on page 101 b]

[p.101a]

601

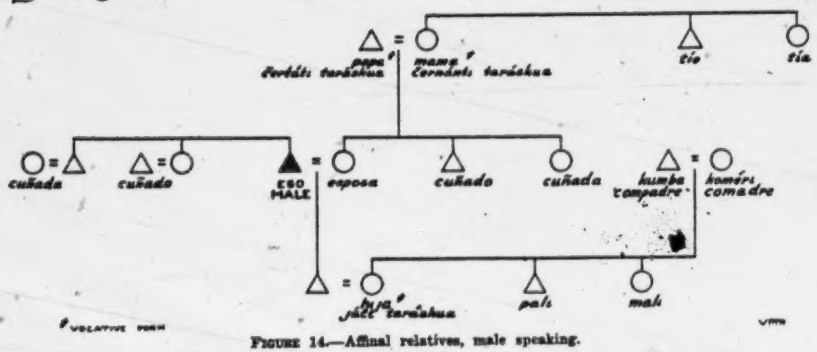

FIGURE 14.—Affinal relatives, male speaking.

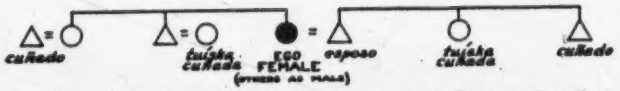

FIGURE 15.—Affinal relatives, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all affinal relatives not shown, the female uses the male terms.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p.101b]

●601 ever, should the parents happen to have been
close friends, they might continue to call each
602 other primo(a) and continue to observe the
appropriate behavior.

The major kinship obligation is to attend at certain functions and to assist with labor under certain circumstances. All close relatives must be greeted by relationship terms when encountered on the street or in the house, but this greeting may not be given to persons who still have reciprocal obligations such as distant cousins.

Parent-child behavior.—Parents are expected
593 to look after the material needs of children, provide the necessary education, seek the proper godparents for them, and aid them to have a proper wedding. Children are expected to be respectful and to aid parents in their old age. If they do not conform to expectations, they may be disinherited.

Behavior of siblings.—The ideal pattern of Cherán evidently expects siblings to be close friends and to help one another. To a certain degree this behavior exists. Only for brother or sister would a man give monetary aid or give free labor at any other time than a house moving. Nevertheless, numerous cases were

12: Radin E-4 (no date) 1925 NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco NU34

NAHUATL KINSHIP TERMS[2]

A
601

tatli. Father.
mantli. Mother.

tepil-(tzin). Son.
noconeuh. Son.
yacapantli. Daughter.
teconeuh. Daughter.

colli. Grandfather.
citli. Grandmother.

*yxuiuhtli. Grandson.
teixuih. Granddaughter.

*teachcauh. Older brother.
*teueltiuh. Older sister.

*teiccauh. Younger brother.
*teicu. Younger sister.

tlatli. Uncle.
auitl. Aunt.

*yxuiuhtli. Father's brother's son.

teixuiuh. Father's brother's daughter.

*teachcauh. Older male cousin except father's brother's son.
*teueltiuh. Older female cousin except father's brother's daughter.
*teiccauh. Younger male cousin except father's brother's son.
*teicu. Younger female cousin except father's brother's daughter.

teoquichui. Husband.

teciuauh. Wife.

montatli. Wife's father.
monnantli. Wife's mother.
textli. Wife's brother.

montli. Son-in-law.
ciua-montli. Daughter-in-law.
vezuatli. Husband's sister.

vepulli, Husband's brother, wife's sister.

TARASCAN KINSHIP TERMS[3]

T
601

*tata. Father.
nana. Mother.

*vuache. Son.
vuache cuxareti. Daughter.

cura. Grandfather.

nimatequa. Grandchild, older brother's grandchild.

cucu. Grandmother.

*yhtza. Older son's daughter.

vreti. Older brother and sister.
mimi. Older brother.
pipi. Older sister.

*vuengamberi. Brother.
*vuengamberi. Sister.
vuece. Sister.

[2] From Molina, Vocabulario de la Lengua Mexicana, 1571.
[3] From Gilberti, Diccionario de la Lengua Tarasca, 1559.

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Tarasco NU34

T
601

*tata. Father's brother.

auita. Father's brother.
papa. Mother's brother.
vaua. Father's sister.
tzitzi. Mother's sister.

auitaequaro vauche. Older brother's son.

*yhtza. Older sister's son.

*vuache. Parent's brother's child.

*yhtza. Parent's sister's child.

In addition to the above, the term for cousin is given in a descriptive manner, simply as son or daughter of my uncle or aunt.

minguarehpeti. Husband.

minguarecata. Wife.
quahchacucata. Wife.

tarascue. Wife's parent.

ytsicue. Husband's brother.
yuscue. Wife's brother, husband's sister.

tuuiscue. Wife's sister.

CHRIST COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

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465 Low as wages are, Rendón collected an
464 account which indicates that wages were only 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

651 In addition to paid labor or labor for one's
464 own account, men are required to perform certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also
[602] obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

464 No data were secured on the relation between labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

471 Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

601 sisters of grandparents, but the other grandparent terms appear to be confined to the actual grandparents. Of some interest in the descending generation is the fact that ego's own grandchildren are called by the same terms as ego's children in Spanish discourse, while the children of nephews and nieces are called by the Spanish grandchild terms. In Tarascan discourse, however, ego's grandchildren and the grandchildren of ego's brothers and sisters are all called by the same term regardless of sex.

In the affinal terms, survival of a Tarascan term for sister-in-law (woman speaking) may be noted. Puzzling (and possibly incorrect) is the reappearance of the term for brother (man speaking) in the term for daughter-in-law. The parents of a child's spouse are referred to as *compadre* and *comadre;* in this connection it should be observed that they actually become *compadres* and *comadres* as a part of the wedding ceremony, along with most of the other close relatives of the spouse. The terms *páli* and *máli* applied to brothers and sisters of a child's spouse are simply terms of respect or appreciation which may be applied to one's own children or to a completely unrelated person.

Two terms not appearing in the charts should be mentioned. Tarámba refers to the daughter-in-law of a third person, that is, of neither the person speaking nor the person addressed. Similarly tarámpiri refers to father-in-law of a third person. In Spanish discourse, first cousins (children of parents' brothers and sisters) are sometimes referred to as primo(a) hermano(a).

601 In addressing or speaking of any person be-
602 yond the range of the charts, usually the terms tio(a) and primo(a) would be used, depending upon age. All persons with whom kinship obligations are recognized would be so called, even though neither person could remember the degree of relationship or trace the connection. In general, an individual regards the cousins of his uncles and aunts as pretty remote relatives, although he will call them tio(a) and their children primo(a) and usually will be able to trace the relationship. It would be unlikely for the children of such distantly related cousins to maintain the kinship address, even though of the same family name. How-

[text continues on page 101 b]

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Sierra Tarascans

[p.101b]

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.102a]

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476 This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for
[554] prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obliga-
574 tions are apparent is when a family returns to
602 the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

608 Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

342 always assisted by various relatives, who also
574 put pressure on him to hold the event. For the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband
[602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes
[335] are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the
[602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of čurípo, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob-
[533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and [437] begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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585 weeks or even months. In at least one case the religious
[183] marriage took place before the civil marriage, although on the same day. However, the priest normally refuses to perform the service unless the certificate of civil marriage is presented. The relatives accompanying the couple are parents, uncles and male first cousins of the groom, the parents and close relatives of the bride, and the godmothers of the groom and the godmother for the wedding. The latter stands by the couple when the legal formula is read by the secretary or the mayor. All the relatives sign the papers as witnesses. Sometimes the secretary or mayor makes a little speech, pointing out to the husband that now he has to support his bride and can not expect her father to go on supporting her. He also may deliver a homily on behavior, pointing out that a married man shouldn't have two women or a married woman two men, warning them to avoid divorce, etc.]

After following the course indicated by the authorities, the proper steps are taken for the religious marriage. On the vespers of the day of the marriage they celebrate the t'irénkua or the dance. For this the parents of the bride hire a band with the object of going to the house of the groom with the music to take him the clothing called Aríperata, or gifts, which consist of a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of trousers (*calzones*), three shirts, and a hat. The cost of this is divided by the godparents and relatives of the bride in this way: one pair of trousers, a shirt, and a sash from each of the two godfathers of the bride and the rest from her father. The groom is dressed in this clothing by the grandfathers, grandmothers, siblings, and first cousins of the bride. [One of the latter actually dresses the groom. The groom is called tem-
● [602] buča and his siblings and cousins of both sexes are called tembučas. Similarly, the bride is called tembunga and her siblings and cousins are called tembungas. The female tembučas give the female tembungas narrow colored ribbons or bands to wear in their hair.] Immediately the dressing is completed, the musicians play some regional tune and the groom has to dance, with which ends the affair of the gifts of the groom. [Atole is sometimes brought to this function also. The custom seems to be decaying.]

On the day of the wedding the parents and godparents of the groom, together with the grandfathers, uncles and cousins, are those charged with going to the house of the bride very early in the morning when the bells ring the first call to Mass to take her clothing also, that is to say, the Aríperata. [The bride has returned to her own house a few days before the wedding. During this time the groom may visit her freely.] This consists of three rebozos, a shirt and blouse, earrings, *corales* (red glass beads), sash, and a pair of shoes. The cost of these is divided as follows: one rebozo from each godfather, these being the blue rebozos of Paracho, and the father of the groom a very fine white rebozo [it is not actually white but one of the remarkably fine mixed color rebozos from Tangancicuaro, costing anywhere from 20 to 80 pesos] and all the other

556 585 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. [602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should [578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, [572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

626 585 Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

585 584 As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
forced but went willingly. There is no reason
584 to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am
not concerned in the matter but come to speak
for the parents of the groom. They have come
as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the
evening the father returned and agreed to the
marriage, but he said little and clearly was
angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
162 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means
that the two families, in the most extended
602 sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of
ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male
relatives will help to move a house or roof a
house, while the bride's female relatives will be
called on to work in the kitchen on the same
occasions. Both families will likewise be con-
cerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in
varying degree, especially when a grandchild
marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion
585 for celebration, the release of tensions through
drinking, the provision of diversion with the
dancing, and the general stimulus through ex-
tensive social interaction is very considerable.
For the participants, weddings probably rank
as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for
social contacts and amusement.

A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
585 weddings is the much greater participation of
987 the older women. Young women with children
usually do not take a very active part in the
kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the
exchange of clothing. The old women, on the
other hand, are in the forefront of all activities.
Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in
many respects. Old women are the most active
in the kitchen. They are the first to start
drinking, although they rarely drink to the
excess common among the men, and they are
the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the
playing of dance music has an almost compul-
sive effect. Time and again, when dance music
is being played, even though it is not time for
dancing, some of the old women will be seen
quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

Although the ceremonies of marriage are
585 most elaborate in the case of first marriages,
587 often marriages of widows or widowers are

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

483 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
[602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

343 A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

342 Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína
335 tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (ayájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

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[p. 101c]

593 encountered of bitter quarrels between siblings, usually over inherited property or property transactions. In some cases this extended to refusal to assist in traditional ways in which the aid even of remote relatives is expected.

604 *Avuncular-nepotic relationships.*—Data on behaviors in this category are inadequately documented. Evidently boys often have close relationships with their uncles. This relationship is evidenced most clearly in the fact that a boy often tells an uncle when he has "stolen" a girl and may take his fiance to live in his uncle's house, while the uncle first breaks the news to the boy's father. In general, boys seem to turn to their uncles in crisis rather than to their fathers. There likewise seem close relations between girls and their aunts and uncles. Cases are known where a niece rather than a child has cared for old people (and in some cases inherited the property). Comfortably situated families with few children may care for a niece from a poor family with many children, feeding the child well and often buying new clothing. In return, the child will help, running errands and doing housework. In at least one case, the niece really took the initiative. Invited to spend the day,

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[p.102a]

604 she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

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582 aged 20. The instance is regarded as excep-
587 tional and as undesirable. As a rule, the boy discusses his choice with his parents or with
584 one of his uncles. Although no specific data could be secured on the subject, from the facts
604 that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
583 does the marriage not follow. Her parents, however much opposed they may be, must
522 always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authori-
583 ties should force a youth to marry a girl after he has stolen her. If they do not, the authori-
[061] ties are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p. m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The [184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took [605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the [587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat
593 difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[85] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the *"troje"* where

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604 she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

General behaviors.—All more distant rela-
602 tives are expected to take part in any "labor."
476 This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for
[554] prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obliga-
574 tions are apparent is when a family returns to
602 the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

608 Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

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[p.1026]

608 may be entered into in some cases without children being involved. In many parts of Mexico, both Indian and Mestizo, the *compadrazgo* is an extremely important aspect of social relationships and it has taken on many special localized forms. As yet, the only adequate study of the institution is that made by Spicer for the Arizona Yaqui.[30]

The following account of the *compadrazgo* was written by one of the Tarascan assistants, Pedro Chávez. Additions to the original Chávez manuscript are in parentheses.

The *compadrazgo* is very common among the Tarascans and is highly respected. All *compadres* and *comadres*, when they meet on the street, must salute each other with the phrase "*Buenos dias compadre*" (good-day) or "*Buenos dias comadre*," or its equivalent in Tarascan "nájeranku kumbáo (or koméri)." This obligation is especially strong between *comadres* or *compadres de pila*, as are called the *compadres* of baptism of a child. In this case it is obligatory to shake hands in sign of a certain mutual respect the two maintain. (These obligations endure for life, even though the child may have died long since.)

[576]

Classes of *compadres:* Among the *compadres* exist the following classes:

1. *Compadres* of baptism.
2. *Compadres* of confirmation.
3. *Compadres* of the crown (*corona*) or circumcision.
4. *Compadres* of marriage.

The degree of mutual respect and appreciation between *compadres* is approximately in the order in which they are given. (It should be noted that there are really two classes of *compadres* of marriage. There are the godparents of the bride and groom, usually a married couple, and the relatives of the bride and groom who become *compadres* as described below.)

608 851 Duties: The main duties are those of *compadres* of baptism. Immediately after the act of baptism (in which the infant is carried to church and the small fee paid by the godparents), they say to each other "*comadre*" or "*compadre*" or "koméri" and "kumbá," which are the same as the Spanish. This is the first duty and the first occasion it is said. From this arises the duty to care for the godchild, for example, to treat it as nearly like a son as one's resources permit. The godparents have the duty of giving the godchild some kind of clothing, such as a hat, shirt, or trousers, whenever they can afford to do so. This can be done as often as the godfather wishes. The father of the boy or girl has the duty of educating the child, telling him that he has the obligation to speak to the godparents with the words "pagrínitu" or "magrínitu." (If the godchild dies before the age of 10, the godfather must provide the burial clothing.)

[30] Spicer, 1946, p. 31 ff.

608 The *compadres* both have the duty of visiting one another when one of them is sick or has encountered some difficulty and, if it is possible, help him in some form. When one of the *compadres* has a duty (that is, a wedding, funeral, *mayordomía*, house roofing, house moving, or fiesta duty), it is the duty of the other to accompany him as many days as may be necessary. (The same mutual obligation exists between godparents and godchildren.)

When a godson kidnaps a girl with intention of marrying her, it is the duty of the father of the youth, before all else, to go to the house of the godfather of the youth, that is his (the father's) *compadre* and give him the news so that they may present themselves together in the house of the bride. This is a duty of the godfather. This duty (the father) has toward the three godfathers, of baptism, confirmation, and crown.

The duties of the marriage *compadres* are limited solely to accompanying each other when one has some obligation (such as wedding, *mayordomía*, etc.), the moving or termination of a house, and the duty of saluting each other with the name of "*compadre*."

Method of selecting *compadres*. In selecting the *compadres* some of the following characteristics are taken into consideration:

1. When a family wishes to have *compadres*, in general if it is rich it endeavors to find *compadres* in the same category.

2. If the family is poor, it tries to have a *compadre* in its same category, as it has been seen that sometimes when a poor person seeks a rich man as *compadre*, the latter accepts but afterwards he is ashamed to say "*compadre*" to the other who is somewhat poor. For this reason the latter (rich *compadres*) are not common.

3. Many times they (the parents) try to find a *compadre* who knows how to read. They say this is
[212] with the object that the infant will also be intelligent and know how to read. This is a belief among many, but it is not universal.

4. On other occasions efforts are made to find a *compadre* who is distinguished as a valiant person, in the sense of having bravery or, better, to be bold to fight when occasion offers—this, in general, indicates what among us is meant when a person is called "valiant"—with the object that the child will grow up and may be equally valiant as his godfather.

5. There are also cases in which a godfather is selected because he has done a favor on some past occasion or because of hope to receive some favor in the future. In general, this is the method of selecting a godfather. All usually try to find their *compadre* in an equal (social) category with these exceptions already noted.

The marriage *compadres:* In order to recognize one
608 another as *compadres* of marriage, it is necessary to
585 perform a certain act or ceremony in the moments when the last act of the marriage is about to terminate. This act takes place in the house or the kitchen (usually the latter) of the bridegroom. Present are the t'árepiti diosv uandari (marriage manager), the parents

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608 585 of the bride and groom together with all their brothers, sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the [516] bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre.*" One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari ka auándaɹu anápueskari ka uéke diósa éskaksa no méni ambé arijperoka. Na čúskuskiá kumba." Meantime the t'aɹépiti is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

608 To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished, [782] she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.[21]

In some parts of Mexico—for example, [171] among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

[21] In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Cherán.

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608 parents and *compadres* are taken seriously in Cherán, it is obvious from the description given above that the *compadrazgo* obligations are nearly as important as those of kinship, if not more so. Scarcely a person in Cherán does not have at least 10 or 15 *compadres*. Most people have 20 or 25 or more. Don Luís Velasquez, the oldest of the marriage arrangers, who also says prayers at funerals, stated that he had more than 100 *compadres* of baptism alone. When it is considered that usually one acquires most of his *compadres* through weddings, the total number possessed by Don Luís must be enormous. He declined even to make a guess at the number of *compadres* he had of all classes. The obligations of *compadres* of baptism are as great or greater than those of relatives, with the exception of the immediate family (parent–child and possibly sibling obligations), while those of other classes are at least equal to those of cousins.

Some use of the *compadrazgo* is made by the church on special occasions. When a new image is blessed in church, for example, people are invited to become godparents of the image. They kneel behind the image when the priest blesses it. For this they are expected to pay from 1 to 5 pesos. In such cases the participants do not call each other *compadres*, nor do they have any relationship with the owner of the image in case it is a household saint.

GOVERNMENT

632 The governmental system of Cherán on the surface and in its organization is not obviously different from that of any other Michoacán *municipio*. In its functioning, however, it possesses many unconventional features. Even elections, ostentatiously conducted according to legal forms, may actually be conducted very differently beneath the surface.

The major governmental agency is the *ayuntamiento* of five persons and five alternates or *suplentes*. These serve a term of 2 years and are alternated in office, two being elected one year and three the next. Elections are made by *barrio*. Formerly Cheranástico elected one of the five; since this *tenencia* has become associated with Paracho, I could not discover what device was used to elect the fifth member. Whether the situation is still not resolved or whether there was a purposeful vagueness about

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854 regarded as necessary for any other reason,
304 nor are there any beliefs about the operation.

The infant is ordinarily baptized between 10
851 days and 2 months after birth. The tendency
608 in recent years is for the period to lengthen. Selecting godparents is important, for the care of the child in the event of death of the parents may devolve on the godparents, and intimate relations will exist in any event. For this reason people will often refuse to accept the responsibility or do so only after repeated invitations. Normally a married couple are sought to act as godparents but sometimes an unmarried man serves as godfather. In this case, when he marries, his wife will automatically become godmother. More rarely an unmarried man and unmarried woman are asked to serve as godparents. Agustín R. acted as godparent one time and had never met the woman who served as godmother.

Most commonly the godfather takes the child to church for baptism unaccompanied by the godmother, but sometimes the godmother goes along and carries the child. The godfather pays the priest the fee for baptism, $2.50. In the case of Agustín R., mentioned above, he was accompanied by his mother who supplied the information the priest needed to enter the baptism in the parochial register.

When the godfather returns the child to its parents, the godmother goes to the house of the parents for food. She takes with her 2 to
[431] 5 cakes of chocolate, 2 bars of soap to wash the child, and 3 to 5 pieces of bread worth 10 centavos each. If the godfather is unmarried, he gives money to some woman to buy these things and take them to the child's parents.

The parents of the child prepare beef cooked in broth (čurípo), tamales, tortillas, and sometimes other things. The godmother eats at the parents' house, and sometimes they invite others. The godfather cannot eat at the parents' house, but they send food to him at his own house, which he eats by himself or he may invite a few of his friends in to help him. In the case of Agustín, he was sent 2 chickens cooked in mole sauce, a big pan of rice, a large basket of tortillas and some tamales. He ate most of the food by himself, his parents refusing to partake of it.

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608 861 The godfather is supposed to supervise the growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 574 The name is usually selected by the parents. There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by [123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 754 854 Infants are subject to a number of diseases, but there are few special treatments for them. Only the evil eye must be guarded against especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

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751 sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently,
754 that is, the person with power to cause the evil
854 eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chile, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

553 In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be chosen at a council of the adult relatives who
● 608 pick a name from among the deceased relatives,
851 never the saint's day, as is the case among the Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

868 10 they may guide the plow and do other field
work, for short times. By as early an age as
857 15, boys may be working for wages. When a
boy begins to accompany his father and to aid
in his work, he no longer plays with girls.
There seems no rule about this, but about this
time, when a boy is not working, he goes into
the streets and plays with other boys of his
own age, while the girl no longer plays outside
but always stays near her mother unless sent
on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is
[861] disobedient, he may be struck once or twice
with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or
punishment at this time and the relations be-
[593] tween father and son and mother and daughter
are close and affectionate once the child begins
active participation in the adult activities.
The period of conflict, then, seems a rather
limited one, between the time when a child is
no longer carried about and the time when it
begins to participate in the adult life. These
remarks again are based on very inadequate
data and observation.

Some time between the ages of 6 and 10,
852 usually toward the upper limits of the age
869 period, the child is usually confirmed. There
is very little ceremony involved, but when a
608 visit from the Bishop is expected there will be
a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

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583 refused, as he was interested in the girl he had hoped to steal the previous Sunday and the present girl he knew visited one of the houses of assignation. José was then put in jail, but when his mother stood responsible for him he was let out in a couple of days. The girl's mother went around town talking about the wrong that had been done, while José went around town telling everyone bad things about the girl. Eventually José had to run away and no one knew where he had gone.

Normally, sexual relations are begun between the bride and groom soon after she is stolen. [608] Permission of the girl's baptismal godfather (and perhaps the godfather of confirmation) should be sought and is usually given; to refuse might cause hard feeling. Cases were cited where the godfather and the boy's parents became very angry with each other over a refusal. On the other hand, evidently the boy is stimulated to accumulate the property necessary to hold the wedding if sex relations are not permitted.

The stealing of a girl sets in motion a complex series of events constituting perhaps the most complicated aspect of Cherán culture.

The following account of marriage is one written by Pedro Chávez. Parts in brackets represent additional comments made by Sr. Chávez on other occasions or data gathered from other sources. All the features of the wedding were verified by observation and utilization of other sources of information.

A TARASCAN WEDDING

Marriage among the Tarascans of the town of Cherán embraces many points of great importance. In the first place, it is now a custom that the groom, when he desires to enter into marriage, steals the girl. This theft consists of catching her and carrying her off forcibly or, sometimes, willingly without force. But in either case, as much in the first instance as in the second, the bride goes in accordance with an agreement made in advance and the action is merely feigned by the two.

585 When the theft of the bride is completed [by taking the girl to the house of an uncle or other relative or, more rarely, to the house of the groom], the parents of the groom proceed to the house of the bride and appear before her parents. This act is called the puátperankua or "the pardon." It should be taken into account that in order to present themselves before the parents of the bride, the parents of the groom must take a person called t'ałepiti diósA uandári [who is a professional

585 articles. When the bride is dressed [she wears all three of the new rebozos], the parents of the couple and the principal godparents and relatives, together with the musicians brought by the parents of the groom, accompany the couple to the church to effectuate the marriage before the priest. [During the Mass a ring is placed on a finger of the bride. The groom can bring his own ring, but if he has not done so, a ring lent by the priest is used. The priest also puts silver money in the hands of the groom who in turn places it in the hands of the bride. If the groom has not brought money, the priest lends it to him. However, it is believed that the groom should bring the money and that the more he brings the greater the benediction for their life and the more fortunate the couple will be. There is said to be no use of the collar, chain, or ribbon used in some churches in Oaxaca.]

After the wedding, all leave the Mass and go to the house of the bride's parents, where she and all her relatives are left, the rest of the party going to the house of the groom's parents. Later, in about an hour, all return to the house of the bride's father [first calling for the bride's godparents to invite them] to escort the bride and all her relatives to breakfast [at the house of the groom's father] which consists only of a piece of bread and small cup of chocolate. On arriving at the house of the groom's father, the [male] guests seat themselves in a place previously prepared. The preparation consists of placing some logs of wood for seats [in two rows with others sometimes arranged as a table between the rows at a somewhat higher level] and at one of the ends they place the image of some saint of the Catholic religion [most commonly a picture of the saint] before which is a lighted candle and flowers [and sometimes an incense burner with copal incense]. Before the guests are served, it is the duty of the marriage manager to say a prayer in thanks. It should be noted that the first places [before the altar] are reserved for the marriage manager and the godfathers of both bride and groom and that only the men sit on these seats, the women being seated apart. The godmothers also sit apart [usually on mats in the
[608] center of the courtyard], the godmother of the groom being distinguished by ribbons tied in her hair. These ribbons are given and tied on the hair by the godmother's *comadres*, granddaughters and sisters-in-law. [Ribbons are tied in the hair of all the godmothers of the groom, and of the godmother of the wedding.]

Upon completing the breakfast, all the relatives of the bride return to her house, taking the bride with them again and not being accompanied by the relatives of the groom. In the meantime the musicians play in the house of the groom. This is usually between 10 and 11 of the morning. [Meantime many guests may drop in and will be fed, being seated in a different place
[554] from the relatives. Everyone is welcome because the more who attend, the more prestige attaches to the wedding. As outsiders, the members of the staff were usually especially welcome, as apparently we gave special *eclat* to the function.] Meantime all the sib-

585 The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and 1our or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the [532] form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

585 Before the exchange of clothing and bread was completed, the godmothers began the 535 dancing. No one was supposed to dance until 608 the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

585 The dancing was interrupted at this point by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men [482] carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it Another special
342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth
585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a
[608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses.
591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com-
651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re-
364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic,
66 plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Durazno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944). 608 66

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo. [631]

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect. 572 66

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits. 622 572

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno. 571 66

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

[p. 3a]

126 Usually, field notes were classified, typed in triplicate, and filed according to a modification of the system of the Outline of Cultural Materials prepared by George P. Murdock and others for use in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University (Murdock and others, 1938). In this way it was possible for all workers to find immediately what had already been collected on a subject and to discover discrepancies in accounts when these existed. The system also served to show deficiencies in the data.

Certain other problems in field methods arose. 123 Cherán habits place some obstacles in the way of field work. The main occupations of the town are farming and forest exploitation. In [512] the former case, men are usually in the fields all day, often at points several miles distant from town. In the latter instance, men may be away from town for 4 or 5 days at a time. In certain seasons the town is almost deserted during the day. [609] As women will not talk with strange men in the absence of their husbands, it often took many visits to find at home a man we wished to query on some specific point. In addition, yards are surrounded by high walls and it is customary to greet visitors at the yard gate and converse with them on the street. Consequently, it is difficult to gain much insight into home life. Only women can get free access into the houses, and it is unfortunate that Sra. Rendón could not have spent full time in the field. Certain aspects of this study would then have been much better than they are.

In general, the method followed was first to discuss a topic with Sr. Chávez in detail, obtaining from him as complete an account as possible. In some cases Sr. Chávez also wrote supplementary accounts. Efforts were always made to get the names of specific people who were involved. Once we had obtained what might be considered Sr. Chávez's view of a particular aspect of the culture, this was sometimes checked with Sr. Rangel. On other occasions we started with Sr. Rangel and checked with Sr. Chávez. An effort was then made to visit and talk with a large number of the people concerned. For example, after securing Sr. Chávez' account of childbirth, a list of all the professional midwives in town was secured. These were all then visited by Dr. Palacios and interviewed intensively. Some were inter-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no text]

1
INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. [161] They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.9b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

1
INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

123 The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

182 The problem, then, of integrating the phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

121 The concept of folk culture as something different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

175 others being landless. This condition seems to have been present even at the time when
423 land was owned by the village, wherever private property existed within the community. When private ownership became general at the end of the nineteenth century, the differentiation as to wealth within the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are available for the Tarascan area, the existing information shows that inequality in landed property within the villages was prevalent, although in different degrees, in the various Tarascan villages. It has been reported for the Cañada villages,[30] Urapicho,[31] Cherán,[32] Tzintzuntzan,[33] Paracho, Charapan and Jarácuaro[34] either for pre-revolutionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less in some small Cañada villages, which have preserved as communal holding the agricultural lands of the community.[35] In a large agricultural town like Cherán, where laborers come to work in harvest time from neighboring towns,[36] the differences are considerable. A great number of larger landowners rent part of their lands on a share crop basis to other villagers, and there are some completely landless men.[37]

Many Tarascan villages discourage the [609] selling of land to outsiders, the approval of the town being necessary for such transactions.[38] The increased inequality seems to have been greater in those places where selling to strangers took place. At the advent of the Revolution, this was the case in some Cañada villages where the largest landholders were mestizos from neighboring towns.[39]

The custom by which individuals take [796] care of financing a given religious festival also led some villagers to sell or pawn and [426] later lose their lands. Such was the case in Urapicho before the Revolution.[40] In La Cañada this was not only a factor in hastening the loss of lands but also the way by which outsiders got hold of them, for the Indians pawned their lands to moneylenders in mestizo towns.[41]

175 In all towns where there are landless
423 people, the latter go out to work in neigh-
464 boring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
31. Beals, 1946, 131.
32. *Ibid.*, 12, 61-2, 66, 98-9.
33. Foster, 1948, 71-2, 173-5.
34. Field notes.
35. West, 1948, 32-3.
36. Beals, 1946, 61.
37. *Ibid.*, 99.
38. West, 1948, 22.
39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
40. Beals, 1946, 131.
41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

Given this system of cultivation, the re-
[608] sistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
182 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for
433 consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 39.
49. Beals, 1946, 56-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 220-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
514 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[Continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT
CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

574 609 with whom especially friendly relations exist, normally the visitor is not invited into the house yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the householder may even step into the street and continue the conversation there, closing the gate behind him.

351 574 184 So far as is known, customs in other mountain towns are similar in all respects except for the attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the house yard, and then announce himself. Two Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina, commented at length on this difference; they were quite plainly shocked at the custom.

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 136 The major insect pests are fleas. In some villages there are also bedbugs. There seems little to choose between the various types of structures, although the earthen floor of the kitchen facilitates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to such an extent that the residents often cannot get a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not propitious for large numbers of houseflies or related species. Those that do exist, however, have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 164 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is impossible to estimate the relation between health and housing conditions. Fleas may be responsible for the transmission of some cases of typhus and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to [515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping conditions in the kitchen must facilitate transmission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan house probably lie in the damp condition much of the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding of the inmates, especially at night. These conditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

262 raw (when aged or *pasado*) or, more recently, cooked on Easter, and sometimes on the village saint's day are distributed to all inhabitants at the end of the fiesta.[101] Moreover, cacao beans
[439] were formerly an important trade article imported into the upland pueblos. In most households in
252 the Sierra the beans were roasted on the *comal* and then wet-ground on the metate. Mixed with piloncillo and cinnamon, the chocolate "dough" was made into small disks (2 in. diameter), called k'ékua. A chocolate drink is made by dissolving the k'ékua in hot water. A few storekeepers still make disks from ground chocolate purchased from mestizo wholesalers. Today chocolate is
[609] taken principally on fiesta days, and is often served to visiting strangers. Other tropical fruits, such
262 as the common banana, mango, pineapple, mamey, chicozapote, zapote prieto, etc., are brought into the Sierra in season. They are eaten at all times and appear to have no ceremonial significance. Pineapple is used for a fermented beverage, *tepache*.

Specialized truck gardening.—This is a more
244 recent type of horticulture among the Tarascans.
312 They have adopted intensive commercial production of vegetables in only a few well-watered spots near large mestizo markets. The most notable truck gardening district has developed on the narrow stretches of lacustrine soil along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro, where irrigation is practiced. Although water is carried in buckets to some of the smaller gardens (e. g., in Puácuaro), most of the vegetable plots are irrigated with the t'apáratarákua, or *pala*, possibly a pre-Columbian invention.[102] This instrument consists of a wooden
[406] spoonlike container fastened to a long pine pole, which, resting on a crosspiece, is used like a lever to scoop water from ditches or wells (fig. 4; pl. 7). Along the wide western shore of Pátzcuaro shallow ditch wells are dug down to the water level (5 to 6 ft. from the surface), from which water is scooped and distributed to vegetable plots by a system of small canals. Along the narrow shores of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula (where the water table is low) small canals have been constructed to permit lake water to flow into a ditch well, from which the water is lifted with the *pala* to high levels. In

[101] The latter custom was reported from Charapan and Patamban.

[102] The provenience of the *t'apáratarákua* is not clear. Its mention has not been encountered in colonial documents; the Relación de Michoacán (p. 23), however, speaks of irrigated maize, presumably around Lake Pátzcuaro. Today the *t'apáratarákua* is used also at Tarejero, in the basin of Zacapu.

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[167] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[168] [n7] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanization of the native population.[169]

The professional traders.—The *huacalero* (in-
443 spikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaɹakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large
443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many
439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

[438] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and México. Regional
[443] handicrafts were represented as follows:

Article:	Origin	Vendors (number)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
Blankets	Jiquilpan	1 stall.
Rebozos	Paracho	1 stall.
Women's belts	Nahuatzen	1 stall.
Straw hats	Apo	1 stall.
Agave rope	Tarecuato	2 stalls.
Pottery	Patamban	12 stalls.
Pottery	Santa Fé	1 stall.
Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Peribán	1 stall.

[167] Cherán, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[168] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[169] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the *juzgado*, or town hall.

[609]

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the cacicazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

[101] [105] [423] 128

594 The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete political functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.

66

612 423 66

A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic,
66 plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Durazno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

CHERÁN: A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE—BEALS

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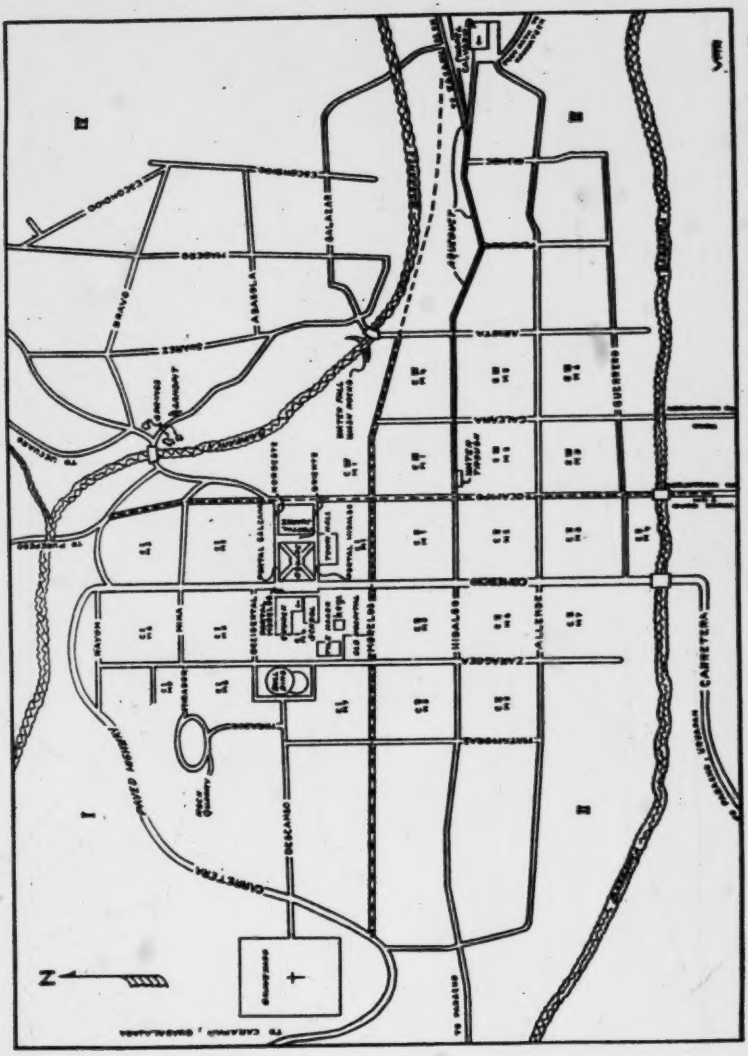
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CENTRAL ZAMORA
CENTRAL CARRETERA
CENTRAL CEMETERY
CENTRAL PLAZA
CENTRAL CHURCH
CENTRAL CALLEJON

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter.

Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

632 578 It was evidently felt that the *representante* would be involved in boundary disputes if they affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *tenencia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

632 621 In addition to the function of the *barrio* or *cuartel* as an administrative device as described above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

632 621 312 The major duty performed by the *barrio* is the maintenance of the water system. Each *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the
[767] graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government.
653 Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*, but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
377 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
632 tending a power line to the town and supplying
653 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true,
621 the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
491 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
632 the harvest, the community repaired part of the
621 road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

796 latter are given to the girl by her relatives. Her father and mother present her with 1 bag and 1 cloth, but the rest, as many as 20 of each, are presented by her grandparents and cousins. At the top of the cross and at the end of each arm are fastened small sprays of green palm. On Palm Sunday this cross is carried by the boy.

The girl carries a stick, usually of oak, about 2 yards high. Hung to this is every kind of fruit, especially tropical fruits, all provided by the boy. These may include a bunch of bananas, some coconuts, and perhaps a watermelon. Or the girl may carry a watermelon, together with some honeycombs, on her back. Often she can scarcely carry the load.

796 482

There is much competition between the *barrios* in this regard (the only hint of *barrio* competition secured). Each looks to see which girl is most laden with things, which girl has been able to make the largest balls of pinole and decorate them best, and which has the most grandparents and cousins (and hence the most bags and tortilla cloths).

[621]

On the afternoon of Palm Sunday all go to the little rise in the road toward Nahuatzen (the road to the hot country) beyond the bridge at the edge of the town, and from there all go together to the church. The boy and girl from each *barrio* have their companions, all relatives. Those relatives of the girl who have given a bag or a cloth and those relatives of the boy who have given a honeycomb for the girl to carry are adorned with the *gorditos*. The four boys together will have hired musicians, and many others come to see and hear. About 4 o'clock they all reach the church; they go inside for a moment and then return home, where they divide the things among the relatives who have helped them or accompanied them. There is no special ceremony in the church on this day.

796

During Holy Week a Mass is held every day in the church. The Tenebrae are also represented. All the candles are put out. Sulfur is burned and bombs are exploded to represent the lightning. Then the candles are relighted with an ordinary wax match.

Thursday the image of Christ is placed in a cage of bars. It is guarded by a number of persons representing the Jews, who are dressed in common-colored women's dresses and hats

754 magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

754 Data are too scanty to form any reliable
157 hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in
621 Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

754 Two other items should be added to this discussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

791 Although not considered witches, there are women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo*." It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

The ceremonial organization is linked with
796 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan
621 and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no text]

INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of [161] Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets [101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences between the Tarascans and the nearby rural 178 mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

National issues which have agitated 668 Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.126]
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Pátzcuaro

The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 53.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 166.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1861, 34.

175 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.
565 Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [651] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's responsibility to supply a definite number of [467] laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento, mita,* or *coatequil.*

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas,* and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of eco-
621 nomic and cultural autonomy, but they never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading,
621 paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish
565 enterprise, and losing individuals to the growing free lower classes *(castas),* they

5. Sorokin, 1930, 1:560.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.13a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 fitted into the class system of colonial
621 Mexico.

[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 The other main type of social unit in
621 rural Mexico was the privately owned es-
423 tate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 The colonial village community was the
621 primary economic unit, to some extent self-
423 sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the
175 cult and the support of the Church.[9]

[241] Agriculture was the economic basis of
[463] most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they
[438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 For various reasons differences in wealth
556 came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-5.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

175 [556] holdings.[10] Commerce also must have caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed within the community, although the property title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic, maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 423

[621]

175 624 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of government in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 624 565 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12] With the Spanish conquest the higher strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The scanty evidence as yet published suggests that the system by which Indian nobles controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

175 623

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-45, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 100-108; 168-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422-3.

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best
621 characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17] where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-68.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] The main reason for the preservation of
Indian communities seems to be that this
area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
character, forests, and cold climate did
[132] not make it suitable for the introduction
of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] The changes within the surviving Indian
towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for
conflict within the village and breaking the
solidarity of the villagers against outsiders;
(b) the basic conservatism of the villages,
i. e., the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 86-90.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 17b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting
621 of the villages into opposite parties in re-
578 lation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have
[651] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

> "The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 32-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 33; Beals, 1946, 21, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 170-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

[609] Given this system of cultivation, the resistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
152 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for
433 consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

The connection of any Tarascan village
439 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world
433 markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.
423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

An analysis of agricultural economics
433 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán
241 (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 30.
48. West, 1948, 39.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

423 folk culture: some remaining communal
181 property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

In spite of this conservatism, however,
182 the decline of the village community goes on. The concentration of land in haciendas,
423 the main process by which the village com-
621 munities tended to disappear, has been checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The govern-
[656] ment's restrictions on the use of forests or the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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796 Different towns have reputations for giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an advanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is held and people come in pilgrimage, com-
517 bining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexican Indians has always been closely con-
621 nected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 186.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133–4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 26 b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans may have been influenced by Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hospital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradia)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 189-194.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 279] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 621 the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 476 Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

175 794 The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuríso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

175 794 575 Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

175 794 575 621 743 This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

The hospital had a number of yearly
175 elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
624 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéṇi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young girls, other times older women; they were
624 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

These officers were found in most villages
175 for which there is information.[20] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival
796 each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 30b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the State. This undoubtedly influenced the 175 local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is supposed that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

621 In spite of these changes, which occurred during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 216, 143.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1888.
46. León, 1904, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1926, 191-3.

621 officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

624 794 The traditional organization based on the hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kengueria*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

793 794 The local priest takes care of the liturgical celebrations. For their organization and church upkeep he can rely on the traditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

794 Communal property for the cult of the saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 143.
49. Foster, 1949, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 203-204.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

105 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a 177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national 621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

Catholicism, the state religion, was also 771 the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. 794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 178 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 182 178 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic impact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 [794] [775] After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

182 178 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it condemns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b — ANALYST]

TARASCAN

SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[22] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b - ANALYST]

[22] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of villa or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,877 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 24-b]

161 appear. Such cultural changes—improved trans-
191 portation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within
191 the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid
177 to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

361 men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo
621 Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

361 **Settlement sites.**—The few available early descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[23] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[23] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579–81 (Mus. Nac., leg. 102); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castillo (1580–85); many documents concerning the congregations of 1596–1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32 a]

342 within or near pine forests. By 1789 most of the
177 buildings in Tarascan towns in the Lake and Sierra regions were roofed with shakes (map 18). Today in the towns bordering the Sierra the red Castilian tile has completely replaced *tejamanil* and is slowly penetrating into the Sierra towns.[43]

THE LAND SYSTEM AND THE PUEBLO

621 Tarascan settlements are fundamentally agri-
423 cultural villages. They include not only dwellings arranged along streets and in house lots, but also the surrounding farm land. The land is the body of the pueblo, whose political and economic life revolves around land ownership and boundaries, crop planting and harvesting.

423 Few records exist on the ancient Tarascan land
311 system; most lands, however, were probably held in common. Each community owned surrounding lands, the limits of which were determined by metes and bounds; the record and adjudication of pueblo boundaries were in the hands of the village chief, who apportioned agricultural plots to his subjects.[44] As in many modern Indian areas of Mexico, the aboriginal concept of village lands and their established boundaries is indurated in the present political and economic structure of the Tarascan pueblos.[45] Such holdings in the Sierra include various types of land: *monte*, or woodland pasture on steep mountain slopes and on lava flows; cropland in basin floors (*planes*, t'pákua), on lower mountain slopes (*laderas*, uanáten), and in craters of cinder cones (*joyas*, t'pákua-supíču). In La Cañada often the following lands are held by a given pueblo: irrigable alluvium on the valley floor, *temporal* lands and *monte* on the adjacent slopes, and *humedad* lands in the Sierra. In the Lake area types of land vary from pueblo to pueblo. Often small strips of irrigable vegetable plots are held along the lake shore; most towns hold *temporal* land on the lower slopes; those on

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[43] Although used in most Spanish towns (except mining centers) in New Spain since the late 18th century, tiles began to appear in the Lake Pátzcuaro district only in the late 18th century. In 1789 Pátzcuaro was the only town in the vicinity with tile roofs (approximately 80 percent of the houses were roofed with tile, the remainder, with shakes). In the same year one house in Naranja boasted of a tile roof. (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 285, 313.)

[44] A copy of an aboriginal land title (1519) of Cherantzicurin is extant in AGN Tierras, vol. 967, exped. 3.

[45] In many respects the native land system in central Mexico paralleled that of 16th century Spain. Particularly was this true in regard to the concept of village holdings.

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic,
66 plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Duranno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
66 ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only
[621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using
563 mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632a The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 mercial transactions and specialized production for sale outside the region), whereas the women, mostly sequestered in their homes, remain conservative, and consequently more "Indian-like." The responses may, however, represent a real sex differential, *i.e.*, more women than men na-
582 tive to the community — with men from elsewhere marrying into the community. In 201 matings where data on the birthplace of both spouses
621 were available, both were from Paracho in 72.6 per cent of cases, 10 per
186 cent of the husbands were from elsewhere, 8.5 per cent of the wives were from other communities, and in 9 per cent of cases both were born elsewhere. Slightly more men than women, therefore, do marry into the community, but this difference is not large enough to explain the sex difference in ethnic attribution.

TABLE 1

186 "RACE" OF FATHER AND "RACE" OF MOTHER

Mothers reported as	Fathers reported as Indian	Fathers reported as Mestizo	Total
Indian	130	33	163
Mestiza	16	61	77
Total	146	94	240[5]

χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 300.28 $P < 0.0001$

Whereas sex of the parents does influence the responses, sex of the respondents seems to have virtually no effect. Females reported 66.9 per cent of 139 parents to be Indian, whereas males reported 63.5 per cent of 386 parents to be Indian. The difference is not statistically significant.

When the data taken from the record sheets are compiled in terms of the age of the respondent (see Table 2) another tendency may be noted. Both relatively and absolutely more Indian parents are reported by older respondents. Those 40 years old or less reported 48 per cent of fathers and 54 per cent of mothers to be Indian, in contrast to 73 per cent and 76 per cent respectively by individuals who were 41 years old or over. Conversely, of course, the percentage of Mestizo parents is approximately the same as that of Indian parents through the 40 year age group, but thereafter the proportions change markedly and membership in the Mestizo group is claimed for far fewer parents.

These age trends may be interpreted in several ways. First, the younger informants, in ascribing to their parents membership in one or the other ethnic group, may reflect an awareness that their current way of life is less Indian than it is Mestizo, and may extend this to their parents. With more education and a wider outlook one would expect to find among youth a greater bias toward being counted as belonging to a larger ethnic entity than that of the region, and to the ethnic group with a somewhat higher education — the Mestizo in both instances. On the other hand, the marked

[5] Some variation in total number from table to table results from the fact that not all respondents gave information on all points. Furthermore, where data on parents rather than on respondents are tabulated information from only one sibling interviewed is included.

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944). 608 66

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo. [631]

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect. 572 66

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits. 622 572

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno. 571 66

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and 178
giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, 796
although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various [467]
reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community 796
"played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took 578
place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political [622
upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected 662]
mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and 533
woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as 796
the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances per- 535
formed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day 796

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 13b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 holdings.[10] Commerce also must have
[556] caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed
175 within the community, although the prop-
423 erty title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic,
[621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of gov-
624 ernment in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 With the Spanish conquest the higher
565 strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The
175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests
623 that the system by which Indian nobles controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-45, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 100-108; 162-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422-3.

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

175 This is the system which seems to be typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

175 Native religion before the Spanish con-
771 quest was based on a number of gods representing the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
175 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced
797 on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 Every Indian community was provided
794 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

175 Very important in this new religion were the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

178 Part of the native religion not related to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point see Wagley, 1941, 56-68.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

423 the western and southern shore often have fields
[311] in the Sierra.

Two systems of land ownership—communal and private—prevail in most of modern Tarasca. Since the land reforms of 1915, the *ejido*, a third type of holding, has displaced most of the haciendas around the margins of the Sierra.

Since Spanish contact most of the Tarascan agricultural land has become private property of family heads. Even in the few remaining pueblos which claim complete communal ownership of their lands, a strong individualization of property has developed. The historical process of the shift from communal to private ownership is not clear. Late 18th-century documents on land disputes among the Tarascan pueblos indicate that at that time the communal system prevailed at least in the Sierra. The issuance of individual land titles may not have occurred until after the reforms of 1857. In the Sierra private landholders (*propietarios*) often possess one or more plots in the *plan*, and still others on the less fertile *laderas*. Size of individual holdings varies greatly, since land is purchasable. Normal holdings average 2 to 3 hectares per family. Traces of the communal concept exist in the minds of the modern proprietors. Although legally possible, there is little desire to sell land to nonmembers of the community. If such a transaction should arise, it usually must be approved by the town council.[46] Consequently, pueblo lands are kept intact. Moreover, individual holdings, especially those in the *plan*, are rarely enclosed, for after harvest the fields are used as communal pasture.[47] Accordingly, the final date for removal of crops and the first date for planting in unenclosed lands of each pueblo is communally regulated.

Vestiges of the ancient land system are retained in the special communal holdings found in most modern Tarascan villages. Five pueblos in La Cañada—Tanaquillo, Acachuén, Ichán, Tacuro, and Carapan—retain communal ownership of all lands, at least in name. Family heads are allotted one plot of *temporal* near the pueblo and another of *humedad* in the Sierra to the south and east. The individual allotments vary from 2 to 4

[623] [46] The Tarascan town council is normally composed of the *representante del pueblo* and his committee of six. The *representante* deals with most internal affairs of the pueblo.

[351] [47] Fences and ditches are used most frequently to divide cultivated lands from pasture and to separate individual holdings on the *laderas*, or slope land.

[p. 2-b]

115 his aunt, Doña Feliciana Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

A particular debt of gratitude is also due [875] Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one or the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as [624] town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided 124 us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

A word should be said about field methods at 126 this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 procedures I could not discover. One of the members of the *ayuntamiento* automatically serves as mayor, the office rotating from one *barrio* to another each year.

In addition to the *ayuntamiento*, there are a secretary and a treasurer, both chosen by the *ayuntamiento;* a *síndico*, who is one of the members of the *ayuntamiento;* an elected judge and *suplente* and a secretary of the court.

[624] Certain other duties are performed by *comisionados*, that is, persons commissioned by the *ayuntamiento* or by the mayor. These include the 4 *barrio* chiefs and the 45 block chiefs. *Comisionados* may also be named for special duties in connection with fiestas or public works.

In addition to the above officials, there are other groups with special duties. The representative of the people, *representante del pueblo*, and two assistants are named by the town. The representative is confirmed in office by the Governor of the State and stays in office until deposed. His main duties are looking after the public lands. Finally, there is the *reserva*, headed by the *jefe de defensa*. The [625] *reserva* is a group of armed men, 11 in number, [662] authorized by the State military authorities, and, at the time of the study, headed by the real political boss of the town.

The nature of these offices will now be described in more detail.

Ayuntamiento.—Five *proprietarios* and five *suplentes* make up the group, serving 2 years. Those from odd-numbered *barrios* are elected one year, those from even-numbered *barrios* the next year. Cheranástico was classed as an odd-numbered *barrio;* what is done now is not clear. One of the members of the group serves as mayor, the other as *síndico*. The remaining members participate in policy decisions and in the naming of certain officials. Otherwise they have few duties. The *suplentes* apparently sometimes participate in discussion, but they have no real function except in case of the death or absence of their *proprietario*. Members of the *ayuntamiento* receive no pay. Normally they meet once a week to discuss municipal affairs.

Mayor or Presidente Municipal.—In years the odd-numbered *barrios* elect, if the mayor is to come from *barrio* I, the *síndico* comes from

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 before the judge. In such cases he may dis-
693 cover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was
[685] sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10
[691] percent of the value, and all costs of the litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid $1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

625 *Police.*—Two (later three) men were em-
632 ployed as police in 1940-41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and
632 classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most impor-
624 tant are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

632 The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The
625 town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT

527
624

The fiesta of the patron saint, San Francisco, is held for 4 days, beginning the first Sunday after October 4. Usually after the Fiesta of San Luís in Nahuatzen August 25, *comisionados* are named by the mayor (on August 20 in 1940) and are notified by formal letters delivered by the police. Only persons out of town or those providing very good reasons may refuse to accept the post. The major duties are distributed by *barrio*, and for each *barrio* a head commissioner is named who selects a group of from 5 to 15 assistants. The duties in 1940 were distributed as follows: *Barrios* II and III each had to provide a band, *barrio* I provided the fireworks or *castillo*, and *barrio* IV provided the wax (*la cera*). The *barrio* IV duty really meant that it paid for the Mass and for the special candles burned. These duties are rotated so that in the course of 4 years, for example, each *barrio* will have provided the fireworks. The commissioners collect a sum varying from 80 centavos to perhaps a little more than a *peso* from each householder in the *barrio*, which they may use for their expenses. [686] Anyone refusing to pay may be thrown in jail. The costs are not entirely equal for the different *barrios*, and, owing to the discrepancy in size of the different *barrios*, the individual contributions demanded also vary. The commissioners seem to have complete responsibility for collecting and expending funds, but if expenses are greater than the amount collected, the commissioners must make up the sum out of their own pockets.

In addition to the commissioners named for the above purposes, young men are commissioned for each *barrio* who have to provide poles and posts and reconstruct the bull ring or *toril*. Finally, four commissioners are named for the moros or dancers connected with this fiesta. Each commissioner has to find a dancer, provide him with his costume, and feed and look after the dancer throughout the fiesta. The duties of the commissioners will now be discussed in more detail as they functioned in 1940.

The commissioners for the *barrios* in 1940 were Mateo Ocampo, *barrio* I, fireworks; Florentin Rafael, *barrio* II, music; Fernando

527 624 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates were that the main *castillo* would cost [389] $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 624 533 The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to
624 help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
533 sioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

One commissioner for the moros is named
527 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and
624 does not collect money, paying the entire ex-
535 pense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing
[558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

The four commissioners for the bull ring are
527 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio*
624 I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None of these had to provide services but aided in
358 seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3
541 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not,
[427] it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the
[534] chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

The sequence of events leading up to the
527 fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

While all the occupations in the town are
527 represented in the fiesta, only the more impor-
463 tant ones take official part. These are the
624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary, and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey
527 gatherers take the two images of their patron
237 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
54 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL
ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

The following information on the ceremonial
121 organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

The ceremonial organization is linked with
796 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan
621 and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

252 262 237 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *sílantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidified. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or uánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pandowpari*, and one *capitamoro*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

796 624

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

La Cañada

796 important being that of the čičiua. A *fiscal*
624 looks after cattle belonging to the Virgin of the hospital and acts as a sacristan. A topil (a Maya word) rings the church bells and does errands for the *mayordomo* of the hospital. The *regidores* each have two messengers, the *mayor* or petajpi and the katapi. One of the duties of the latter is to chase dogs away during the fiestas, for which reason he is known as the "dog frightener," uičariri.

A person wishing to take a ceremonial office makes his petition to the *regidor* (of his *barrio?*), taking bread, chocolate, and liquor.
[431] The *regidor* consults with the *cabildo* regarding the matter, but he cannot accept the gifts unless the person receives the office. Apparently the *regidores* function primarily as the administrative officials of the *cabildo*. They are said also to have functions with respect to the Indian population in La Cañada. Indians visiting Chilchota on business often consult with the *regidores* and, if the matter is one involving the court or *juzgado*, the *regidor* acts as intermediary and advocate of the Indian's cause.

Decision regarding the offices is reached by the *cabildo* before December 12. On this day the new *cargueros* assemble at the hospital where the wife of the mayordomo places a crown on each one; this ceremony installs them in office, although some apparently do not take up their duties until later.

The most important meeting of the *cabildo* is on the day of Candelaria (February 2). The principals and the *cargueros*, old and new, who have passed the office of *mayordomo* of Santiago, meet about 10 o'clock in the morning in the patio outside the chapel of the hospital. Men and women (wives of the men?) form two groups. The men are seated on chairs along the sides of a table covered with mats of tule. The *regidores* take seats at each end. The women are arranged in similar fashion but kneeling on mats on each side of a row of tule mats placed on the ground. The *regidores* evidently take their places first. As each person arrives, he kisses a cross placed in a little shelter before the chapel. He then goes to the *regidores*, crosses himself, and kisses the staffs of the *regidores*. He then takes his place.

Each of the *roseras* must bring two sugarcanes for each person and a bottle of liquor for

796 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in
624 Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in
[524] advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give
[431] them čapatas. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual
796 bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

175 holdings.[10] Commerce also must have
[556] caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed
175 within the community, although the prop-
423 erty title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic,
[621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of gov-
624 ernment in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 With the Spanish conquest the higher
565 strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The
175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests that the system by which Indian nobles
623 controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939–45, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 429–30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 160–108; 188–189; 198–199.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422–3.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main religious festivals of the community and
743 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care
175 of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
624 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young girls, other times older women; they were
624 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages for which there is information.[20] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival
796 each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 423), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

175 Besides the cargueros of the hospital
794 there were other religious officers. Sodali-
575 ties other than those of the hospitales with
624 funds for the cult were rare, and existed
only in very few towns. But as a rule there
were also other sponsors of festivals to
saints not connected with the hospital.
Common to all villages were several spon-
sors (*capitanes*, *fiesteros*, or other names)
who organized the festival to the patron
saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 Financing the cult involved payment of
794 alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep
651 of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments,
wafers and wine, etc.) and also the ex-
penses involved in folk ceremonial ele-
ments such as the dancers' costumes, ban-
queting, and other entertainments like
fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees
were fixed by the Bishop and were called
arancel (book of rates). They were pri-
marily for mass and the administration of
the sacraments. In Michoacan every vil-
lage had an arancel of its own called *pinde-
cuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pin-
dékua*, custom); besides those fees, the
contributions for the support of the priest
were mentioned. These were often in kind
and were periodical, frequently coinciding
with the main festivals. As long as the
union of Church and State lasted, these
aranceles had also the approval of the civil
authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 In the eighteenth century, many of the
743 hospitales had property devoted to the sup-
423 port of their activities. Most generally this
575 was in the form of cattle pastured on the
794 village commons. One of the cargueros or
a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and
received the milk as a personal reward. In
other cases, land was also owned by the
hospital and worked in common, or more
often rented. In one case the hospital

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 29a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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The effect of excessive cult expenses on Indian poverty was strong enough to lead the subdelegate (Spanish district authority) to give instructions against it. He recommended avoiding those banquets and superfluities based on the pretext of church festivals. In the case of Amatlan, he directed that no personal service should be given the priest other than that of sexton and bellman.[33]

624

The civil administration conformed to general practice in colonial Mexico. Every Indian town was headed by a *gobernador*. There were also one or more *alcaldes* (mayors) and a number of *regidores* (councilmen), according to the size of the town. Minor officials seem to have been more variable: *alguaciles*, similar officers called *katápi* in Tarascan, errand boys *(topil)*, and a scribe.

624
794

An important characteristic of this civil organization was its close connection with the cult organization. For as long as the union of State and Church lasted (until the middle of the nineteenth century), the obligations of the village toward the priest and the cult had the sanction of the civil authorities who approved the church fees *(aranceles)*. The higher civil authorities also intervened in the regulation of cult activities.[34] The village civil officers had also some religious obligations in sponsoring certain festivals or in contributing to the support of the priest.[35]

The custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder (Spanish, *principal;* Tarascan, *t'aıépiti*) seems also to have been present. Evidence for the eighteenth century is lacking. Only for the village of Cutzeo we know that the principales were those who had passed through the office of governor, and that *atole* (cornmeal) for their Saturday meetings was made by the semaneros in the hospital. Today, however, traits of the surviving religious organization suggest the former existence of this connection between civil and religious officers. The group of elders is called *cabildo*, which originally meant 'town council', although it can also mean sodality council. In Cherán, principales are those who have passed through the offices of prioste and colector. In Angahuan also, religious offices have to be held before one becomes alcalde or member of the cabildo.[36]

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33. Osbourn Ms.
34. Osbourn Ms.; Estado, 1944, *passim*.
35. The governor in Ario, Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.), Coeneo (Rivera, 1888, 332, 334), San Francisco (Ocampo, 1900, 387); the councilmen in Tancítaro (Osbourn Ms.).
36. Beals, 1946, 132, 143.

624 More detailed information comes from Chilchota. Here a man was first mayordomo of the hospital, then mayordomo of
794 the patron saint, later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

175 At the end of the eighteenth century, then, the heavy cult expenses were caus-
794 ing the impoverishment of the Indians in
735 those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 For the nineteenth century there is no survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only
794 for the turn of the century is information again available. Since this is the period of
423 further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 215.
38. León, 1906, 437.
39. Beals, 1946, 123 (for Cherán); 218 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 216, 139.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.30a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro was used until a short time ago to buy wax for the church.

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Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions from cargueros or the townspeople at large. Indian impoverishment caused by attending to religious festivals is reported again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

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The period of Mexican Independence up to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *municipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:398.
42. Beals, 1946, 165; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1903, 404, 414-415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:391.

624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the State. This undoubtedly influenced the 175 local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is supposed that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

621 In spite of these changes, which occurred during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 218, 143.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1888.
46. León, 1906, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1928, 191-2.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.319] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

621 officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

The traditional organization based on the
● 624 hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but
794 it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kenguería*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

The local priest takes care of the litur-
793 gical celebrations. For their organization and church upkeep he can rely on the tra-
794 ditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

Communal property for the cult of the
794 saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 143.
49. Foster, 1948, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 203-204.

668 On the other hand, the intervention of
178 the civil authorities reflects increasing
794 secularization of the main festivals. It takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

178 The trend of change is not only to shift
794 control from the cabildo to either the priest or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; and instead of the carguero sponsor, there [624] is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan; the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of office. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero system. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 120-127; Foster, 1948, 204*f*, 215*f*.
65. Beals, 1946, 106, 130.
66. Foster, 1948, 196, 198.
67. *Ibid.*, 198, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 120, 126, 127.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow: 171 526 [101]

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári*. 526 [237]

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgua*. An official called the *kiéŋi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéŋi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7] [624] [796]

Akúčperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atásutákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. [104]

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period. [171]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 procedures I could not discover. One of the members of the *ayuntamiento* automatically serves as mayor, the office rotating from one *barrio* to another each year.

In addition to the *ayuntamiento*, there are a secretary and a treasurer, both chosen by the *ayuntamiento;* a *síndico*, who is one of the members of the *ayuntamiento;* an elected judge and *suplente* and a secretary of the court.

[624] Certain other duties are performed by *comisionados*, that is, persons commissioned by the *ayuntamiento* or by the mayor. These include the 4 *barrio* chiefs and the 45 block chiefs. *Comisionados* may also be named for special duties in connection with fiestas or public works.

In addition to the above officials, there are other groups with special duties. The representative of the people, *representante del pueblo*, and two assistants are named by the town. The representative is confirmed in office by the Governor of the State and stays in office until deposed. His main duties are looking after the public lands. Finally, there is the *reserva*, headed by the *jefe de defensa*. The [625] *reserva* is a group of armed men, 11 in number, authorized by the State military authorities, [662] and, at the time of the study, headed by the real political boss of the town.

The nature of these offices will now be described in more detail.

Ayuntamiento.—Five *proprietarios* and five *suplentes* make up the group, serving 2 years. Those from odd-numbered *barrios* are elected one year, those from even-numbered *barrios* the next year. Cheranástico was classed as an odd-numbered *barrio;* what is done now is not clear. One of the members of the group serves as mayor, the other as *síndico*. The remaining members participate in policy decisions and in the naming of certain officials. Otherwise they have few duties. The *suplentes* apparently sometimes participate in discussion, but they have no real function except in case of the death or absence of their *proprietario*. Members of the *ayuntamiento* receive no pay. Normally they meet once a week to discuss municipal affairs.

Mayor or Presidente Municipal.—In years the odd-numbered *barrios* elect, if the mayor is to come from *barrio* I, the *síndico* comes from

632 before the judge. In such cases he may dis-
693 cover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was
[685] sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10
[691] percent of the value, and all costs of the litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid $1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

625 *Police.*—Two (later three) men were em-
632 ployed as police in 1940-41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and
632 classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most impor-
624 tant are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

632 The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The
625 town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to those who do serve. There is no obligation, [431] nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

Comisionados may also be named if funds
632 are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

There are many *comisionados* in connection
796 with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro [535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.10?a]

632 represented in the fiesta. Each major tradi-
796 tional occupation is required to hire a band, and the *comisionados* must raise the money by taking up a collection or by paying out of their own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados* is named to take up another collection to hire music for the celebration of the Octava. Voluntary service is also given by the bee hunters. The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often put in many days of labor.

One final type of *comisionado* should be men-
632 tioned, the men named to do communal labor.
651 Probably every eligible man has to put in 2 or 3 days a year on such work. This may be for work assigned to a *barrio*, or it may be some community-wide program such as cutting poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or nights of service a year to the community, if it be taken into account that about half the adult males are exempt for reason of age or service such as office holding, school teaching, store keeping, etc. However, the work is probably very unevenly distributed, for there is no systematic method of assignment. A person who raises many objections or who is not in proper economic condition may evade many commissions. For example, no right-minded mayor would commission a poverty-stricken man to bring out a moro. Consequently, persons who are conscientious and do not complain are apt to receive many more commissions than others.

Reserva.—The *reserva* consists of 11 men
632 armed by the Government (State or Federal?)
625 with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained by the real political boss of the town, Moisés Valencia. Although all were agreed that the 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed to have any idea of the mechanism of choice. In all probability the group was chosen in the same way Valencia was chosen political boss, through aggressiveness in defense of town interests and personal popularity. Even a town the size of Cherán does not need formal elective machinery at times in order to express popular will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections. During the disturbed period in Michoacán during the installation of President Camacho, the reserve received instructions from the military

632 district commander to arrest all strangers and
625 send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The represent-
632 ative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

632 The collection of funds for use of the forest
651 lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood
632 for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without secur-
313 ing a permit from the forestry service. (As indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to
[474] concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representantes* is rea-
632 sonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
514 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[Continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT
CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 465 The average wages of sheepherders are 5 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent misbehavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or [626] carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

511 The motivations of consumption appear
181 several. Primary is the need of food, shelter, and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case
[626] the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

556 In general, wealthy people do not display
511 their wealth ostentatiously except through undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the
Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region
668 of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[82]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about
[186] conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
578 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these
626 never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

Another case illustrates the handling of
695 minor offenses. A woman was brought before
685 the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[82] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

535 Child. The performer with the latter lines
796 was the only one who managed to make the
[538] crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in
[626] silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p. m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a. m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a. m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. ,We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a. m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breafast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

556 585 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. [602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should [578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, [572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

626 585 Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

585 584 As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p,115a] Sierra Tarascans

695 charge with equal vigor. Finally the acting
mayor ordered that she be locked up, and,
685 despite voluble protests against injustice, the
woman was conveyed forcibly to the jail. The
whole procedure seemed very high-handed, but
when the woman was out of earshot, the acting
mayor turned to me mildly and remarked that
he would not have acted that way on the man's
word alone but there had been two witnesses
and there was no doubt of the woman's guilt.
He was trying to frighten the woman into a
confession and restitution of the blanket, with
which he would be content to dismiss the case.

Several drunks on the morning of October 3
689 created a commotion. Two got into a fight
and were locked up. The rest were not
molested.

On another day, two women were noticed in
the jail. One said the other had thrown a
gourd at her head. The second accused the
first of stealing something from her lot. They
were both thrown in jail to cool off.

A little girl was "horsing around"—to use
627 the phrase of Augustín Rangel—near one of
the street-corner vendors. The woman told
her to go away, but the girl's mother did not
interfere. In the mother's absence the girl
broke some pottery. The two women began to
quarrel and finally went to the mayor's office.
After discussion, the woman with the pottery
was advised to be more careful of her goods
when there were children around.

Three men walked down the street, in vari-
ous stages of drunkenness. Two began to
quarrel and the drunkest of the three picked up
a rock and threatened one of the men. The
third man interposed himself, talked soothingly,
eventually got the rock away from the drunken
man, and they continued their walk.

One drunken man kept saying to another
"You are rich and can do everything you want
and I have nothing." The second man ignored
this. After a while the first man said, "I don't
care if you are rich, you —— —— ——," and
then began commenting on the man's mother.
The second man said, "Take back what you said
about my mother." The first man said,
"Never." Then they began to fight. Nothing
was done about this.

681 The cases given above represent conflicts
which resulted in no official punishment. Con-

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944). 608 66

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo. [631]

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect. 572 66

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits. 622 572

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno. 571 66

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

coveted because of the higher financial rewards. The nominal pay in both cases is supplemented by bribes and "cuts" from taxes, and by the ego satisfactions of exercising power. Elections take place by public vote every one and three years, respectively, following the informal composition of ballots and considerable discussion at open meetings. High public attendance at these meetings is due both to genuine interest and to fear of persecution if the cacical group should suspect boycotting. Although the duties are formally allotted to specific officers, such as a judge, the officers of both governmental arms actually operate as a group, rather flexibly playing the several roles. In 1956, for example, the civil secretary also functioned at times as judge and mayor. 632 [661] [666]

Both the formal arms of government are controlled by the informal cacicazgo. Today, the preplanned ballot is always finally accepted at the public meetings. Under conditions of centralized autocracy, at least one officer in both the civil and ejidal arms is an inner core leader, and when political troubles are anticipated two offices in each branch may be filled by such nuclear individuals. In the heated election year of 1956, for example, the civil secretary, the ejidal president, and the president of the ejidal watch were nephews of the cacique; the cacique himself was ejidal treasurer, and an old "fighter" and friend of the cacique was judge. 66

Cacical systems, however, swing between the two extremes of autocratic centralization and contentious fission. When the historical process of contentious fission between the energetic "ex-have-nots" of agrarian politics reaches its extreme, both factions may offer ballots for both branches of government. They will be hotly contended in a variety of ways. The result may be that both factions are represented, as in 1927, or that one faction controls the ejido and another the civil government, as in 1945. Such formal reflexes of a breakdown of informal hegemony are invariably accompanied by a so-called "bad time," with attempts on the lives of the caciques of both factions. Cacical patterns thus rend communities and at other times provide a highly political integration, both in the name of a social and material progress that may actually take shape in the form of schools and public works. The extremes of contentious fission and autocratic centralization do not seem to be correlated with the degree of formal collectivization of the ejido, although such institutional collectivization does make it easier to exercise dictatorial powers and to extract larger financial cuts. On the other hand, the importance of centralized control for continued drainage of the ejido legitimizes the term "hydraulic caciques" (Wittfogel, 1957).

Both formal governments of Durazno are independently related upward to higher, formal structures. Durazno leaders have occupied numerous formal positions at higher levels owing to the salient informal role of the tiny pueblo in the intrigue, violence, and heartfelt radicalism of Michoacan politics. Politics and the cultivation of political leaders have in fact become a sort of communal specialty in Durazno. Durazno caciques founded and held numerous offices in the state-wide peasant League of Agrarian Communities; they have been municipal presidents three times, state congressmen three times, and, once, substitute to a national congressman. They have always formally controlled the important "Regional Committee," the regional organ of the National Peasant Confederation. While highly atypical with respect to this prominence, Durazno does exemplify the role that tough, sophisticated, and land-controlling Indian caciques can play in regional and state politics. As the people say, "Some towns specialize in hatmaking, others in pottery. Durazno specializes in politics." 631

Primarily four political methods have been used by the caciques and their followers for the past forty years. The first, verbal persuasion, takes place in small informal groups and at the frequent political meetings; by comparison with other villages Durazno is a beehive of political discussions. Verbal persuasion figured especially during the 208 66

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] [631] [645] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 618 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[3] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[3] [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

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311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

632 The town of Cherán has a population of
162 about 5,000. The community is unique among Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherias. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherias or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

632 Despite the concentration of population in the
311 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
578 a large area. Much of this area is mountain and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

361 Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

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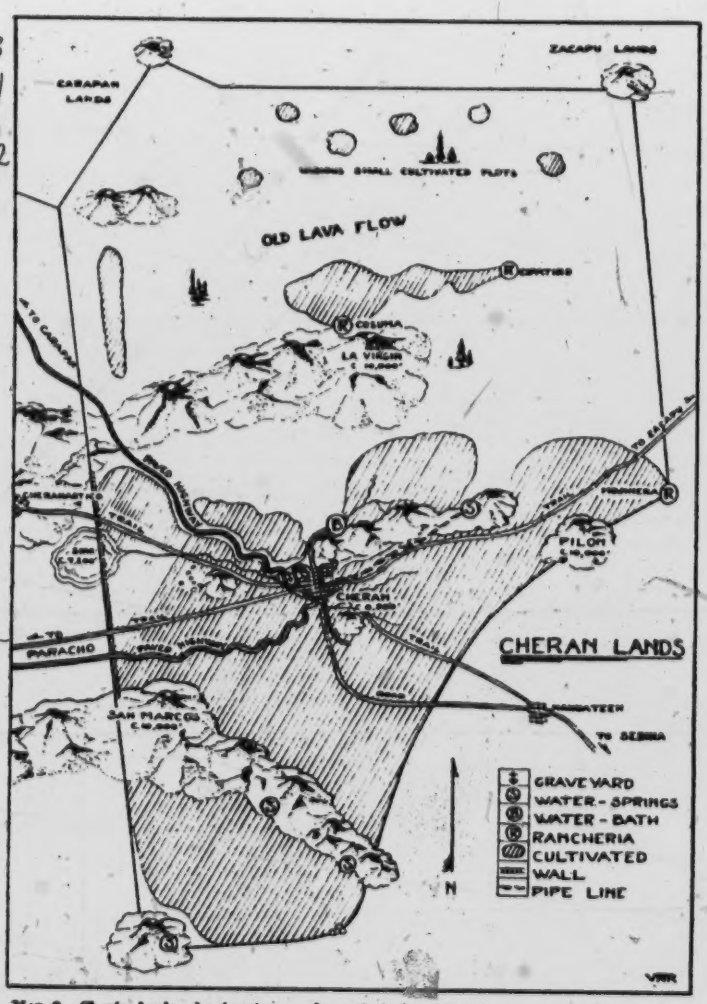

MAP 2.—Cheran lands, showing topography, principal cultivated areas, and various cultural features.

CHERÁN: A SIERRA TARASCAN VILLAGE—BEALS

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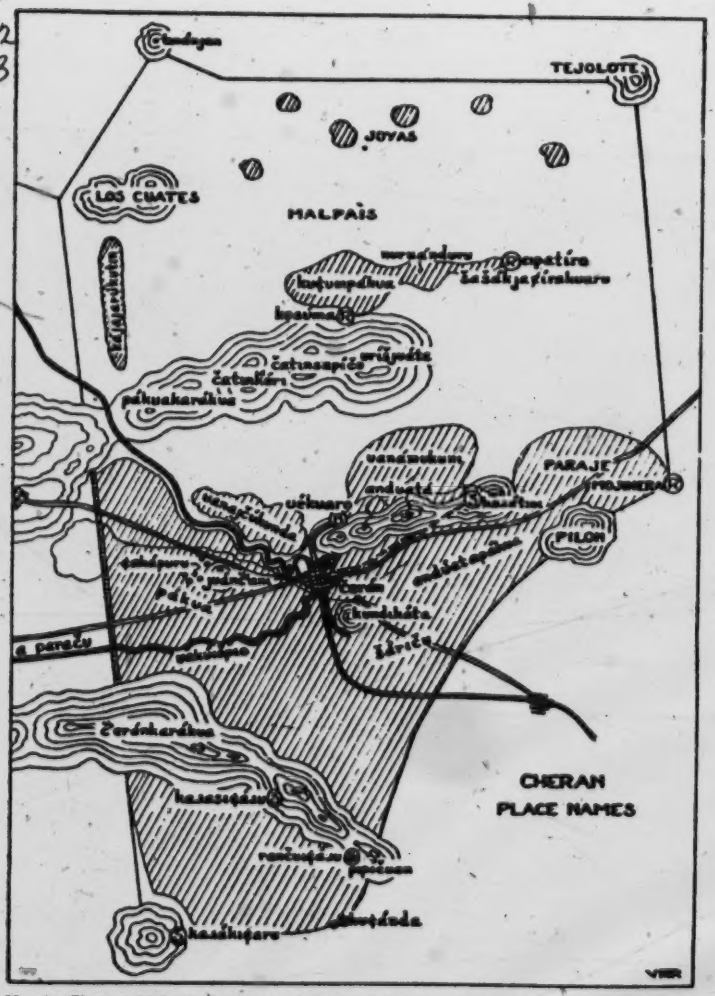

MAP 3.—The municipio of Cherán, showing the more important place names. See map 2 for explanation of symbols.

[p. 9]

243 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are
492 rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented
or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize
[427] or money equal to the rent is usually made. Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

The time of the harvest varies in different
243 places. If the "plain" west of town is planted,
632 the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

As the harvest is a time of joint work, even
243 though not communal in character, it also is a
527 rather festive and social occasion. Moreover,
632 many workmen have more money than at any
273 other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

In 1940 the following schedule of harvests
243 was posted:*

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

251 White maize and yellow maize are stored un-
243 shelled in the lofts of "*trojes*." Little effort is taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and
[252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

If the rains do not come at the proper time
789 near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote.*" Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

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[p.346]

839 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [438] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture men's hats of palm straw braid, although pro- 439 duction does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 91a]

181 with the larger national economy. Some of the
556 deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

[text continues on top of p. 91b]

THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in
128 several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an admin-
632 istrative unit, smaller than the usual county in
634 the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

[text continues on middle of p. 91b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.91b]

181 poor indeed if there should be a maize shortage.
556 Even in normal times, the man who has to buy maize is pitied, even though he has plenty of money.

Although further analysis might be desirable, it also seems that the emphasis on nonproductive expenditures is higher in Cherán than in our own culture. The outlay in cash and goods involved in religious festivals, weddings, and similar events, seems much higher proportionately. Men often forego material advantage also for the spiritual rewards of offices connected with the church, an aspect which has not yet been discussed but which will be described later in detail. It seems doubtful if the motivations in these cases correspond entirely to those of the "conspicuous expenditures" of our own society.

THE COMMUNITY

632 the population live in the *cabecera*. Subordi-
634 nate to the *cabecera* ordinarily are a number of *tenencias*, villages of several hundred to more than a thousand population, and rancherias or other small units. All these subordinate units are administered from the *cabecera* through local, appointed delegates, the *jefes de tenencia*. Theoretically the residents in the *tenencias* and other units play an equal part with the inhabitants of the *cabecera*; in practice, government is controlled from the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the usual pattern in that the *municipio* consists of the *cabecera* and one small rancheria. Cherán, the town, is thus about twice as large as most Tarascan *cabeceras*, although the *municipio* has about the same population as others. Formerly the situation was somewhat different, with the *tenencia* of Cheranástico forming part of the *municipio*. As the result of circumstances to be related later, the people of Cheranástico withdrew from the *municipio* of Cherán and now form part of the *municipio* of Paracho. Had the population of Cheranástico been sufficiently large, it might even have become a separate *municipio*. The withdrawal of Cheranástico emphasizes the fact that *cabeceras* and *tenencias* have their respective boundaries within the larger limits of the *municipio*.

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632 The general situation of the *municipio* has
634 already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
423 daries, although there are usually disputes with
632 neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[476] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000.
[161] Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished.
361 A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

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608 parents and *compadres* are taken seriously in Cherán, it is obvious from the description given above that the *compadrazgo* obligations are nearly as important as those of kinship, if not more so. Scarcely a person in Cherán does not have at least 10 or 15 *compadres*. Most people have 20 or 25 or more. Don Luís Velasquez, the oldest of the marriage arrangers, who also says prayers at funerals, stated that he had more than 100 *compadres* of baptism alone. When it is considered that usually one acquires most of his *compadres* through weddings, the total number possessed by Don Luís must be enormous. He declined even to make a guess at the number of *compadres* he had of all classes. The obligations of *compadres* of baptism are as great or greater than those of relatives, with the exception of the immediate family (parent–child and possibly sibling obligations), while those of other classes are at least equal to those of cousins.

Some use of the *compadrazgo* is made by the church on special occasions. When a new image is blessed in church, for example, people are invited to become godparents of the image. They kneel behind the image when the priest blesses it. For this they are expected to pay from 1 to 5 pesos. In such cases the participants do not call each other *compadres*, nor do they have any relationship with the owner of the image in case it is a household saint.

GOVERNMENT

632 The governmental system of Cherán on the surface and in its organization is not obviously different from that of any other Michoacán *municipio*. In its functioning, however, it possesses many unconventional features. Even elections, ostentatiously conducted according to legal forms, may actually be conducted very differently beneath the surface.

The major governmental agency is the *ayuntamiento* of five persons and five alternates or *suplentes*. These serve a term of 2 years and are alternated in office, two being elected one year and three the next. Elections are made by *barrio*. Formerly Cheranástico elected one of the five; since this *tenencia* has become associated with Paracho, I could not discover what device was used to elect the fifth member. Whether the situation is still not resolved or whether there was a purposeful vagueness about

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632 procedures I could not discover. One of the members of the *ayuntamiento* automatically serves as mayor, the office rotating from one *barrio* to another each year.

In addition to the *ayuntamiento*, there are a secretary and a treasurer, both chosen by the *ayuntamiento;* a *síndico*, who is one of the members of the *ayuntamiento;* an elected judge and *suplente* and a secretary of the court.

Certain other duties are performed by [624] *comisionados*, that is, persons commissioned by the *ayuntamiento* or by the mayor. These include the 4 *barrio* chiefs and the 45 block chiefs. *Comisionados* may also be named for special duties in connection with fiestas or public works.

In addition to the above officials, there are other groups with special duties. The representative of the people, *representante del pueblo*, and two assistants are named by the town. The representative is confirmed in office by the Governor of the State and stays in office until deposed. His main duties are looking after the public lands. Finally, there is the *reserva*, headed by the *jefe de defensa*. The [625] *reserva* is a group of armed men, 11 in number, authorized by the State military authorities, [662] and, at the time of the study, headed by the real political boss of the town.

The nature of these offices will now be described in more detail.

Ayuntamiento.—Five *proprietarios* and five *suplentes* make up the group, serving 2 years. Those from odd-numbered *barrios* are elected one year, those from even-numbered *barrios* the next year. Cheranástico was classed as an odd-numbered *barrio;* what is done now is not clear. One of the members of the group serves as mayor, the other as *síndico*. The remaining members participate in policy decisions and in the naming of certain officials. Otherwise they have few duties. The *suplentes* apparently sometimes participate in discussion, but they have no real function except in case of the death or absence of their *proprietario*. Members of the *ayuntamiento* receive no pay. Normally they meet once a week to discuss municipal affairs.

Mayor or Presidente Municipal.—In years the odd-numbered *barrios* elect, if the mayor is to come from *barrio* I, the *síndico* comes from

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632 *barrio* III. Cheranástico, when classed as *barrio* V, apparently never filled either office. Similarly, if the even-numbered *barrios* elect, the mayor will be from *barrio* II, the *síndico* from *barrio* IV. The following 2-year period the situation will be reversed. Although the mayor is elected for 2 years to the *ayuntamiento*, he serves only 1 year as mayor. The second year he is merely an ordinary *munícipe* or *regidor*, that is, an ordinary member of the *ayuntamiento*.

The mayor has the most important duties in the government, for upon his ability and initiative depends most of the success of an administration. It is he who initiates most activities, the *síndico* who carries them out. Not only does the mayor preside at town meetings or *juntas* and meetings of the *ayuntamiento*, but he settles minor disputes and levies fines of less than 1 peso, orders temporary imprisonment, supervises and orders most municipal expenditures, appoints most of the *comisionados*, and sees that public works are initiated. The mayor alone of all the officials must be present daily in the *municipio*. If not present, he must have his *suplente* present. (In 1940, the mayor rarely was in the *municipio*, leaving administration to the *suplente*. If anything of crucial importance arose, however, the mayor would be called in.)

632 693 As a minor judicial official, the mayor settles many small cases involving thefts, drunkenness, minor assault, rape, debt, or fraud. In some cases, brief jail sentences are imposed; in others, fines are assessed, all fines below a peso going into the pocket of the mayor as his only salary. The mayor also gives orders about minor improvements, such as cleaning the plaza or painting the benches. In case expenditures are involved, he may advance money out of his pocket for supplies or labor, later getting a receipt which he presents to the treasurer for payment.

632 *Síndico.*—The *síndico* supervises most public works and may initiate minor work. He is in charge of streets and the repair or reconstruction of bridges, and sees that many undertakings ordered by the mayor are carried out. With the help of a *veedor*, he oversees community affairs, such as the adequacy of the water supply and clandestine illegal activities.

632 He is in charge of the slaughterhouse; the collection of proper taxes and prevention of "black market" slaughtering are his responsibility. He supervises all questions of inheritance and the properties connected therewith, seeing that the heirs receive their due share of property. In cases of quarrels over inheritance, wounds [693] inflicted with knives or pistols, and murders, the *síndico* makes the initial investigations and prepares the papers for submission of the cases to the judge. The *síndico* receives no pay.

Secretary.—The secretary is named by the 632 mayor with the approval of the *ayuntamiento* 217 without a fixed term being set. His duties are to make all classes of documents and to maintain the municipal archives. These include the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. The secretary is paid $1.50 a day. He may augment this sum by preparing private documents for a fee. The office is fairly new; in the childhood of fairly young men there was no secretary. The present incumbent is not a native of the town.

632 *Veedor.*—The veedor is named by the *síndico* with the approval of the mayor. He is supposed to see that the water supply is functioning properly and to report any illegal acts. Apparently he receives no pay.

Treasurer.—The treasurer receives all the 632 town funds from various sources, including 651 fines above 1 peso, taxes, assessments, and funds from State and Federal sources. He is responsible for the collection of the small tax on vendors at the markets. He pays all bills of the *municipio* and must keep detailed accounts which are inspected by State officials. The office of treasurer is also new. His pay is 25 percent of the income. There is no term to his office.

Judge.—The judge and his *suplente* are 693 usually elected every 2 years but if the office is 632 satisfactorily filled, the election may not be held for 3 or 4 years. The judge hears all cases certified to him by the *síndico*. He may order brief imprisonment or fines, which are paid to the treasurer, but all serious cases are referred to the district court at Uruapan after a preliminary hearing. This is particularly true of murder cases or serious crimes. The judge reviews all cases of inheritance in which quarrels arise, and all land sales must be authorized

632 before the judge. In such cases he may dis-
693 cover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was
[685] sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10
[691] percent of the value, and all costs of the litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid $1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

625 *Police.*—Two (later three) men were em-
632 ployed as police in 1940-41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and
632 classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most impor-
624 tant are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

632 The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The
625 town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to
[431] those who do serve. There is no obligation, nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

Comisionados may also be named if funds
632 are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

There are many *comisionados* in connection
796 with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro
[535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

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632 represented in the fiesta. Each major traditional occupation is required to hire a band, and
796 the *comisionados* must raise the money by taking up a collection or by paying out of their own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados* is named to take up another collection to hire music for the celebration of the Octava. Voluntary service is also given by the bee hunters. The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often put in many days of labor.

One final type of *comisionado* should be mentioned, the men named to do communal labor.
632
651 Probably every eligible man has to put in 2 or 3 days a year on such work. This may be for work assigned to a *barrio*, or it may be some community-wide program such as cutting poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or nights of service a year to the community, if it be taken into account that about half the adult males are exempt for reason of age or service such as office holding, school teaching, store keeping, etc. However, the work is probably very unevenly distributed, for there is no systematic method of assignment. A person who raises many objections or who is not in proper economic condition may evade many commissions. For example, no right-minded mayor would commission a poverty-stricken man to bring out a moro. Consequently, persons who are conscientious and do not complain are apt to receive many more commissions than others.

Reserva.—The *reserva* consists of 11 men
632 armed by the Government (State or Federal?)
625 with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained by the real political boss of the town, Moisés Valencia. Although all were agreed that the 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed to have any idea of the mechanism of choice. In all probability the group was chosen in the same way Valencia was chosen political boss, through aggressiveness in defense of town interests and personal popularity. Even a town the size of Cherán does not need formal elective machinery at times in order to express popular will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections. During the disturbed period in Michoacán during the installation of President Camacho, the reserve received instructions from the military

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632 district commander to arrest all strangers and
625 send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The represent-
632 ative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

632 The collection of funds for use of the forest
651 lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood
632 for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without secur-
313 ing a permit from the forestry service. (As indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to
[474] concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representante* is rea-
632 sonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

632 forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter. Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

632 578 It was evidently felt that the *representante* would be involved in boundary disputes if they affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *tenencia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

632 621 In addition to the function of the *barrio* or *cuartel* as an administrative device as described above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

632 621 312 The major duty performed by the *barrio* is the maintenance of the water system. Each *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

[767] Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government.
653 Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*, but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

377 This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
632 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
653 tending a power line to the town and supplying
621 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

491 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

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632 666 662 officials could have had no basis for selection. Actually, the *suplente* in *barrio* II was one of the reactionary members of the community, leader of the ačes. He was chosen solely to stop his constant criticism of the administration.

The election was held on December 1, 1940. In theory, the first Sunday of December is the usual day. A commission, named by the mayor 15 days before, conducted the elections. Two ballot boxes were placed at opposite ends of the *corredor* in front of the *municipio*, one for each *barrio*. Only 45 votes were cast in *barrio* II and only 25 in *barrio* IV. The result of the election was to select the official PRM ticket in *barrio* II and the "opposition" ticket in *barrio* IV.

The procedure resulted in the mayor for the succeeding year, the successful candidate for *barrio* II, being elected by the majority of the 45 votes cast in that *barrio*. The mayor-elect promptly got very drunk and paraded from saloon to saloon for 2 or 3 days, shouting, "*Yo y Avila Camacho*—I and Avila Camacho." (Camacho was about to be installed as President of the Republic.) Murmurs of protest about the new mayor began to be heard on every side, becoming louder and louder. By the end of the month rumors of violence at the installation of the new *ayuntamiento* on January 1 were heard on every side. Loudest to complain were those who had attended neither the nominating *junta* nor the elections.

On January 1 very few people attended the installation of the new officers. The new officials went at the head, the new mayor in the middle, on his right the new *síndico*, and on his left the judge. The mayor carried a *bandera*, a round disk with the national colors in three vertical stripes, while his two companions carried ribbons hanging down from the *bandera*. Behind the new officials came the *reserva*, then a relatively small group of males. At the rear came the band. The procession made a circuit about the plaza and streets of the central part of town. *Cohetes* were fired off as the procession started and at each corner where it changed direction.

On the return to the *municipio*, the new mayor made a speech, received with a scattering of handclaps. The *jefe político*, Moisés Valencia, made another speech, urging cooperation

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632 666 662

with the new officials and the betterment of the town. He stressed especially fixing up the plaza and planting trees. His remarks drew more handclaps than did those of the mayor. This concluded a remarkably tame and peaceful affair.

On the surface, all the rumors had come to nothing and an uninformed visitor might have thought the talk had been nothing else. But the mayor who was inducted at this ceremony was not the elected mayor. In fact, he had not even been a candidate. The same was true of the *suplente* for the *síndico*. Obviously, explanation is called for.

Actually, the matter was simple. The talk and complaints had resulted in action. Apparently no one, on sober thought, wanted the elected mayor. So the *ayuntamiento* picked out someone they thought would be satisfactory and installed him as mayor. The choice seemed actually an excellent one. The new mayor was one of the best-educated men in town, a sober, honest, and conscientious man, fairly prosperous but not rich. None of the investigators found any objection or any tendency to question the action. According to the retiring mayor, one man, an *Almazanista* (that is, a follower of Almazán, the defeated presidential candidate) with little following had raised some objections. But the retiring mayor pointed out that the objector had never bothered to come to the nominating *junta* or to vote, although the mayor had personally invited ~~him~~ to do so and had asked him to make a house-to-house visit to all his followers, urging their attendance. Legality was to be maintained, however, and the State authorities received proper election returns certifying the election of the men installed.

Did this represent corruption and the breakdown of democratic methods as would be the interpretation of legalistic minds deeply steeped in the proprieties of parliamentary procedure? None of the staff of the investigation in Cherán felt it was. The persons finally inducted into office were capable men. They seemed highly acceptable to the bulk of the population, whereas the duly elected candidates were not. Rather, it seems that a truly democratic result had been obtained for a people who are unfamiliar with and distrustful of parliamentary procedures.

632 Persons who are shocked at the procedures
662 at Cherán should seriously contemplate the
666 difficulties in carrying out a formal election
212 with written ballots with a population which is very largely illiterate. In this case economic limitations and lack of imagination prevented carrying out the system used in national elections where the candidates each select a color and separate ballots are printed in the different colors. The voter then asks for his ballot by color and drops it into the ballot box. Not secret, and lending itself to ballot box stuffing, the method is at least an attempt to deal with the problem of an illiterate electorate. In a town such as Cherán the method followed in the election described seems equally efficacious—as long as the officials are responsive to public opinion.

632 That unconventionalities are frequent in elec-
665 tions is further illustrated by the presidential
666 elections earlier in the same year. Many months before the election a group of Almazán followers organized and began an active campaign in the town. The followers of Camacho (the PRM group) remained inactive. At the end of 2 or 3 months a PRM delegation waited on the Almazán followers and pointed out that there had been no interference with their campaign but that nevertheless the bulk of the town favored Camacho. The facts were apparently indisputable,-and when the PRM group stressed the fact that further campaigning could only result in creating divisions and dissensions in the town, the Almazán group ceased its campaign. At the election, Cherán cast a unanimous ballot for Camacho.

185 Two things of interest emerge from this
666 account. The first is the power of the argument against disunity in the community. Particularly in the Indian community, unity is prized almost above all else. Sophisticated in some ways as Cherán is, this argument is still one of the most potent that can be made. The second point of interest is the bearing this sequence of events has on interpretation of the national election returns in Mexico. What happened in Cherán probably happened in hundreds of other towns in Mexico and helps partly to explain the one-sided results usually reported in Mexican elections.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.111a]

665 In relation to external politics, most Cherán
666 inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

Some interest is also awakened by the dis-
484 covery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to
666 ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

632 Just as the economy of Cherán in general is
651 partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle
[422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

632 fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. Income from this source averages $5 or $6 weekly.
651

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

It should be noted that real estate taxes in [642] Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed $300 a month. At other times it may be as low as $125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about $1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher, [123] but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

632 Expenditures against income are as follows:
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	Per month
Two policemen at $0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20 [651] pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU54
[p. 112a]

632 ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the
652 general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The functioning of government in Cherán is
467 often affected by unofficial organizations and
665 informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanas*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise violent disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

The development of this informal organiza-
661 tion grew out of another and earlier organiza-
579 tion that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940–41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these
66 social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its
unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight
men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political
matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at
large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly
convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases
are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by
the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are gener-
ally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme
cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings
and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distri-
bution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the
ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent in-
terest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of
formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by
that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the
same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have
been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only
[621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno,
like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending fac-
tions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political
563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using
mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have them-
selves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo cul-
ture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian
followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both
groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political de-
mands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and
supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In
the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contest-
ing state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The in-
digenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan veh-
detta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such
as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems trans-
late downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between na-
tional structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct;
the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chair-
man.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community
661 organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

coveted because of the higher financial rewards. The nominal pay in both cases is supplemented by bribes and "cuts" from taxes, and by the ego satisfactions of exercising power. Elections take place by public vote every one and three years, respectively, following the informal composition of ballots and considerable discussion at open meetings. High public attendance at these meetings is due both to genuine interest and to fear of persecution if the cacical group should suspect boycotting. Although the duties are formally allotted to specific officers, such as a judge, the officers of both governmental arms actually operate as a group, rather flexibly playing the several roles. In 1956, for example, the civil secretary also functioned at times as judge and mayor. 632 [667] [666]

Both the formal arms of government are controlled by the informal cacicazgo. Today, the preplanned ballot is always finally accepted at the public meetings. Under conditions of centralized autocracy, at least one officer in both the civil and ejidal arms is an inner core leader, and when political troubles are anticipated two offices in each branch may be filled by such nuclear individuals. In the heated election year of 1956, for example, the civil secretary, the ejidal president, and the president of the ejidal watch were nephews of the cacique; the cacique himself was ejidal treasurer, and an old "fighter" and friend of the cacique was judge. 66

Cacical systems, however, swing between the two extremes of autocratic centralization and contentious fission. When the historical process of contentious fission between the energetic "ex-have-nots" of agrarian politics reaches its extreme, both factions may offer ballots for both branches of government. They will be hotly contended in a variety of ways. The result may be that both factions are represented, as in 1927, or that one faction controls the ejido and another the civil government, as in 1945. Such formal reflexes of a breakdown of informal hegemony are invariably accompanied by a so-called "bad time," with attempts on the lives of the caciques of both factions. Cacical patterns thus rend communities and at other times provide a highly political integration, both in the name of a social and material progress that may actually take shape in the form of schools and public works. The extremes of contentious fission and autocratic centralization do not seem to be correlated with the degree of formal collectivization of the ejido, although such institutional collectivization does make it easier to exercise dictatorial powers and to extract larger financial cuts. On the other hand, the importance of centralized control for continued drainage of the ejido legitimizes the term "hydraulic caciques" (Wittfogel, 1957).

Both formal governments of Durazno are independently related upward to higher, formal structures. Durazno leaders have occupied numerous formal positions at higher levels owing to the salient informal role of the tiny pueblo in the intrigue, violence, and heartfelt radicalism of Michoacan politics. Politics and the cultivation of political leaders have in fact become a sort of communal specialty in Durazno. Durazno caciques founded and held numerous offices in the state-wide peasant League of Agrarian Communities; they have been municipal presidents three times, state congressmen three times, and, once, substitute to a national congressman. They have always formally controlled the important "Regional Committee," the regional organ of the National Peasant Confederation. While highly atypical with respect to this prominence, Durazno does exemplify the role that tough, sophisticated, and land-controlling Indian caciques can play in regional and state politics. As the people say, "Some towns specialize in hat-making, others in pottery. Durazno specializes in politics." 631

Primarily four political methods have been used by the caciques and their followers for the past forty years. The first, verbal persuasion, takes place in small informal groups and at the frequent political meetings; by comparison with other villages Durazno is a beehive of political discussions. Verbal persuasion figured especially during the 208 66

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The *municipio* has fairly well defined boun-
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632 neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the
[476] boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

633 Cherán is a compact and essentially urban
[161] settlement with a population of about 5,000. Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished.
361 A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

363 Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

363 sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

633 A larger subdivision than the block is
103 furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúkutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúkutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keíku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalákua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Parícutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

633 The *barrios* show very few differences.
184 Parícutin is less populated, has larger lots, and is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest,
[231] the dogs of Parícutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

633 Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.[27]

[27] On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

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THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in *barrio*—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18–30 (17–30 for *barrio* III)	29	16	62	86	193
31–40	24	13	85	35	157
41–50	17	15	62	62	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	12	26	15	60
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
[212] Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
[463] Agriculturalist	73	47	124	63	307
Laborer	6	5	119	135	265
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker	.....	2	.....	1	3
Mason	1	.....	3	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2	.....	.....	3
Musician	1	1	2	.....	4
Maestro	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Shoemaker	.....	1	6	1	8
Tilemaker	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 Additional incomplete but interesting data 217 on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 54).

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[p.91a]

181 with the larger national economy. Some of the
556 deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

[text continues on top of p.91b]

THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in
128 several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an admin-
632 istrative unit, smaller than the usual county in
634 the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

[text continues on middle of p. 91b]

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[p.916]

181 poor indeed if there should be a maize shortage.
556 Even in normal times, the man who has to buy maize is pitied, even though he has plenty of money.

Although further analysis might be desirable, it also seems that the emphasis on nonproductive expenditures is higher in Cherán than in our own culture. The outlay in cash and goods involved in religious festivals, weddings, and similar events, seems much higher proportionately. Men often forego material advantage also for the spiritual rewards of offices connected with the church, an aspect which has not yet been discussed but which will be described later in detail. It seems doubtful if the motivations in these cases correspond entirely to those of the "conspicuous expenditures" of our own society.

THE COMMUNITY

632 the population live in the *cabecera*. Subordi-
634 nate to the *cabecera* ordinarily are a number of *tenencias*, villages of several hundred to more than a thousand population, and rancherias or other small units. All these subordinate units are administered from the *cabecera* through local, appointed delegates, the *jefes de tenencia*. Theoretically the residents in the *tenencias* and other units play an equal part with the inhabitants of the *cabecera*; in practice, government is controlled from the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the usual pattern in that the *municipio* consists of the *cabecera* and one small rancheria. Cherán, the town, is thus about twice as large as most Tarascan *cabeceras*, although the *municipio* has about the same population as others. Formerly the situation was somewhat different, with the *tenencia* of Cheranástico forming part of the *municipio*. As the result of circumstances to be related later, the people of Cheranástico withdrew from the *municipio* of Cherán and now form part of the *municipio* of Paracho. Had the population of Cheranástico been sufficiently large, it might even have become a separate *municipio*. The withdrawal of Cheranástico emphasizes the fact that *cabeceras* and *tenencias* have their respective boundaries within the larger limits of the *municipio*.

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that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b --- ANALYST]

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[22] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b - ANALYST]

[22] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of *villa* or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,877 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

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Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20 [651] pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[996] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the ●642 modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in 829 the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region.

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan.

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century.

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listeners the memory of the charming Huanita.

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

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NU34 Tarasco NU34

SESIHÁNGARI

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175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
539 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men
of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
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173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
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648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

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THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

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Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

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THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of [643] [631] the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, [645] Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 618 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[3] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

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white robe lined with beautiful colors.

The ancient king Singuangua, upon beholding her, was dazzled with her youthful beauty. Realizing that it would be unjust to marry her because of his advanced age, the compassionate monarch paternally consecrated her as priestess of the Sun. She was housed in the *guandaperata*, the sacred mansion of the *guananchecha* (vestal virgins) of the cult of Tucupa-acha.

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173
644

The princess Sesihángari, respecting the Purépecha traditions, graciously accepted the honor which King Singuangua bestowed upon her. Her humility only accentuated her loveliness. She only requested that she be permitted to continue her customary baths in the marvelous medicinal springs found in her father's territory. This the monarch granted with pleasure, appointing a group of the vestals to accompany her. To his surprise the waters seemed to work a miracle among the vestals, for in a short time they returned to court flowing with loveliness.

Intrigued by the phenomenon which converted the vestals into gems of magnificent beauty, the king ordered an investigation to determine the cause of the miraculous transformation. His wise men reported that the change could be traced to the magic power of the sulphureous mud from the enchanted marsh, situated eastward in the mountainous country near Taximaroa (Fig. 1). The boiling waters found there, they said, proceeded from the center of the earth and still contained their divine power.

Prince Tanimaranscua, one of the sons of King Singuangua, and Sesihángari fell deeply in love with one another. The king not only approved of their courtship but silently hoped they would marry. According to custom, a Purépecha priestess could marry only with the king's permission.

Prince Tzimtzicha, who was next in succession to inherit the throne, also loved Sesihángari and was jealous of his younger brother Tanimaranscua.

At length the old king died. His son Tzimtzicha succeeded him, and, according to custom, he took as his wives those of the preceding monarch. However, Tzimtzicha wanted Sesihángari as his wife.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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2:Carrasco F-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 159] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 This fight turned out to be an attack on
423 inalienable landed property in general, in-
cluding the Indian communal lands. The
668 purpose was to free those lands thus re-
moved from commerce and throw them to
the free play of the market, creating a class
[565] of small farmer-owners with a well de-
veloped idea of property which would
make for social and economic progress.

175 The abolition of landownership by civil
668 and ecclesiastical corporations was first
written into law in 1856 and incorporated
423 into the 1857 constitution during the period
of Mexican history known as the *Re-
forma*.[21] The enforcement of these meas-
ures, in so far as they concerned the lands
of Indian towns, was usually delayed until
the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

175 The Indians' communal lands were al-
lotted as private property among the vil-
423 lagers. Once the property title was in in-
648 dividual hands, with the possibility of be-
ing sold to anybody, outsiders found the
way open to acquire land which, through
communal land title, had formerly been re-
served for the villagers. The greater eco-
nomic power of the non-Indians, and fre-
quently unfair practices, allowed them to
acquire a great amount of land from Indian
villages. The concentration of land in
haciendas and the impoverishment of the
villages were thus facilitated. This pro-
cess was accelerated during the Porfirio
Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the
general economic progress of that period.
[471] The inflow of capital, building of railroads,
development of mining and other indus-
tries, also led to a rise of land values and
an increase of capital seeking to invest in
land.[23]

* * *

175 In summary, after the reforms of the end
of the nineteenth century, the haciendas
423 grew enormously at the expense of the
formerly communal land of the village
668 communities or of land allotted to individ-
ual Indians who were not able to keep pos-
648 session. On the other hand, the remaining
village communities changed from units
of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates
of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the ex-
pense of the land-holding villages and the
change within the villages from communal
to private property represented the general
national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phipps, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 136.
23. Phipps, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enríquez, 1909, 56-8.

175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This
found its legal expression in the *Reforma*
423 and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing
communal property. The change, however,
668 went at a different pace in different re-
648 gions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its
territory and population, is characterized
by a very unequal development of its vari-
ous regions, thus allowing different types
of society and culture to live together even
if connected and coordinated into a single
nation. The political and legal changes
of the late nineteenth century represent
only the turning point at which this gen-
eral trend of change became the dominant
political issue and required expression in
the nation's legal system.

In marginal regions, however, the land-
175 holding village, regardless of how many
changes in its organization were required,
423 survived and held its own against the
haciendas, in the same way as haciendas
had been the dominant type of economy in
parts of Mexico at the time when com-
munal ownership of villages was recog-
nized and protected by law. Consequently,
in discussing the development of a particu-
lar region like Michoacan, further inquiry
is essential to determine to what extent
and in what manner this national trend
of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

The villages in the northern and southern
175 areas had to supplement their native econ-
464 omy with work in neighboring haciendas.
177 This seems to have been the main factor
leading to the decline and final disappear-

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 169] NU34 Tarasco.NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

648 In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
656 regarding the distribution of the property of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas,* 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados);* that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 464-6.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.166] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

The main reason for the preservation of
[178] Indian communities seems to be that this
area was less desirable for the hacienda
[133] type of exploitation. The mountainous
character, forests, and cold climate did
[132] not make it suitable for the introduction
of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

The changes within the surviving Indian
[621] towns can be described from two points
[578] of view: (a) disrupting factors making for
conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 58-60.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1524 to 1528 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13-a]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

648 prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

538 173 [648] In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

539 171 Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

101 114 126 The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

101 The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

115 539 The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignácia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their pre-
[128] sumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and
805 Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación*
[175] *de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief
796 priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the
793 nation and its princes.
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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings, and other data essential to a successful compaign.
726 Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 312 passed and she had not gone to the fountain and filled her empty jug with water. She fell to her knees and directed her gaze at the rose-rimmed cloud hiding Father Sun. Tearfully, she prayed that the god would enable her to discover water nearby, so as not to incur the anger of her parents.

Her supplication was humble and sincere, because Tzintzin was a good girl. While she remained on her knees, a small beautifully colored bird arose from the center of a cluster of flowers. At that instant the last rays of Father Sun broke through the cloud and revealed drops of water which shone like diamonds falling from the feathers of the rising bird. This was the sign Tzintzin sought.

She parted the flowers and gazed into the pure, clear depths of a beautiful and hitherto unknown spring. Filling her jar, she returned home. Her parents were greatly surprised to see her return so quickly [she actually was late but the narrator said "so quickly" to emphasize the nearness of the new spring] and they supposed that Quanicoti had aided her with the water jar. However, she explained that she had discovered a new fountain of water near the road where her people traveled for decades.

The news of the fountain spread. The people from neighboring villages came to see the new source of water. Its depth was such that they called it Quiritzícuaro (the great fountain), and it still exists today to the east of the village of Paracho.

Always when the pretty Tzintzin visited this spot to hear Quanicoti's protestations of love, Father Sun smiled approvingly upon them with his brilliant, profound eye.

HUANITA

Historical Comment

173 174 In "Just as the Birds," the narrator spoke of one group of Tarascans who travelled northward to settle upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. At some uncertain time in the twelfth century, these [648] Tarascans conquered the people of Naranjo and then moved south-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region. 173 174 648

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan. 173 642 643

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century. 115 114 539 (173)

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listeners the memory of the charming Huanita. 539 173

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 642 643 [539] [776] [794] By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan kingdom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion. King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 644 539 [782] In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal household, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 539 644 648 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this [669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 644 173 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of [631] the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, [645] Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 678 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2). The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[See Category 116, P. 5-- Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [33] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

173 539 did view in every direction. To the north the peaks of the pine-covered mountains were lost among the clouds; on the south the outline of a strange, fantastic ridge loomed through the thick haze of the hot country; directly below the palace lay the primordial valley and the poetic lake.

Here Tacamba spent many of his days devoted to important matters of government, while at night he directed his gaze upward into celestial space where innumerable other worlds gave testimony to the immense power of the gods. Was it during such a moment as this that the coming of other men to enslave his people was revealed to him? Many evenings his subjects noted that their young monarch stood alone on the roof of his palace and sang sweet but melancholy songs to Tucupa-Ácha, the supreme ruler of the universe.

173 539 648 When the rumor concerning the arrival of the Spaniards spread throughout the land, Tacamba listened without showing the least surprise. He sent emissaries to all corners of his realm, and one month later twenty thousand of his men were encamped near Chupio on the banks of the two rivers which bathed tropical Turicato. He knew that the proud Aztec king, Montezuma, had sought aid from the Tarascans and he desired to be the first to offer troops.

When the court at Tzintzuntzan chose to remain neutral, Tacamba's surprise and despair was beyond measure. Cautioning his troops to stay there, the prince hastened to the imperial city in hopes that he could overcome the apathy of the aged emperor with reason and logic.

The reigning monarch of the vast empire of Michoacán was King Siguangua, formerly bold and valorous but now old and weak in body and mind.

Tacamba used his eloquence in vain. Fruitlessly he appealed to religious sentiment, to love of the Tarascan countryside, to the pride of the formerly invincible race; finally he spoke of the fear and superstition which now held in bondage the souls of the Purépecha nobles.

Sometime later a smallpox epidemic spread its desolation among the families of the kingdom. The first of the victims to succumb

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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to the disease was the Tarascan king, whose death added to the panic which had already seized the people. 173 539 648

Then Tzimtzicha ascended the throne once occupied by the powerful descendents of Tariácuri. At the same time the Spaniards were conquering the hitherto invincible Aztec city of Tenochtitlán. Unhappily, Tacamba watched the dissolution of that race which had always distinguished itself through its strength and courage. The race of eagles seemed like a band of timid doves quivering at the presence of a hawk.

Tacamba, however, like a faithful subject, united his destiny with that of his king. Later, when the disgraced monarch of Tzintzuntzan was a prisoner, Tacamba stayed at his side and lovingly carried the heavy chains which bound Tzimtzicha. He saw how the greed of the Conquistadores for gold drove them to torture the king, and he heard the courageous dying words of the martyred Tzimtzicha.

Tacamba could no longer contain himself. Vowing eternally to hate the invaders of his native land, he placed himself at the head of many warriors and began the short but mighty epoch of slaughter and extermination before the *encomienda* system was established in Michoacán by Hernando Cortez.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [198] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [177]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
577

[p. 15b]

312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

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[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. [438] In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.15 a *carga* [435] (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

311 boundary with Aranza and Cheranástico (pl. 1, upper left). The second most important "plain" is south and southeast of the town and extends on the east to the boundary with Nahuatzen. On the north and south the plain is bounded by hills and mountains, on the west by the slope to *el plan*. This area is usually referred to as Sharicho (šaričo). The "*plan* of Arantepacuaro" is south of the range of mountains of San Marcos, and extends to the boundary of Arantepacuaro on the south. The fourth and smallest "plain" of importance is northeast of the mountain of El Pilón.

Patches of sloping land under permanent cultivation are found scattered throughout the *municipio*. A large number of plots are found on the slope between *el plan* and the town and on the lower, gentler slopes of many mountains and cinder cones. These lands may be fenced or, more commonly, protected by deep ditches with hedges of agave on each side. Thorny crab apple or other fruit trees sometimes are also planted along ditches. Weak spots may be guarded by thorny brush and poles (pl. 4, lower left).

The so-called "joyas" are usually patches of only a few acres, often in isolated places far from town. They may be fenced or ditched to keep out animals and, like the other areas, are privately owned. Unless they are unusually fertile, "*joyas*" are cultivated only every other year.

The garden plots are within the town proper. In a few cases they may occupy an entire block, but normally they are merely part of a building lot (*solar*). Few of them are as large as half an acre. They are fenced and, unlike any other areas, they are cultivated every year.

Temporary fields are created by clearing the forest on community lands. Permission must [656] be obtained from the Federal Department of Forestry, Hunting and Fishing. Extra forest [651] taxes must be paid, but charges are nominal. Usually the areas cleared are steep and the soil is poor and badly leached. Frequently, serious erosion results from such fields. Although cultivated only in alternate years, these fields are short-lived and are abandoned after a decade or so. Only use rights exist for such fields and after abandonment they revert to the public domain.

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter [347] house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. [651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. [437] Individual sales are usually small, and the portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

Nixtamal mills.—Some seven or eight *nix-* 256 *tamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

465 Low as wages are, Rendón collected an
464 account which indicates that wages were only 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

651 In addition to paid labor or labor for one's
464 own account, men are required to perform certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also
[602] obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

464 No data were secured on the relation between labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

471 Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

253 433 434

15 *arrobas* (375 pounds)	$90
14 *arrobas* (350 pounds)	65
16 *arrobas* (400 pounds)	92
Retail price (per kilo)	.70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo)	.40–.45
Price of pigs	30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week	7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig	3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 434

Field watchers:

Wages:

In maize	1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize)	$60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 434

Water carrying:

Charge for two 25-liter cans	$0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 433 434

Beekeeping:

12 hives produced:

15 liters of honey at $0.60	$ 9.00
3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50	6.70–10.00

Wax:

1 kilo makes 10-centavo candles worth	3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10-centavo candles worth	9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles	18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 433 434

Fireworks making:

Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts seem reasonable.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1056]

632 He is in charge of the slaughterhouse; the collection of proper taxes and prevention of "black market" slaughtering are his responsibility. He supervises all questions of inheritance and the properties connected therewith, seeing that the heirs receive their due share of property. In cases of quarrels over inheritance, wounds [693] inflicted with knives or pistols, and murders, the *síndico* makes the initial investigations and prepares the papers for submission of the cases to the judge. The *síndico* receives no pay.

Secretary.—The secretary is named by the 632 mayor with the approval of the *ayuntamiento* 217 without a fixed term being set. His duties are to make all classes of documents and to maintain the municipal archives. These include the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. The secretary is paid $1.50 a day. He may augment this sum by preparing private documents for a fee. The office is fairly new; in the childhood of fairly young men there was no secretary. The present incumbent is not a native of the town.

632 *Veedor.*—The veedor is named by the *síndico* with the approval of the mayor. He is supposed to see that the water supply is functioning properly and to report any illegal acts. Apparently he receives no pay.

Treasurer.—The treasurer receives all the 632 town funds from various sources, including 651 fines above 1 peso, taxes, assessments, and funds from State and Federal sources. He is responsible for the collection of the small tax on vendors at the markets. He pays all bills of the *municipio* and must keep detailed accounts which are inspected by State officials. The office of treasurer is also new. His pay is 25 percent of the income. There is no term to his office.

Judge.—The judge and his *suplente* are 693 usually elected every 2 years but if the office is 632 satisfactorily filled, the election may not be held for 3 or 4 years. The judge hears all cases certified to him by the *síndico*. He may order brief imprisonment or fines, which are paid to the treasurer, but all serious cases are referred to the district court at Uruapan after a preliminary hearing. This is particularly true of murder cases or serious crimes. The judge reviews all cases of inheritance in which quarrels arise, and all land sales must be authorized

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to
[431] those who do serve. There is no obligation, nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

632 *Comisionados* may also be named if funds are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

796 There are many *comisionados* in connection with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro
[535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.107a]

632 represented in the fiesta. Each major tradi-
796 tional occupation is required to hire a band, and the *comisionados* must raise the money by taking up a collection or by paying out of their own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados* is named to take up another collection to hire music for the celebration of the Octava. Voluntary service is also given by the bee hunters. The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often put in many days of labor.

632 One final type of *comisionado* should be men-
651 tioned, the men named to do communal labor. Probably every eligible man has to put in 2 or 3 days a year on such work. This may be for work assigned to a *barrio,* or it may be some community-wide program such as cutting poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or nights of service a year to the community, if it be taken into account that about half the adult males are exempt for reason of age or service such as office holding, school teaching, store keeping, etc. However, the work is probably very unevenly distributed, for there is no systematic method of assignment. A person who raises many objections or who is not in proper economic condition may evade many commissions. For example, no right-minded mayor would commission a poverty-stricken man to bring out a moro. Consequently, persons who are conscientious and do not complain are apt to receive many more commissions than others.

Reserva.—The *reserva* consists of 11 men
632 armed by the Government (State or Federal?)
625 with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained by the real political boss of the town, Moisés Valencia. Although all were agreed that the 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed to have any idea of the mechanism of choice. In all probability the group was chosen in the same way Valencia was chosen political boss, through aggressiveness in defense of town interests and personal popularity. Even a town the size of Cherán does not need formal elective machinery at times in order to express popular will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections. During the disturbed period in Michoacán during the installation of President Camacho, the reserve received instructions from the military

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 district commander to arrest all strangers and
625 send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The represent-
632 ative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

632 The collection of funds for use of the forest
651 lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood
632 for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without secur-
313 ing a permit from the forestry service. (As indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to
[474] concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representante* is rea-
632 sonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

665 In relation to external politics, most Cherán
666 inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

484 Some interest is also awakened by the dis-
666 covery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

632 Just as the economy of Cherán in general is
651 partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle
[422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.111B]

632 fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. In-
651 come from this source averages $5 or $6 weekly.

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

It should be noted that real estate taxes in
[642] Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed $300 a month. At other times it may be as low as $125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about $1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher,
[123] but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

632 Expenditures against income are as follows:
652

	Per month
Two policemen at $0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20
[651] pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

175 565 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.

Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [651] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's responsibility to supply a definite number of [467] laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento*, *mita*, or *coatequil*.

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas*, and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 621 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of economic and cultural autonomy, but they never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 621 565 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading, paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish enterprise, and losing individuals to the growing free lower classes (*castas*), they

5. Sorokin, 1930, 1:560.

175 tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particu-
423 larly the case in towns near haciendas to
464 which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

175 These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting
621 of the villages into opposite parties in re-
578 lation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural
423 lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have
● [651] the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately
621 owned the agricultural technique demands
241 the cooperation of the whole community.
311 Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

"The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 32-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 33; Beals, 1946, 21, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 379; Foster, 1948, 170-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 289] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 Besides the cargueros of the hospital
794 there were other religious officers. Sodali-
575 ties other than those of the hospitales with
624 funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes*, *fiesteros*, or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 Financing the cult involved payment of
794 alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep
651 of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua*, custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 In the eighteenth century, many of the
743 hospitales had property devoted to the sup-
423 port of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the
575 village commons. One of the cargueros or
794 a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it Another special
342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth
585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a
[608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses.
591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com-
651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re-
364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
● [651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintsuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber 423 tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest 313 land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera- [474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house [439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Woodcutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[128] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[128] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and reaches, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 73-a]

443 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practically every village lively trading accompanies the
443 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
438 some instances such markets are large enough to
796 be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongarícuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
● [651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco N434
Zapotec N444

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico

A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones."

A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca.

A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion.

A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the

A 325 [412 301]

632 fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. In-
651 come from this source averages $5 or $6 weekly.

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

It should be noted that real estate taxes in
[642] Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed $300 a month. At other times it may be as low as $125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about $1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher,
[123] but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

632 Expenditures against income are as follows:
652

	Per month
Two policemen at $0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20
[651] pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 652 ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

467 665 The functioning of government in Cherán is often affected by unofficial organizations and informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanas*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise violent disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

661 579 The development of this informal organization grew out of another and earlier organization that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940–41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the
[767] graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government. Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*,
653 but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
377 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
632 tending a power line to the town and supplying
653 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true,
621 the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
491 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
632 the harvest, the community repaired part of the
621 road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

[364] only on the days preceding a town fiesta. The
653 householder is also expected to work on certain community enterprises, such as repairing roads or bridges and the water system. Likewise, unless
625 he occupies some special position which exempts him, or is well along in years, he will be expected at times to join the *ronda*, or night watch, which polices his *cuartel*, or *barrio*.

Cherán is unique in its attitude toward visitors.
351 We have already mentioned the general occurrence of fences. These are usually high enough to prevent passers-by on the street from peering into the house yard. Visitors always knock at the
574 gate or call out, announcing themselves. As some-
609 times the inmates will not respond to a knock, the call is useful in getting a response. Unless the visitor is a relative, *compadre*, or neighbor

[continued on p.32b]

RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

CHERÁN

The wooden house, or "*troje*," of Cherán is
362 relatively dry but, in the absence of any method of heating, it is uncomfortably cold most of the year, especially at night. The kitchen floor is
[354] frequently damp; although it is heated by fire, ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke often irritating to eyes and throat. On windy days, also, drafts whistle through cracks or under the lower edges of the walls. The masonry-adobe type of construction also presents drawbacks. It is not heated either and, while wind is less apt to penetrate, it is often unsatisfactorily ventilated. Moreover, the dampness climbs up through the walls at least 6 months of every year and into every corner of the room.

Probably the "*troje*," or house loft, can most
251 easily be made impervious to rodents if it be well
362 built, and if bunches of cactus be fastened at strategic points on the outside walls. Rarely, however, is this true. In addition, the roof often permits entry of birds, particularly half-wild domesticated pigeons, and scarcely ever is anything done to prevent their forays on the maize. It is doubtful if the masonry-adobe structure is superior in any respect for loft storage. For main-floor storage it probably is inferior owing to the greater dampness. [Continued bottom of page 32b]

[p. 32a]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-b]

423 311 [656] Before the promulgation of the Federal forest laws (1930's), all members of the pueblo reserved the right to cut wood and lumber in the *monte* with permission of the *representante*. Today a Federal tax must be paid (but is often evaded) by each pueblo for lumber rights. Small plots of land (*desmontes*) may be cleared and planted in any part of the forest, but the farmer must first gain permission of the *representante* and his committee. In addition to the *monte* many pueblos possess certain croplands, called *tierras de la comunidad*, which are not assigned permanently to individuals, but are worked communally, usually by landless farmers, who receive a portion of the harvest as remuneration. The remainder of the crop is often stored in the pueblo as communal property to be sold by the *representante* for the town treasury or to be used as food in time of shortage.

TARASCAN
ECONOMY

241 177 still forms the leading crop complex, but the European grains—wheat, barley, the broadbean and lentil—have become intimately associated with Tarascan agriculture. European fruits are grown with native types; Old World vegetables, mainly cabbage, have become an integral part of native food habits. But the modern Tarascan considers such crops, most of which were introduced over 400 years ago, as part of his aboriginal culture. Furthermore, although Tarascans still practice pre-Columbian shifting agriculture on steep slopes, the Old World plow has transformed indigenous cultivation on level and gently sloping lands.

Agricultural acculturation continues constantly. Tarascan *braceros* returning from the United States have brought in apple cuttings from the Yakima Valley, grapevines from California, corn from Iowa. Within the last three decades a South American *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*) has been introduced in the Sierra south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Again, alfalfa cultivatibn is slowly penetrating into many parts of the Sierra. Recently the Federal Government introduced a few steel plows in some Tarascan villages, and here and there one sees engine-powered threshing machines slowly replacing the ancient European threshing floor and flail. [654]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 15b]

312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

656 Until recently utilization of other forest 313 resources was also open to everyone. The Department of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

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[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. [438] In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a *carga* [435] (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of selling firewood to [563] Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in [illegible] near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

311 boundary with Aranza and Cheranástico (pl. 1, upper left). The second most important "plain" is south and southeast of the town and extends on the east to the boundary with Nahuatzen. On the north and south the plain is bounded by hills and mountains, on the west by the slope to *el plan*. This area is usually referred to as Sharicho (šaričo). The "*plan* of Arantepacuaro" is south of the range of mountains of San Marcos, and extends to the boundary of Arantepacuaro on the south. The fourth and smallest "plain" of importance is northeast of the mountain of El Pilón.

Patches of sloping land under permanent cultivation are found scattered throughout the *municipio*. A large number of plots are found on the slope between *el plan* and the town and on the lower, gentler slopes of many mountains and cinder cones. These lands may be fenced or, more commonly, protected by deep ditches with hedges of agave on each side. Thorny crab apple or other fruit trees sometimes are also planted along ditches. Weak spots may be guarded by thorny brush and poles (pl. 4, lower left).

The so-called "joyas" are usually patches of only a few acres, often in isolated places far from town. They may be fenced or ditched to keep out animals and, like the other areas, are privately owned. Unless they are unusually fertile, "*joyas*" are cultivated only every other year.

The garden plots are within the town proper. In a few cases they may occupy an entire block, but normally they are merely part of a building lot (*solar*). Few of them are as large as half an acre. They are fenced and, unlike any other areas, they are cultivated every year.

Temporary fields are created by clearing the forest on community lands. Permission must be obtained from the Federal Department of Forestry, Hunting and Fishing. Extra forest taxes must be paid, but charges are nominal. Usually the areas cleared are steep and the soil is poor and badly leached. Frequently, serious erosion results from such fields. Although cultivated only in alternate years, these fields are short-lived and are abandoned after a decade or so. Only use rights exist for such fields and after abandonment they revert to the public domain.

[656]
[651]

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
435 The only further evidence available on this point is an actual sale observed in which a price of $40 was paid for about one-half hectare of wheat land. This piece was already planted to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On the other hand, $400 was being asked for a hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a garden plot as well as a building site. Only in the center of town is this not true. Prices of residential land, however, vary sharply with location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center of town shallow lots may be valued at as much as $25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts the price may be as low as $10 a meter. The garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables, fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a number of persons who were said to own land in Cherán actually own only a large residential plot, but this point was not investigated.

Forest lands are owned by the community.
423 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
311 and other forest products such as shakes and charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as sources of game or wild vegetable products their value is negligible.

311 The use of forest lands formerly was open to all who paid a small fee to aid the community
656 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons using the forest only for firewood paid less than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or shakemakers. In recent years a permit from the Federal Department of Forestry has been required for any but household use, and efforts were being made to limit rights to members of a cooperative organization.

LABOR

The sex division of labor in Cherán bars
462 women from most productive pursuits. Women's activities conform closely to the ideals laid down recently by a notorious central European —children, kitchen, and church. Women perform all the household duties, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing, care for the children, make most of the clothes, carry water (but not firewood unless they have no close male relatives), and take food to their men at work.

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] The main reason for the preservation of Indian communities seems to be that this
[133] area was less desirable for the hacienda type of exploitation. The mountainous
[132] character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] The changes within the surviving Indian
[578] towns can be described from two points of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1928, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 58-60.

423 folk culture: some remaining communal
181 property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

In spite of this conservatism, however,
182 the decline of the village community goes on. The concentration of land in haciendas,
423 the main process by which the village com-
621 munities tended to disappear, has been checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The government's restrictions on the use of forests or
[656] the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

668 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking).
178 They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was
794 not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

In Jarácuaro, where there was no resi-
[793] dent priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

In some cases the new civil authorities
[656] intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. Ibid., 134 ff.
61. Ibid., 143-44, 215-19.
62. Ibid., 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 201-202.

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

WOOD

313 All wooden materials used in Cherán are pro-
656 duced from local timber. The forests stand al-
[423] most entirely on public lands considered to belong to the town. Formerly, exploitation of any sort was open to all residents who had paid a small fee to an administrative committee. The fee was used to pay federal taxes on the land. Recently, the Department of Forestry of the Federal Government has restricted exploitation of the forests for any purpose other than the collection of firewood to persons having permits. In Cherán this
[474] apparently will mean that persons wishing to cut lumber or shakes (or make charcoal) must join a local cooperative, for the Department of Forestry has refused to give permits to any other group or to individuals.

In general, the cutting of lumber is done by
313 specialists. Men who have no land or inadequate
335 land or, in some cases, men who prefer the activity, cut most of the timber and shape it into planks and beams. Shake making is even more specialized, and men who make shakes may do nothing else except look after whatever farm lands they may own. Only a very poor person would attempt to cut the planks and beams needed for a house if he were not a specialist, but anyone might cut poles and stringers used in the roof construction.

Woods used in house construction are pine and
313 fir. Pine is most used and two types are dis-
137 tinguished, red (iaɪíni), the heartwood of large trees, and white, the sapwood of large trees or wood from young trees. From these woods are made shakes, *tejamanil*, "*vigas*" (any piece over 2 inches (5 cm.) in thickness), and planks, or *tablas*.[1]

Trees are felled and trimmed with the ax. To
313 cut trees in sections, a two-handled saw is used
412 called a "*sardina*." Splitting is done with oak wedges and an oak maul. Large pieces produced in this fashion are sometimes dressed down with ax or adze. Planks, or *tablas*, are sawed with a long two-handled saw (k'eréri aɪákutarakua). Logs destined for planks are squared with the ax, marked

[1] The measure of length is the *vara*, which is divided in fourths or thirds. Each fourth contains eight English inches (20 cm.); so the *vara* equals 32 inches, or 81.28 cm. Fourths and inches are measured usually with the hand and fingers, but the span is also used.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 33-b]

423 Before the promulgation of the Federal forest laws
311 (1930's), all members of the pueblo reserved the
[656] right to cut wood and lumber in the *monte* with permission of the *representante*. Today a Federal tax must be paid (but is often evaded) by each pueblo for lumber rights. Small plots of land (*desmontes*) may be cleared and planted in any part of the forest, but the farmer must first gain permission of the *representante* and his committee. In addition to the *monte* many pueblos possess certain croplands, called *tierras de la comunidad*, which are not assigned permanently to individuals, but are worked communally, usually by landless farmers, who receive a portion of the harvest as remuneration. The remainder of the crop is often stored in the pueblo as communal property to be sold by the *representante* for the town treasury or to be used as food in time of shortage.

TARASCAN
ECONOMY

241 still forms the leading crop complex, but the
177 European grains—wheat, barley, the broadbean and lentil—have become intimately associated with Tarascan agriculture. European fruits are grown with native types; Old World vegetables, mainly cabbage, have become an integral part of native food habits. But the modern Tarascan considers such crops, most of which were introduced over 400 years ago, as part of his aboriginal culture. Furthermore, although Tarascans still practice pre-Columbian shifting agriculture on steep slopes, the Old World plow has transformed indigenous cultivation on level and gently sloping lands.

Agricultural acculturation continues constantly. Tarascan *braceros* returning from the United States have brought in apple cuttings from the Yakima Valley, grapevines from California, corn from Iowa. Within the last three decades a South American *Oxalis* (*papa de Castilla*) has been introduced in the Sierra south and west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Again, alfalfa cultivation is slowly penetrating into many parts of the Sierra. Recent-
[654] ly the Federal Government introduced a few steel plows in some Tarascan villages, and here and there one sees engine-powered threshing machines slowly replacing the ancient European threshing floor and flail.

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal
423 cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest
313 land held as common property. Since the late
[656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities.
[651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber coopera-
[474] tives have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house
[439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre-
[493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to
[492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Woodcutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules.
[497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[138] Turpentine
314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[138] Although in some pueblos (Pamatácuaro and *ranchos*, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the cacicazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of [101] some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred, [105] bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-[423] clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalizations 128 that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

594 The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete political functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in 66 over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and 612 these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.

423 A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or
66

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic, plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are
66 numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Durazno political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
66 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944). 608 66

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo. [631]

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect. 572 66

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits. 622 572

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno. 571 66

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kinship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.
66

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have
[621] been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political
563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

coveted because of the higher financial rewards. The nominal pay in both cases is supplemented by bribes and "cuts" from taxes, and by the ego satisfactions of exercising power. Elections take place by public vote every one and three years, respectively, following the informal composition of ballots and considerable discussion at open meetings. High public attendance at these meetings is due both to genuine interest and to fear of persecution if the cacical group should suspect boycotting. Although the duties are formally allotted to specific officers, such as a judge, the officers of both governmental arms actually operate as a group, rather flexibly playing the several roles. In 1956, for example, the civil secretary also functioned at times as judge and mayor. 632 [66] [66]

Both the formal arms of government are controlled by the informal cacicazgo. Today, the preplanned ballot is always finally accepted at the public meetings. Under conditions of centralized autocracy, at least one officer in both the civil and ejidal arms is an inner core leader, and when political troubles are anticipated two offices in each branch may be filled by such nuclear individuals. In the heated election year of 1956, for example, the civil secretary, the ejidal president, and the president of the ejidal watch were nephews of the cacique; the cacique himself was ejidal treasurer, and an old "fighter" and friend of the cacique was judge. 66

Cacical systems, however, swing between the two extremes of autocratic centralization and contentious fission. When the historical process of contentious fission between the energetic "ex-have-nots" of agrarian politics reaches its extreme, both factions may offer ballots for both branches of government. They will be hotly contended in a variety of ways. The result may be that both factions are represented, as in 1927, or that one faction controls the ejido and another the civil government, as in 1945. Such formal reflexes of a breakdown of informal hegemony are invariably accompanied by a so-called "bad time," with attempts on the lives of the caciques of both factions. Cacical patterns thus rend communities and at other times provide a highly political integration, both in the name of a social and material progress that may actually take shape in the form of schools and public works. The extremes of contentious fission and autocratic centralization do not seem to be correlated with the degree of formal collectivization of the ejido, although such institutional collectivization does make it easier to exercise dictatorial powers and to extract larger financial cuts. On the other hand, the importance of centralized control for continued drainage of the ejido legitimizes the term "hydraulic caciques" (Wittfogel, 1957).

Both formal governments of Durazno are independently related upward to higher, formal structures. Durazno leaders have occupied numerous formal positions at higher levels owing to the salient informal role of the tiny pueblo in the intrigue, violence, and heartfelt radicalism of Michoacan politics. Politics and the cultivation of political leaders have in fact become a sort of communal specialty in Durazno. Durazno caciques founded and held numerous offices in the state-wide peasant League of Agrarian Communities; they have been municipal presidents three times, state congressmen three times, and, once, substitute to a national congressman. They have always formally controlled the important "Regional Committee," the regional organ of the National Peasant Confederation. While highly atypical with respect to this prominence, Durazno does exemplify the role that tough, sophisticated, and land-controlling Indian caciques can play in regional and state politics. As the people say, "Some towns specialize in hat-making, others in pottery. Durazno specializes in politics." 651

Primarily four political methods have been used by the caciques and their followers for the past forty years. The first, verbal persuasion, takes place in small informal groups and at the frequent political meetings; by comparison with other villages Durazno is a beehive of political discussions. Verbal persuasion figured especially during the 208 66

208 stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touch-
66 ing the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but
661 with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Durazno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Durazno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

667 The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

579 The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil
664 war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Durazno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Durazno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

171 Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

114 1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

494 left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into 556 Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do 494 men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves. Although trucks are not supposed to carry [661] passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns 443 in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos. [511] It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

632 ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the
652 general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The functioning of government in Cherán is
467 often affected by unofficial organizations and
665 informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanas*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise violent disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

661 The development of this informal organiza-
579 tion grew out of another and earlier organization that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940–41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

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661 confidential talks, and even then it is doubtful
579 whether all the details were abstracted from unwilling witnesses. The story as learned does not seem to call for all the secrecy involved, and this gives weight to the suspicion that the truth of the underlying factors was not secured and that these factors are more operative today than anyone would admit.

At the height of the agrarian movement in Michoacán, the control of the *municipio* was secured by a group of some 30 men calling themselves "agrarians (*agraristas*)." Everyone seemed agreed that there was no genuine agrarian problem in Cherán and that the members of the group had no desire for land but only for power. Perpetuating themselves in office, members of this group at first were tolerated but gradually became more and more overbearing in their attitude. When people finally began to show signs of discontent, the "agrarians" asked the State authorities for aid on the grounds that the people were rebellious. As a result, a detachment of soldiers was stationed in Cherán under the command of a lieutenant to enforce order and the authority of the municipal officials. The young lieutenant apparently soon saw that his troops were perpetuating an illegal and unpopular group in power and tried to get his superiors to make a real investigation, but with no success. The tyranny of the ruling group now became unbearable.

The climax came when a drunken member of the group began firing his revolver on the main streets and threatening people. One of the soldiers endeavored to arrest the man and was shot and killed. The lieutenant now succeeded in having the situation thoroughly investigated, and as a result the detachment of soldiers was withdrawn. The following day occurred the *zafarrancho*. Some 10 to 12 of the "agrarians" were killed and the rest fled the town. In 1940, they were still living in exile in nearby towns.

664 For a time following this, Cherán was
665 governed by a *presidente militar*, an appointed
467 army officer. Technically, this was true in 1940, but the commander rarely even visited the town and all troops had been removed some time before. The present "progressive" government has effectively been in power since the affair. This is also the group which has

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582 aged 20. The instance is regarded as exceptional and as undesirable. As a rule, the boy
587 discusses his choice with his parents or with one of his uncles. Although no specific data
584 could be secured on the subject, from the facts
604 that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
583 does the marriage not follow. Her parents, however much opposed they may be, must
522 always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authori-
583 ties should force a youth to marry a girl after he has stolen her. If they do not, the authori-
[061] ties are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p. m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

423 The individual ejido is a turn back to small exploitation. No technological improvements have been made, no credit is received from the Ejido Bank, and in some cases corn for subsistence is now grown instead of a former commercial crop. Collective ejidos, on the contrary, are financed by the Ejido Bank and are under its ultimate control. This is a good example of the state intervention in production which characterizes the present development of world economy. [453]

* * *

175 As stated when discussing the decline of the Indian village community in Michoacan, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, a number of haciendas were near the Tarascan region. Some villages had lost most of their lands and included great numbers of landless people. However, this is not typical of Tarascan villages. Most of them were and are villages of farmer-owners and craftsmen. Although most Tarascans had not lost lands to haciendas, private ownership of land prevailed and there was within the village noticeable inequality in wealth. Relatively large, medium and small landowners, sharecroppers, and landless laborers were to be found. In some towns outsiders owned a considerable amount of land. Consequently, the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution, *i. e.*, the fight to get land from the haciendas, have been mainly external to most Tarascan villages, and the agrarian conflict caused by inequality within the village assumed here a peculiar form.
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No good information is available as to the extent to which Tarascans participated in the armed conflicts, although some fought with agrarian revolutionists (Zapatistas and Villistas). The land tenure situation is reflected in the extent to which agrarian reforms have been carried out. Villages near haciendas have received ejidos, but the other villages have not, although agrarian conflicts also arose. [669]

All the existing ejidos are of the individual type. In only one case (Tarajero) was collective exploitation attempted for some time. The people of Tarajero petitioned for land in 1915, and finally received it in 1924. It was good fertile land in a drained swamp, and, while part of former haciendas, the land had been used for commercial production. The agraristas decided to exploit it collectively. It seems, however, that the directing committee began to appropriate most of the profits derived from the exploitation, reducing the rest of the [661]

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[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada,
669 Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of
175 farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not
423 been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

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67. Ibid., 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 288-89.
69. Ibid., 283-4.
70. Ibid., 283.
71. Ibid., 281; Sáenz, 1936, 23.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 131.

175 In La Cañada the local revolt took place in 1918, led by people from Tanaquillo. The
423 lands which had fallen into the hands of mestizos from Chilchota, Purépero and
669 Tangancícuaro were recovered and distributed among the revolutionists. Only in 1932 was this reform legalized by the State government.[73] In other cases, medium farmers were the rule, and there is not a very great difference in property holdings. Nevertheless, agrarista groups were also organized. Most Sierra towns had groups of this sort.[74] Cherán and Jarácuaro, the two villages for which we have most information, belong to this type.

In these small towns, which legally had no ejidos, the agrarians took lands illegally either from richer villagers or from the communal lands. In all these villages where the majority of the people was not benefited, there was really a privileged group formed. The agraristas made themselves the only beneficiaries of the lands seized, or distributed them without satisfying the needs of other equally needy villagers who had not taken part in their movement.[75] When seizing lands to distribute among
[661] themselves, they sometimes took land belonging to other villagers merely because they had been political enemies.[76] They also seized formerly communal lands for their exclusive use. Hence villagers not belonging to the agrarista group were obliged to pay a fee to the agrarian committee *(Comisario ejidal)* in order to have access to the lands.[77]

423 In Jarácuaro, for instance, the rush grounds were formerly owned by the vil-
660 lagers, who used the proceeds from selling the rushes for buying candlewax for the temple; afterwards the agraristas exploited the grounds for their personal use. A similar case occurred during our stay on the island. A lowering of the lake's water level had left dry some flat land of considerable agricultural value. The agrarista group was trying to get the land from the federal government for distribution among its members, while the rest of the village wanted to distribute it among all the villagers (excepting the eight agraristas). At the time of our leaving (1945), the authorities were persuading the villagers to distribute the land among all people of both groups.

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73. Sáenz, 1936, 23-4; 96, 222-6; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 201-2.
74. All but two, according to Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 280.
75. Sáenz, 1936, 256; also Tarejero, Simpson, 1937, 471-2.
76. Cañada, see Sáenz, 1936, 256; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 281, 201-2.
77. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279, 281.

423 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio.
661 Here an agrarista group was formed and was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that
[798] led many peasants to lose their lands brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, in a small farmer-owner environ-
423 ment a new privileged minority was
668 formed, which seized the lands of political enemies or of the community, assumed
578 control of ~~the~~ town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values re-
175 lated to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

668 *Sinarquismo* is a political movement strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajio region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 175.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 36-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289, 292.

571/ largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
66 ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have
[621] been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using
563 mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

coveted because of the higher financial rewards. The nominal pay in both cases is supplemented by bribes and "cuts" from taxes, and by the ego satisfactions of exercising power. Elections take place by public vote every one and three years, respectively, following the informal composition of ballots and considerable discussion at open meetings. High public attendance at these meetings is due both to genuine interest and to fear of persecution if the cacical group should suspect boycotting. Although the duties are formally allotted to specific officers, such as a judge, the officers of both governmental arms actually operate as a group, rather flexibly playing the several roles. In 1956, for example, the civil secretary also functioned at times as judge and mayor. 632 [661] [666]

Both the formal arms of government are controlled by the informal cacicazgo. Today, the preplanned ballot is always finally accepted at the public meetings. Under conditions of centralized autocracy, at least one officer in both the civil and ejidal arms is an inner core leader, and when political troubles are anticipated two offices in each branch may be filled by such nuclear individuals. In the heated election year of 1956, for example, the civil secretary, the ejidal president, and the president of the ejidal watch were nephews of the cacique; the cacique himself was ejidal treasurer, and an old "fighter" and friend of the cacique was judge. 66

Cacical systems, however, swing between the two extremes of autocratic centralization and contentious fission. When the historical process of contentious fission between the energetic "ex-have-nots" of agrarian politics reaches its extreme, both factions may offer ballots for both branches of government. They will be hotly contended in a variety of ways. The result may be that both factions are represented, as in 1927, or that one faction controls the ejido and another the civil government, as in 1945. Such formal reflexes of a breakdown of informal hegemony are invariably accompanied by a so-called "bad time," with attempts on the lives of the caciques of both factions. Cacical patterns thus rend communities and at other times provide a highly political integration, both in the name of a social and material progress that may actually take shape in the form of schools and public works. The extremes of contentious fission and autocratic centralization do not seem to be correlated with the degree of formal collectivization of the ejido, although such institutional collectivization does make it easier to exercise dictatorial powers and to extract larger financial cuts. On the other hand, the importance of centralized control for continued drainage of the ejido legitimizes the term "hydraulic caciques" (Wittfogel, 1957).

Both formal governments of Durazno are independently related upward to higher, formal structures. Durazno leaders have occupied numerous formal positions at higher levels owing to the salient informal role of the tiny pueblo in the intrigue, violence, and heartfelt radicalism of Michoacan politics. Politics and the cultivation of political leaders have in fact become a sort of communal specialty in Durazno. Durazno caciques founded and held numerous offices in the state-wide peasant League of Agrarian Communities; they have been municipal presidents three times, state congressmen three times, and, once, substitute to a national congressman. They have always formally controlled the important "Regional Committee," the regional organ of the National Peasant Confederation. While highly atypical with respect to this prominence, Durazno does exemplify the role that tough, sophisticated, and land-controlling Indian caciques can play in regional and state politics. As the people say, "Some towns specialize in hat-making, others in pottery. Durazno specializes in politics." 631

Primarily four political methods have been used by the caciques and their followers for the past forty years. The first, verbal persuasion, takes place in small informal groups and at the frequent political meetings; by comparison with other villages Durazno is a beehive of political discussions. Verbal persuasion figured especially during the 208 66

208 stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touching the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

66 The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Durazno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Durazno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

667 The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

579 The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil
664 war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Durazno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Durazno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

171 Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

114 1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

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632 procedures I could not discover. One of the members of the *ayuntamiento* automatically serves as mayor, the office rotating from one *barrio* to another each year.

In addition to the *ayuntamiento*, there are a secretary and a treasurer, both chosen by the *ayuntamiento;* a *síndico*, who is one of the members of the *ayuntamiento;* an elected judge and *suplente* and a secretary of the court.

[624] Certain other duties are performed by *comisionados*, that is, persons commissioned by the *ayuntamiento* or by the mayor. These include the 4 *barrio* chiefs and the 45 block chiefs. *Comisionados* may also be named for special duties in connection with fiestas or public works.

In addition to the above officials, there are other groups with special duties. The representative of the people, *representante del pueblo*, and two assistants are named by the town. The representative is confirmed in office by the Governor of the State and stays in office until deposed. His main duties are looking after the public lands. Finally, there is the *reserva*, headed by the *jefe de defensa*. The [625] *reserva* is a group of armed men, 11 in number, authorized by the State military authorities, [662] and, at the time of the study, headed by the real political boss of the town.

The nature of these offices will now be described in more detail.

Ayuntamiento.—Five *proprietarios* and five *suplentes* make up the group, serving 2 years. Those from odd-numbered *barrios* are elected one year, those from even-numbered *barrios* the next year. Cheranástico was classed as an odd-numbered *barrio;* what is done now is not clear. One of the members of the group serves as mayor, the other as *síndico*. The remaining members participate in policy decisions and in the naming of certain officials. Otherwise they have few duties. The *suplentes* apparently sometimes participate in discussion, but they have no real function except in case of the death or absence of their *proprietario*. Members of the *ayuntamiento* receive no pay. Normally they meet once a week to discuss municipal affairs.

Mayor or Presidente Municipal.—In years the odd-numbered *barrios* elect, if the mayor is to come from *barrio* I, the *síndico* comes from

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

377 This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
632 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
653 tending a power line to the town and supplying
621 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

491 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

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632 officials could have had no basis for selection.
666 Actually, the *suplente* in *barrio* II was one of
662 the reactionary members of the community, leader of the ačes. He was chosen solely to stop his constant criticism of the administration.

The election was held on December 1, 1940. In theory, the first Sunday of December is the usual day. A commission, named by the mayor 15 days before, conducted the elections. Two ballot boxes were placed at opposite ends of the *corredor* in front of the *municipio*, one for each *barrio*. Only 45 votes were cast in *barrio* II and only 25 in *barrio* IV. The result of the election was to select the official PRM ticket in *barrio* II and the "opposition" ticket in *barrio* IV.

The procedure resulted in the mayor for the succeeding year, the successful candidate for *barrio* II, being elected by the majority of the 45 votes cast in that *barrio*. The mayor-elect promptly got very drunk and paraded from saloon to saloon for 2 or 3 days, shouting, "*Yo y Avila Camacho*—I and Avila Camacho." (Camacho was about to be installed as President of the Republic.) Murmurs of protest about the new mayor began to be heard on every side, becoming louder and louder. By the end of the month rumors of violence at the installation of the new *ayuntamiento* on January 1 were heard on every side. Loudest to complain were those who had attended neither the nominating *junta* nor the elections.

On January 1 very few people attended the installation of the new officers. The new officials went at the head, the new mayor in the middle, on his right the new *síndico*, and on his left the judge. The mayor carried a *bandera*, a round disk with the national colors in three vertical stripes, while his two companions carried ribbons hanging down from the *bandera*. Behind the new officials came the *reserva*, then a relatively small group of males. At the rear came the band. The procession made a circuit about the plaza and streets of the central part of town. *Cohetes* were fired off as the procession started and at each corner where it changed direction.

On the return to the *municipio*, the new mayor made a speech, received with a scattering of handclaps. The *jefe político*, Moisés Valencia, made another speech, urging cooperation

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[p.110a]

632 with the new officials and the betterment of the
666 town. He stressed especially fixing up the
662 plaza and planting trees. His remarks drew more handclaps than did those of the mayor. This concluded a remarkably tame and peaceful affair.

On the surface, all the rumors had come to nothing and an uninformed visitor might have thought the talk had been nothing else. But the mayor who was inducted at this ceremony was not the elected mayor. In fact, he had not even been a candidate. The same was true of the *suplente* for the *síndico*. Obviously, explanation is called for.

Actually, the matter was simple. The talk and complaints had resulted in action. Apparently no one, on sober thought, wanted the elected mayor. So the *ayuntamiento* picked out someone they thought would be satisfactory and installed him as mayor. The choice seemed actually an excellent one. The new mayor was one of the best-educated men in town, a sober, honest, and conscientious man, fairly prosperous but not rich. None of the investigators found any objection or any tendency to question the action. According to the retiring mayor, one man, an *Almazanista* (that is, a follower of Almazán, the defeated presidential candidate) with little following had raised some objections. But the retiring mayor pointed out that the objector had never bothered to come to the nominating *junta* or to vote, although the mayor had personally invited him to do so and had asked him to make a house-to-house visit to all his followers, urging their attendance. Legality was to be maintained, however, and the State authorities received proper election returns certifying the election of the men installed.

Did this represent corruption and the breakdown of democratic methods as would be the interpretation of legalistic minds deeply steeped in the proprieties of parliamentary procedure? None of the staff of the investigation in Cherán felt it was. The persons finally inducted into office were capable men. They seemed highly acceptable to the bulk of the population, whereas the duly elected candidates were not. Rather, it seems that a truly democratic result had been obtained for a people who are unfamiliar with and distrustful of parliamentary procedures.

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7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monografía histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1126]

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At the height of the agrarian movement in Michoacán, the control of the *municipio* was secured by a group of some 30 men calling themselves "agrarians (*agraristas*)." Everyone seemed agreed that there was no genuine agrarian problem in Cherán and that the members of the group had no desire for land but only for power. Perpetuating themselves in office, members of this group at first were tolerated but gradually became more and more overbearing in their attitude. When people finally began to show signs of discontent, the "agrarians" asked the State authorities for aid on the grounds that the people were rebellious. As a result, a detachment of soldiers was stationed in Cherán under the command of a lieutenant to enforce order and the authority of the municipal officials. The young lieutenant apparently soon saw that his troops were perpetuating an illegal and unpopular group in power and tried to get his superiors to make a real investigation, but with no success. The tyranny of the ruling group now became unbearable.

The climax came when a drunken member of the group began firing his revolver on the main streets and threatening people. One of the soldiers endeavored to arrest the man and was shot and killed. The lieutenant now succeeded in having the situation thoroughly investigated, and as a result the detachment of soldiers was withdrawn. The following day occurred the *zafarrancho*. Some 10 to 12 of the "agrarians" were killed and the rest fled the town. In 1940, they were still living in exile in nearby towns.

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208 stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touch-
66 ing the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but
661 with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Duranzo, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Duranzo politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

667 The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

579 The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil
664 war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Duranzo and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Duranzo has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

171 Much of what we have said here would apply to other [illegible] of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

114 1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

291 The most prominent and significant change
177 in men's dress in Cherán is not the entry of the *catrin* garments of storekeeper and professional man of the towns, but of the blue denim jeans or overalls of the mechanic and factory worker, the garment of the proletariat. As the con-
[665] trolling group in town is allied to the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanas, the town officials, including mayor and secretary, often wear over-
[292] alls, reserving their *catrin* clothes for visits to Uruapan or Morelia or for important civic events.

291 The working dress of Cherán males, and the exclusive dress of many, is trousers (*calzones*), shirt or blouse of unbleached muslin (*manta*), straw hat, and sandals (*guaraches*). A blanket or poncho (*serape*) is worn or carried as protection against cold or rain (pls. 3; 4, lower right).

The *calzones* or trousers are tight-fitting in the legs but cut full at the waist with a baggy seat. There are no buttons on the fly; instead of a fastening, the two ample sides of the fly are lapped over each other, and a sash, about 6 inches in width, is wrapped about the waist to hold the trousers. The lower part of the trouser leg has a piece of cloth tape attached which is used to tie the bottom of the *calzones* tightly around the ankle. The shirt, or more properly, blouse, likewise has no buttons. It usually has no tails, or very abbreviated ones, and is usually worn outside the *calzones*. It is open part way down the front and has a roll collar, but neither opening nor collar ordinarily is fastened. Buttons are never used, except in attempts to copy city garments, but strings may be provided. Such fitting as is attempted is badly done. A coat of *manta* may also be worn on special occasions; it differs from the blouse primarily in being open down the front and in being of heavier material. It may also be stitched in bright-colored thread.

Both shirt and coat may be modified by at-
[177] tempt to copy urban models and sometimes are purchased ready-made.

Sandals or *guaraches* have a heavy pointed double thick leather sole and leather heel. Part of the top is of leather pieces nailed to the sole, but the major portion is made of woven leather strips passing through slits in the upper sole

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665 666 In relation to external politics, most Cherán inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

484 666 Some interest is also awakened by the discovery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

632 651 Just as the economy of Cherán in general is partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle [422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU54
[p. 112a]

632 ment, one to the State treasurer, and one to the
652 general accounting office of the State. The first two deal with income payable to Federal or State government, while the third deals with all the municipal accounts.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The functioning of government in Cherán is
467 often affected by unofficial organizations and
665 informal groups. At the time of the study, the most influential of such groups was one affiliated with the CTM (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanas*). Probably this same group also functioned as a local branch of the official government party, the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*).

The actual functioning and organization of these groups was quite informal. Considerable difference of opinion existed in the town as to the desirability of such organizations, many holding that they are disruptive in character. Others, the so-called progressives, felt that such organization is necessary if the town is to receive its fair share of Government aid. Between these conflicting viewpoints could arise violent disagreement. With great reasonableness, however, the "progressives" organized only informally. Those who felt the town should be organized in the fashion mentioned, named officers and got themselves recognized by the State branch of the CTM. When documents arrive which need action or signature, the members of the group talk them over informally in house-to-house visits and send the necessary replies. There are no meetings or overt evidence of the organization. From the standpoint of union and party officials in the State capital, the town is organized; from the standpoint of the majority of the inhabitants of Cherán, it is not.

The development of this informal organiza-
661 tion grew out of another and earlier organiza-
579 tion that had gotten the town a bad name. In 1940–41, within a short time any investigator soon heard of the *zafarrancho*, the disorder or riot. Evidently a landmark, many events were dated by reference to this affair. To learn about it, however, was not easy. Many people refused to talk about it at all; others suggested that it was unwise to talk about it. Only after many months was the story finally secured in

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665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him
159 as the leader of a bloody riot.

As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

An entirely different type of organization is
474 the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed
[578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still
474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás-
159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically
[195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

The organization of the cooperative would
474 give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest
313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
377 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
632 tending a power line to the town and supplying
653 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true,
621 the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

491 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

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[p.1096]

632 officials could have had no basis for selection. Actually, the *suplente* in *barrio* II was one of
666 the reactionary members of the community,
662 leader of the ačes. He was chosen solely to stop his constant criticism of the administration.

The election was held on December 1, 1940. In theory, the first Sunday of December is the usual day. A commission, named by the mayor 15 days before, conducted the elections. Two ballot boxes were placed at opposite ends of the *corredor* in front of the *municipio*, one for each *barrio*. Only 45 votes were cast in *barrio* II and only 25 in *barrio* IV. The result of the election was to select the official PRM ticket in *barrio* II and the "opposition" ticket in *barrio* IV.

The procedure resulted in the mayor for the succeeding year, the successful candidate for *barrio* II, being elected by the majority of the 45 votes cast in that *barrio*. The mayor-elect promptly got very drunk and paraded from saloon to saloon for 2 or 3 days, shouting, "*Yo y Avila Camacho*—I and Avila Camacho." (Camacho was about to be installed as President of the Republic.) Murmurs of protest about the new mayor began to be heard on every side, becoming louder and louder. By the end of the month rumors of violence at the installation of the new *ayuntamiento* on January 1 were heard on every side. Loudest to complain were those who had attended neither the nominating *junta* nor the elections.

On January 1 very few people attended the installation of the new officers. The new officials went at the head, the new mayor in the middle, on his right the new *síndico*, and on his left the judge. The mayor carried a *bandera*, a round disk with the national colors in three vertical stripes, while his two companions carried ribbons hanging down from the *bandera*. Behind the new officials came the *reserva*, then a relatively small group of males. At the rear came the band. The procession made a circuit about the plaza and streets of the central part of town. *Cohetes* were fired off as the procession started and at each corner where it changed direction.

On the return to the *municipio*, the new mayor made a speech, received with a scattering of handclaps. The *jefe político*, Moisés Valencia, made another speech, urging cooperation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 110a]

632 with the new officials and the betterment of the town. He stressed especially fixing up the
● 666 plaza and planting trees. His remarks drew
662 more handclaps than did those of the mayor. This concluded a remarkably tame and peaceful affair.

On the surface, all the rumors had come to nothing and an uninformed visitor might have thought the talk had been nothing else. But the mayor who was inducted at this ceremony was not the elected mayor. In fact, he had not even been a candidate. The same was true of the *suplente* for the *síndico*. Obviously, explanation is called for.

Actually, the matter was simple. The talk and complaints had resulted in action. Apparently no one, on sober thought, wanted the elected mayor. So the *ayuntamiento* picked out someone they thought would be satisfactory and installed him as mayor. The choice seemed actually an excellent one. The new mayor was one of the best-educated men in town, a sober, honest, and conscientious man, fairly prosperous but not rich. None of the investigators found any objection or any tendency to question the action. According to the retiring mayor, one man, an *Almazanista* (that is, a follower of Almazán, the defeated presidential candidate) with little following had raised some objections. But the retiring mayor pointed out that the objector had never bothered to come to the nominating *junta* or to vote, although the mayor had personally invited him to do so and had asked him to make a house-to-house visit to all his followers, urging their attendance. Legality was to be maintained, however, and the State authorities received proper election returns certifying the election of the men installed.

Did this represent corruption and the breakdown of democratic methods as would be the interpretation of legalistic minds deeply steeped in the proprieties of parliamentary procedure? None of the staff of the investigation in Cherán felt it was. The persons finally inducted into office were capable men. They seemed highly acceptable to the bulk of the population, whereas the duly elected candidates were not. Rather, it seems that a truly democratic result had been obtained for a people who are unfamiliar with and distrustful of parliamentary procedures.

632 Persons who are shocked at the procedures
662 at Cherán should seriously contemplate the
666 difficulties in carrying out a formal election
212 with written ballots with a population which is very largely illiterate. In this case economic limitations and lack of imagination prevented carrying out the system used in national elections where the candidates each select a color and separate ballots are printed in the different colors. The voter then asks for his ballot by color and drops it into the ballot box. Not secret, and lending itself to ballot box stuffing, the method is at least an attempt to deal with the problem of an illiterate electorate. In a town such as Cherán the method followed in the election described seems equally efficacious—as long as the officials are responsive to public opinion.

632 That unconventionalities are frequent in elec-
665 tions is further illustrated by the presidential
666 elections earlier in the same year. Many months before the election a group of Almazán followers organized and began an active campaign in the town. The followers of Camacho (the PRM group) remained inactive. At the end of 2 or 3 months a PRM delegation waited on the Almazán followers and pointed out that there had been no interference with their campaign but that nevertheless the bulk of the town favored Camacho. The facts were apparently indisputable, and when the PRM group stressed the fact that further campaigning could only result in creating divisions and dissensions in the town, the Almazán group ceased its campaign. At the election, Cherán cast a unanimous ballot for Camacho.

185 Two things of interest emerge from this
666 account. The first is the power of the argument against disunity in the community. Particularly in the Indian community, unity is prized almost above all else. Sophisticated in some ways as Cherán is, this argument is still one of the most potent that can be made. The second point of interest is the bearing this sequence of events has on interpretation of the national election returns in Mexico. What happened in Cherán probably happened in hundreds of other towns in Mexico and helps partly to explain the one-sided results usually reported in Mexican elections.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.111a]

665 In relation to external politics, most Cherán
666 inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

Some interest is also awakened by the dis-
484 covery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to
666 ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

632 Just as the economy of Cherán in general is
651 partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle
[422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

coveted because of the higher financial rewards. The nominal pay in both cases is supplemented by bribes and "cuts" from taxes, and by the ego satisfactions of exercising power. Elections take place by public vote every one and three years, respectively, following the informal composition of ballots and considerable discussion at open meetings. High public attendance at these meetings is due both to genuine interest and to fear of persecution if the cacical group should suspect boycotting. Although the duties are formally allotted to specific officers, such as a judge, the officers of both governmental arms actually operate as a group, rather flexibly playing the several roles. In 1956, for example, the civil secretary also functioned at times as judge and mayor.

Both the formal arms of government are controlled by the informal cacicazgo. Today, the preplanned ballot is always finally accepted at the public meetings. Under conditions of centralized autocracy, at least one officer in both the civil and ejidal arms is an inner core leader, and when political troubles are anticipated two offices in each branch may be filled by such nuclear individuals. In the heated election year of 1956, for example, the civil secretary, the ejidal president, and the president of the ejidal watch were nephews of the cacique; the cacique himself was ejidal treasurer, and an old "fighter" and friend of the cacique was judge.

Cacical systems, however, swing between the two extremes of autocratic centralization and contentious fission. When the historical process of contentious fission between the energetic "ex-have-nots" of agrarian politics reaches its extreme, both factions may offer ballots for both branches of government. They will be hotly contended in a variety of ways. The result may be that both factions are represented, as in 1927, or that one faction controls the ejido and another the civil government, as in 1945. Such formal reflexes of a breakdown of informal hegemony are invariably accompanied by a so-called "bad time," with attempts on the lives of the caciques of both factions. Cacical patterns thus rend communities and at other times provide a highly political integration, both in the name of a social and material progress that may actually take shape in the form of schools and public works. The extremes of contentious fission and autocratic centralization do not seem to be correlated with the degree of formal collectivization of the ejido, although such institutional collectivization does make it easier to exercise dictatorial powers and to extract larger financial cuts. On the other hand, the importance of centralized control for continued drainage of the ejido legitimizes the term "hydraulic caciques" (Wittfogel, 1957).

Both formal governments of Durazno are independently related upward to higher, formal structures. Durazno leaders have occupied numerous formal positions at higher levels owing to the salient informal role of the tiny pueblo in the intrigue, violence, and heartfelt radicalism of Michoacan politics. Politics and the cultivation of political leaders have in fact become a sort of communal specialty in Durazno. Durazno caciques founded and held numerous offices in the state-wide peasant League of Agrarian Communities; they have been municipal presidents three times, state congressmen three times, and, once, substitute to a national congressman. They have always formally controlled the important "Regional Committee," the regional organ of the National Peasant Confederation. While highly atypical with respect to this prominence, Durazno does exemplify the role that tough, sophisticated, and land-controlling Indian caciques can play in regional and state politics. As the people say, "Some towns specialize in hat-making, others in pottery. Durazno specializes in politics."

Primarily four political methods have been used by the caciques and their followers for the past forty years. The first, verbal persuasion, takes place in small informal groups and at the frequent political meetings; by comparison with other villages Durazno is a beehive of political discussions. Verbal persuasion figured especially during the

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
66 ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty
667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have
[621] been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against
578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using
563 mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community
661 organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

208 stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touch-
66 ing the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but
661 with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Durazno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Durazno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

667 The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horizontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

579 The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil
664 war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Durazno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Durazno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

171 Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

114 1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

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474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

Two things were said to be holding up the
474 completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the
578 Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

575 794 668 578 sciously fostered by some elements in the Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32] Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 [186] The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

578 626 A great variety of minor conflicts constantly reach the office of the mayor. Many of these never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

695 685 Another case illustrates the handling of minor offenses. A woman was brought before the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[P. 6 contains no text]

1
INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of
[161] Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it.
621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets
[101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences be-
178 tween the Tarascans and the nearby rural mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

● 668 National issues which have agitated Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or
[60] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2. West, 1948, 1.

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I
INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan 123 town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

The problem, then, of integrating the 182 phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

The concept of folk culture as something 121 different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

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178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

The Decline of the Village Community

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

668 With Mexican independence began the application of political and economic poli-
177 cies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

175 Three centuries after the Spanish con-
794 quest, the Church had become the largest landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the domi-
668 nant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 This fight turned out to be an attack on
423 inalienable landed property in general, in-
668 cluding the Indian communal lands. The purpose was to free those lands thus removed from commerce and throw them to the free play of the market, creating a class
[565] of small farmer-owners with a well developed idea of property which would make for social and economic progress.

175 The abolition of landownership by civil
668 and ecclesiastical corporations was first written into law in 1856 and incorporated
423 into the 1857 constitution during the period of Mexican history known as the *Reforma*.[21] The enforcement of these measures, in so far as they concerned the lands of Indian towns, was usually delayed until the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

175 The Indians' communal lands were al-
423 lotted as private property among the villagers. Once the property title was in individual hands, with the possibility of be-
648 ing sold to anybody, outsiders found the way open to acquire land which, through communal land title, had formerly been reserved for the villagers. The greater economic power of the non-Indians, and frequently unfair practices, allowed them to acquire a great amount of land from Indian villages. The concentration of land in haciendas and the impoverishment of the villages were thus facilitated. This process was accelerated during the Porfirio Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the general economic progress of that period.
[471] The inflow of capital, building of railroads, development of mining and other industries, also led to a rise of land values and an increase of capital seeking to invest in land.[23]

* * *

175 In summary, after the reforms of the end of the nineteenth century, the haciendas
423 grew enormously at the expense of the formerly communal land of the village
668 communities or of land allotted to individual Indians who were not able to keep pos-
648 session. On the other hand, the remaining village communities changed from units of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the expense of the land-holding villages and the change within the villages from communal to private property represented the general national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phipps, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 136.
23. Phipps, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enriquez, 1909, 56-8.

175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This
423 found its legal expression in the *Reforma* and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing
668 communal property. The change, however, went at a different pace in different re-
648 gions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its territory and population, is characterized by a very unequal development of its various regions, thus allowing different types of society and culture to live together even if connected and coordinated into a single nation. The political and legal changes of the late nineteenth century represent only the turning point at which this general trend of change became the dominant political issue and required expression in the nation's legal system.

175 In marginal regions, however, the land-
423 holding village, regardless of how many changes in its organization were required, survived and held its own against the haciendas, in the same way as haciendas had been the dominant type of economy in parts of Mexico at the time when communal ownership of villages was recognized and protected by law. Consequently, in discussing the development of a particular region like Michoacan, further inquiry is essential to determine to what extent and in what manner this national trend of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

175 The villages in the northern and southern
464 areas had to supplement their native economy with work in neighboring haciendas.
177 This seems to have been the main factor leading to the decline and final disappear-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
648 regarding the distribution of the property
656 of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas,* 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados);* that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 464-8.

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
178 chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
also manufactures guitars for Mexico City
[439] and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
tery has recently been selling to Mexico
[323] City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending
in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
land tenure is the factor which has pro-
578 duced the conflicts during the revolution-
ary period. This holds true even for vil-
lages predominantly devoted to handi-
[438] crafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and
Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
(1877-1911), characterized by the economic
development of the country, a period of
● 668 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood
both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. Ibid., 66.
61. Ibid., 67, 68.
62. Ibid., 69.
63. Ibid., 56-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.19b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 erature on this subject is adequate,[64] so no extensive background presentation will be
668 necessary here.
423 The agrarian revolution was an outcome of the concentration of land and the influence of capitalism on the countryside mentioned before in connection with the decay of village communities. It revolved around the fight against the haciendas.

The solution has been the breaking up of the haciendas and the granting of land to the landless under a new type of tenure known as *ejido*.[65] In ejido, lands are given to the community of *ejidatarios* (ejido members), who have the right to use the lands but not to alienate them, ultimate ownership resting in the nation. An agri-
[453] cultural Bank of Ejido Credit was set up in order to finance the exploitation of ejidos.

This change is the end result of many conflicting interests and opposing tendencies which have produced a very complex development. The more militant peasant groups (Villa and Zapata) were crushed by force of arms, and only afterwards were the land reforms of any sizable importance. These reforms, begun in 1915, were intended to restore to the villages the lands illegally acquired by haciendas. Soon the policy was accepted of appropriating haciendas as outright grants of land (ejido) to the landless. A number of laws were enacted, often changed and more often not applied. For a long period, red tape and other delays were the rule before any ejido was finally given. The workers resident in haciendas *(peones acasillados)* were excluded from distribution of land until 1934, the beginning of the Cárdenas administration (1934-1940), during which the land reforms were speeded up and really enforced.

423 The outcome today is that the hacienda has been replaced by two types of ejido: the individual ejido in which every ejidatario receives a lot which he works by himself; and collective ejidos which are worked cooperatively. Collective ejidos were attempted in the 'twenties and a case in Michoacan has been described,[66] but the individual ejido has been the rule. Only during Cárdenas' period were collective ejidos set up in those areas where a highly commercial, large-scale exploitation prevailed in the production of foodstuffs or of raw materials for industry.

64. Tannenbaum, 1929; Simpson, 1937; Whetten, 1948.
65. This ejido is to be distinguished from the commons of colonial villages, also called ejido.
66. Simpson, 1937, Chap. xxv.

423 The individual ejido is a turn back to small exploitation. No technological improvements have been made, no credit is received from the Ejido Bank, and in some cases corn for subsistence is now grown instead of a former commercial crop. Collective ejidos, on the contrary, are financed by the Ejido Bank and are under its ultimate control. This is a good example of the state intervention in production which characterizes the present development of world economy.

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175 As stated when discussing the decline of the Indian village community in Michoacan, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, a number of haciendas were near the Tarascan region. Some villages had lost most of their lands and included great numbers of landless people. However, this is not typical of Tarascan villages. Most of them were and are villages of farmer-owners and craftsmen. Although most Tarascans had not lost lands to haciendas, private ownership of land prevailed and there was within the village noticeable inequality in wealth. Relatively large, medium and small landowners, sharecroppers, and landless laborers were to be found. In some towns outsiders owned a considerable amount of land. Consequently, the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution, *i. e.*, the fight to get land from the haciendas, have been mainly external to most Tarascan villages, ~~and the~~ agrarian conflict caused by inequality within the village assumed here a peculiar form.

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No good information is available as to the extent to which Tarascans participated in the armed conflicts, although some fought with agrarian revolutionists (Zapatistas and Villistas). The land tenure situation is reflected in the extent to which agrarian reforms have been carried out. Villages near haciendas have received ejidos, but the other villages have not, although agrarian conflicts also arose.

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All the existing ejidos are of the individual type. In only one case (Tarajero) was collective exploitation attempted for some time. The people of Tarajero petitioned for land in 1915, and finally received it in 1924. It was good fertile land in a drained swamp, and, while part of former haciendas, the land had been used for commercial production. The agraristas decided to exploit it collectively. It seems, however, that the directing committee began to appropriate most of the profits derived from the exploitation, reducing the rest of the

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[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada,
669 Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of
175 farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not
423 been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

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67. *Ibid.*, 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 285–88.
69. *Ibid.*, 283–4.
70. *Ibid.*, 283.
71. *Ibid.*, 281; Sáenz, 1936, 23.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 131.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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423 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio.
661 Here an agrarista group was formed and was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that [798] led many peasants to lose their lands brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, in a small farmer-owner environ-
423 ment a new privileged minority was
668 formed, which seized the lands of political enemies or of the community, assumed
578 control of the town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values re-
175 lated to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

Sinarquismo is a political movement
668 strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajio region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 175.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 36-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289, 292.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1948)1952
[P. 22a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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668 of stealing because it distributed the haciendas, it does not propagandize a return to the old order. It is supported by small farmers and even ejidatarios dissatisfied with the course of the land reforms. It promises the ejidatarios to rid them of the new bosses born of the Revolution and to give them as outright private property their ejido plots which now are ultimately owned by the State.

668 465 Since the late 'thirties, the period when land reforms were more or less completed, the real wages in the countryside have been in decline[21] due mainly to wartime inflation. This fact together with the in- [452] ability of the government to provide agricultural credit indicates the difficult situation of the countryside and explains the rapid growth of a protest movement like sinarquismo.[22]

668 The opposition to the agraristas and to the government which had arisen in many Tarascan towns has lately merged with sinarquismo. Sinarquista units function in many villages and many Tarascans are members of the party.

423 181 In the present situation, with the agrarian revolt receded, the Indian village communities, although greatly impaired, show a persistence of an economic foundation which is the basis for the survival of the

21. Whetten, 1948, 202.
22. Gill, 1944; Padilla, 1948; Whetten, 1948, 494-522.

794 by commissioners (*comisionado, encargado*) named by the priest or the town council for a given task. In this case the time required is less and also the contributions, the expenses being met by the town or ward (barrio) and the commissioner acting as collector.

794 Changes in recent years have been, on the one hand, the rise of an anticlerical movement among the agraristas, aiming at
●668 suppressing the cult. On the other hand,
798 in the conservative communities trying to preserve the cult, changes can be described in terms of the decline of the cabildo, increased intervention by the priest or town council, and the change from individual sponsor to commissioner.

* * *

The accumulation of causes giving rise to a movement against the organization of the cult and the cargos had thus been going on for a long period of time when the Mexican agrarian revolution began to be influential in Michoacan. The local participation of Tarascan villages in the movements for agrarian reform has been outlined in the previous chapter. The local agraristas became supporters of the national revolutionary governments from which they expected to receive lands. Both the national and the local situations also combined to produce an anticlerical policy on the part of the agraristas.

Social studies in Michoacan have been limited to peasant communities, and no good study is available on the haciendas and the cities. Consequently there is no good information as to the way in which the anticlerical policy of the government was evident in Michoacan. In Mexico at large the official Church has been connected with the traditional landowner class, which explains the anticlerical policies of the government. In Michoacan we can assume the same situation prevailed, for we know that the church here, too, opposed the government's agrarian reforms.[51] Anticlericalism appears on the one hand as the influence of governmental policies. On the other hand, the local situation is of paramount importance and only in those places where local conditions provided a basis for it has anticlericalism gained any stronghold.

[735] Financing the traditional cult had been the cause in many villages for Indian impoverishment and the loss of land to a few rich or to outsiders. This fact led the

51. Foster, 1948, 175.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.32a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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668 794 798 agraristas groups to identify the cult and the festivals with the land order against which they were revolting. Thus the local situation tied itself up with the national anticlerical policy of the government.

The agraristas kept the priest out of town and closed the church. If it had been burned during the Revolution they did not rebuild it,[52] or they used the church and the priest's house for other functions such as social centers or schools.[53] Cargos and fiestas were forbidden as they were seen to be the causes of excessive expenditures and drunkenness.[54]

We have already presented the causes for the failure of the agraristas to maintain their power in villages where small landowners prevailed. The agraristas became [565] an exclusive privileged minority, opposed to the interest of most of the villagers. Their anticlerical policies also led them to reforms in an aspect of culture—religion and festivals—which were deeply ingrained in the traditional culture. Resistance to their economic policies thus became associated with resistance to culture change. In such conservative villages, reaction against the agraristas was always prevalent,[55] and it had a militant Catholic ideology. Even during the period of the most strongly antichurch policy of the government, some villagers managed to hide a priest,[56] and others, like Cherán, smuggled one in to say mass in private houses without the anticlerical minority's being strong enough to dare speak.[57]

791 Still in other more conservative villages the lack of a priest led not to obsolescence of religion, but to manifestations of folk religion which the priests would not have allowed. In Ocumicho, a woman called María Doncella (Mary the Maiden) claimed to have heard the voice of God in a slit stone in a ravine near the village. The news spread throughout the region and many people began to come to Ocumicho in pilgrimage. María Doncella baptized the children herself and songs were made to her in which she was called the daughter of God. Once she said that the Virgin of Cocucho had come to Ocumicho and taken the patron San Pedro with her, and she organized a procession of people to go to Cocucho and pray to have San Pedro come back. According to skeptical informants

52. Urapicho: Beals, 1946, 131.
53. Tzurumútaro, Puácuaro.
54. Sáenz, 1936, 96; Simpson, 1937, 487.
55. Sáenz, 1936, passim; Foster, 1948, 175.
56. Tzintzuntzan: Foster, 1948, 175, 204.
57. Beals, 1946, 119.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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791 from Cocucho, her reputation and activities evaporated when in spite of her name she became pregnant.

Also, during this time of the government's limitation of priests, groups of *cristeros*, in revolt against the government, operated in Michoacan.[58]

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From about 1940, the agraristas lost control of many villages. They were able to stay in power only where they had been the majority. No study has been made of towns where the agraristas predominated. The communities studied are conservative and the agraristas were a minority. The study of Cherán[59] was made shortly after the agrarista group had been expelled. The author's field work was concentrated in a village where the anti-agrarista reaction was in power and had become affiliated with sinarquismo.

In describing the present economic situation we mentioned how the economic decline of the Indian communities is continuing in modern times. Since this economic decline was the cause for conflict in the sphere of the cult, the question naturally arises about the policy of this strongly religious reaction in regard to the old cargo system.

Following the success of the anti-agrarista reaction, the cult has again been allowed in villages where it had been forbidden, and fiestas are celebrated again, but there is no blooming again of the traditional cabildo; the decay of the old cargo system continues. Within the Catholic reaction to the agraristas we can see differences arising between more traditional and more modern elements; these differences are manifest in connection with religion and cargos.

Through the changes taking place in the political-religious organization, the cabildo became independent of the village civil administration, and, although connected with the priest, it arranged the festivals and the concession of sponsorships independently. As the organizer of the folk cult activities, it can be taken as the organization most purely representing the folk aspects of the local culture. It is in a position to resist national inroads on the folk culture either from the priest, who wants to change the festivals, or from the government, which wants to suppress the religious cult. As long as the elders have any political power within the community,

58. Foster, 1948, 175.
59. Beals, 1946.

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the cabildo is neither official nor related to the national or state government.

Correspondingly, there are people — we shall call them traditionalists — for whom religion means fundamentally the festivals to the saints, organized by the cargueros and the cabildo, and their meetings, inaugurations, and ceremonies. They speak of the need to continue the cargos and the fiestas and to resume the meetings of the cabildo. They even oppose the priests who attempt to suppress cargos or to modify the festivals, and they look down upon fellow villagers who do not care to take cargos, considering them unfit for leadership within the community.

These folk values are under attack by individuals who, although religious, are drifting away from the traditional organization and becoming closer to the Church. These may be called militant Catholics.

The trend is primarily against the cabildo as a clique of those who, through wealth and age, have passed through the cargos and reached eldership, and try to control cult organization. Also, the individual sponsorship as practiced by the cabildo included heavy expenses in connection with presents and banqueting for cabildo members. The trend is toward less drunkenness and toward making sponsorship less expensive.

The changes in organization cause the cult to be more strictly dependent on either the Church or the town government, i. e., on local branches of national institutions as against the former almost purely locally organized cabildo.

Thus to some extent the conflict appears as one between the priest and the conservative cabildo. The priest, of course, tries to lead the natives into more orthodox practices so that he attempts to suppress some of the folk customs and excessive drunkenness. The basic point is that he is only the incentive and leading force for those town elements who want the changes themselves.

The initiative often comes from the townspeople, from those whom we called militant Catholics. In Cherán some of the people organized a town meeting to ask that the cabildo be suppressed because of the excessive gifts they demanded from those aspiring to sponsorship, because their festivals and meetings were occasions for drunkenness, and because they stole from the church (a discussion having arisen as to the use the cabildo made of

668 178 794 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking). They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

[793] In Jarácuaro, where there was no resident priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

[656] In some cases the new civil authorities intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. *Ibid.*, 134 ff.
61. *Ibid.*, 143-44, 315-19.
62. *Ibid.*, 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 201-202.

668 178 794 On the other hand, the intervention of the civil authorities reflects increasing secularization of the main festivals. It takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

178 794 The trend of change is not only to shift control from the cabildo to either the priest or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; and instead of the carguero sponsor, there [624] is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan: the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of offce. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero system. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 120-127; Foster, 1948, 204ff, 215ff.
65. Beals, 1946, 106, 130.
66. Foster, 1948, 196, 198.
67. *Ibid.*, 198, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 120, 126, 127.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.34b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

794 uals can be found to sponsor festivals. The fact remains, though, that the opposite
178 tendency making for decay of the mayordomías seems to be stronger.

In spite of the changes devised to pre-
794 serve the festivals and the desire to continue them, the old fact of their being an economic burden still continues. During the short time when the field work for the Tarascan project was done, a number of fiestas were not celebrated because nobody was available to see to the expenses or because of the current conflict between the cargueros and the priest. Thus in Cherán, 1940, dances for Santa Nieves, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the pastorela of the shepherdesses were not celebrated.[69] In Tzintzuntzan, the cargueros of La Soledad were not functioning since the priest had suppressed them in 1942.[70] The festival of the patron saint failed in Jaracuaro in 1945 because of lack of enough sponsors.

The new commissioner who substitutes for the old carguero can find his duty too much like that of his predecessor, his contribution being too high. In Cherán in 1940, one of the four commissioners named by the town officials to act as Moro dancers avoided the performance and only three Moros danced.[71]

This new trend away from folk festivals
● 668 and toward a closer dependence on the priest is, therefore, also one toward both
794 more orthodox Catholicism and secularization of the festivals. It finds more ready
178 support among the villagers who have become associated with sinarquismo, and whose relation to the Church is close and similar to that of allegiance to a political party. Conversely, the priest often supports and fosters the spread of sinarquismo among the townspeople. Not only does he attack the old organization of cargueros and try to have a new one under his control, but he uses their influence to attack the government and schools, and to support the sinarquista schools and propaganda.[72]

* * *

The economic developments of the Indian communities outlined in Chapter 2 have been causing the disruption of folk cult celebrations because of the economic burden of their financing.

In connection with the agraristas, a radical trend for change arises which, spurred by the cult rôle in the impoverishment of

69. *Ibid.*, 138, 139, 149.
70. Foster, 1948, 198.
71. Beals, 1946, 121.
72. Foster, 1948, 175, 184-185, 193.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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some villagers and by the anticlerical policy of the government, aims at abolishing the cult. But as in the economic sphere, this movement does not succeed in making change permanent because of the survival of the villages' economic foundation and their folk culture. There is a return to the cult, although the economic situation forces changes in its organization: decline of the body of the folk officers (cabildo); increased control by the priest; abolition of some folk ceremonies; organization of the main festivals by the civil administration as secular affairs; change from organization by an individual sponsor (carguero) carrying all the financial burden, to that of a number of commissioners sharing in the organization and the collection of contributions from the whole community. The decline of folk festivals and the greater control by the priest lead to a more orthodox Catholicism, and the influence of sinarquismo, in which allegiance to the

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Church is of a political nature, brings the local subculture closer to the national culture. These changes show the trend through which the folk religion might disappear completely (lack of cult sponsors, control by the priests, or the success of the anticlericals), but the simplification of ceremonials and the new forms of organization are also a means by which the folk religion survives, on an organizational basis better suited to the changed economic and social order. As in economics, the basic traits of the village community survive. A stable situation, however, is not reached. Conflict continues, because of the same forces which caused the changes described: the economic impossibility or unattractiveness of the festivals, and the ceremonials under attack by the priest. These trends go on disrupting the folk culture, but they are not strong enough to break it completely. As in economics, a state of latent conflict continues.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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[776]

well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

668 798 against the traditional cargo system is again discernible, although this time under the cloak of a more orthodox Catholicism. Thus people are divided according to their appreciation of some cultural institution: for cargos (traditionalist) or against them (agraristas and some militant Catholics); for the Church (traditionalists and militant Catholics) or aganist it (agraristas).

Since the ethical religious ideology sanctions those institutions thus in conflict, let us see how supernatural sanction of political groups is evidenced in folk narratives.

183 668 Corresponding to the general anti-agrarista trend, we find in the tales use of the good and evil theme in order to prove the wickedness of the agraristas. A number of experiences in which people see the Devil take place in towns where the agraristas dominate, doubtless a reflection of the connection between the two evils.

At the time of our stay in Jarácuaro, the level of the lake was falling, leaving considerable extensions of land dry. At that time in Ihuatzio, which is strongly Catholic, an agrarista group was formed to get this land for themselves instead of sharing it with the whole town. News soon reached Jarácuaro that the Devil had been seen in Ihuatzio. The following market day in Pátzcuaro brought more complete news:

[539] [776] "In Ihuatzio they saw the Devil. He came out of the mountains and he crossed the town through the center. He looked like a human, but had feet like those of donkeys. The people wanted to hit him, but they were not able to reach him. They say he came out because many have now become agraristas. In order to get the land at the lakeshore the town has split."

A similar story is told of another town:

539 "This is what happened to a man from Tócuaro when agrarismo was so powerful. This man remembered an errand he had to do at Pichátaro and he left; this was about eleven o'clock at night. He went down right to the road and there he saw a man on horseback. They greeted each other: 'Good evening.' 'Good evening.' 'Where are you going?' 'To Pichátaro.' 'I am going to Puácuaro. Shall we travel together?' 'All right. Let's go.'

"'Where do you come from?' the stranger asked. 'I come from Tócuaro, and you?' 'Well, I am here and there, sometimes in Tzurumútaro, sometimes in San Pedro, San Bartolo or Puácuaro; those are the towns where they like me best.' 'And what about Tócuaro?' 'No, you don't like me at all; you have there an old

539 man who does not let me in.' [This is Saint Francis.] And the man from Tócuaro did not realize whom he was talking with. So they arrived at Arócutin where their roads separated and the stranger asked: 'Don't you want a cigarette?' 'Yes.' 'Here it is.' And when he lit the cigarette the man from Tócuaro saw his eyes which seemed to be burning, so bright they were. He threw the cigarette away and left. He had only walked a few steps when fright caught him. His hands and feet were sweating and he left the road and spent the night in the open. He did not arrive at Pichátaro until the next day and then he told what had happened to him."

668 776 San Bartolo, San Pedro, Tzurumútaro and Puácuaro are agrarista towns on the lakeshore; the Devil is welcome there. In Tócuaro, however, they are not agraristas; they follow their patron saint (Saint Francis), and the Devil cannot get in.

Similarly, in Tzurumútaro, another agrarista town, "there appeared an old woman who used to talk to men on the street corners. When she left she went to a ravine. She was a devil."

In Huecorio 'the Enemy' (euphemism for the Devil) came out one night roaring like a bull. The dogs went after him and he became a black dog dragging something like a long skin. He appeared one night after the church had been blessed and mass had been said for the first time. This was three years ago (*i. e.*, 1942).

Agraristas are also mentioned in an experience of a man who, having come back to life after being dead for a few hours, reports having seen in hell the place prepared for burning the agraristas working the land in Copujo, Jarácuaro.

In one incantation, the spirits of the agrarista leader, Zapata, and the revolutionary bandit, Chávez García, are mentioned as bad spirits whose help is asked: "You brave spirits, which are now in the other life. Now, in this moment, come to me. You, spirits of Chávez García and Zapata."

In the following story, the supporter of the Church is miraculously saved from the agraristas:

539 "At the time when the priests were being persecuted, there was a man who defended the church very much. Nobody did anything to him; he was not burned nor anything. The agraristas put him in jail. He had spent three days in jail, and they wanted to convince him that if he would go on defending the Church

539 they were going to kill him, but if he did not, they would let him free. He said they had better kill him. So they were going to kill him. They told him: 'Tomorrow we are going to kill you; make up your mind.' And he said he had already made up his mind. It was night. An angel came and opened the doors. The man was asleep and the angel told him: 'Come, then. Get out.' So the man went out after him and he walked through where the soldiers were and not even one woke up. Next day the light broke out and the soldiers went to kill him and nobody was there and everything was locked up tight. Our Lord Saint Peter had left him on the outskirts of Rome. He went into the city and when the call for mass struck there he was. He heard the mass and he told the Pope everything that had happened, and the Pope said, 'Right now in your town they want to kill the soldiers because they did not pay attention. I am going to send word that you are here, not to kill them.' So, they did not kill them."

[668] [823] The anti-agrarista theme appears important in the talés about the Parícutin volcano.[3]

"At that time there were many agraristas. One man from Corupo spoke to a man from Parícutin, to another from San Juan, to still another from Zácán, and to a fourth from Zirosto. They got together and said, 'Let us go and steal the Holy Sacrament.' They went to San Juan and took it out from the church. And in the whole town only one man noticed that the Holy Sacrament was no longer there, but he was afraid of saying so lest the people blame him. He noticed on three days during mass that the Holy Sacrament was not there and at last he told some friends whom he trusted. The agraristas took the Holy Sacrament to Zacán and they wondered what to do with it. They spent some days in Zacán; then they went to Zirosto, and finally they took it to Parícutin in order to hide it. The owner of a land plot there was an agrarista, and he said, 'Well, as you don't know what to do with it, let us take it to my plot.' And they hid it there.

"And the Eternal God said, 'What shall I do with those people? They are the most wicked in the world. I don't know what to do with them.'

"Then the Devil appeared and said, 'There is a way.' 'How?' 'Sure, there is a way so that they shall suffer, but they will not be the only ones to suffer.' Then God said, 'Go then, but let me think it over for a month.' The Devil asked for too much, but at last they drew the line within

3. Tarascan stories about the volcano have been discussed by the author in a previous paper (Carrasco, 1948).

539 which the people had to suffer. Then God gave His permission and the Devil made the volcano at once."

• • • •

"In the plain where the volcano burst forth there was a cross which the missionary fathers had buried because there was a danger in that plain. A man from Paricutin was working that land; when he was plowing he saw the cross. He did not approve of it, he called a friend, dug, and took an arm from the cross; he chopped it off. Inside was a golden cross to keep the volcano from breaking forth. They took it out and broke a wooden cross which was on top of the golden one and the agraristas burned it. Then the volcano erupted. They say that because the people from Paricutin were so bad and broke the cross, the volcano broke out. Before the volcano broke out, little figures were seen dancing, city-clothed people (*catrines*), and also four whirlwinds. Dionisio was getting close and felt the earth was hot so he said, 'Now it is going to break out; I better go.' And he heard a noise, *fu*! and smoke came out. When he arrived home it was already roaring."

• • • •

"Once when the people of Paricutin had a land dispute with those of San Juan, a priest had told the people to gather a lot of money and bury it there. So he put the money and on top of it a cross and he blessed it because he said that to him who hurt the cross or took the money out, God would send a punishment. Some agraristas felled the cross with an axe and took the money. Shortly thereafter the volcano broke out. And that is the reason."

• • • •

"The volcano appeared because the agraristas from Paricutin had felled a cross which had Holy Hosts inside. The cross was placed by a missionary father that same year so that no water snake [tornado] would fall there. They felled it and, the day after, the volcano was there."

668 798 538 The political conflict and the agrarista anticlericalism have thus produced an increase in the use of some themes of the traditional religious ideology, namely those which point out the wickedness of the people who oppose the Church and the cult.

On the subject of cargos the folk ideology maintains that they are necessary in order to enter heaven. However, we did not find this belief elaborated upon by the more traditional people in opposition to the militant Catholics who reject the car-

668 798 538 gos.[4] Conversely, the militant Catholics do not seem to use folk ideas in order to argue their stand; we simply find disbelief in the idea that the cargos have supernatural sanctions. These Catholics are supported by their priest who holds the same views.

Full agrarista material is lacking, for our collection was gathered in conservative villages. A volcano story was told by an agrarista from Charapan who had taken refuge in Cocucho. The tale demonstrates belief in religion and clearly condemns fiestas, making them the cause for the volcano, instead of blaming the agraristas as do most other stories. The agrarista policy of suppressing fiestas finds in this story a neat ideological justification:

539 "A bearded man appeared near San Juan before the eruption had started. He found a cowboy and asked him, 'Where are you going?' 'I am looking for some oxen,' he said. 'Well, haven't you seen them where you have been?' 'No, I have not.' 'Well, look here. After all, nobody is going to take them. I want you to do an errand for me. There is a hole back there where you were. Go and step on it and you will find a man. Tell him that I need him.'

"The cowboy went there, but the hole was too small to get into, so he went back to tell the bearded man. 'Sure you can get in,' he replied. 'You just step hard on it.' The boy did so and he sank. He arrived at a big house, where he told the man there what he was ordered to say: 'A bearded man sends me to tell you that he needs you.' 'What is the matter, then?' 'I don't know. I was looking for some animals when he found me and sent me on this errand.' 'Let's go then.'

"And they went out and they arrived where the bearded man was. He said that he wanted this man from the underworld to destroy the town of San Juan before the time came for the fiesta. 'But I cannot do that!' 'Sure, you can. You must destroy the town before the holy day so that no fiesta will be made.' And so they left, and the cowboy left, too, and he found the oxen where the bearded man had told him.

The bearded man was God and the other one was the Devil. God didn't want any more fiestas in San Juan, because the poor people went there and spent so much money because everything was very expensive. Besides, they were robbed even within the Church, and so the poor people were left without any money at all. That's why God destroyed everything."

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4. It should be noted that no particular effort was made to obtain them. Neither, however, was an effort made to get the anti-agrarista motives which so often appeared.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 51b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

668 538 Not enough data are available for us to say whether or not stories of this type are as common among the agraristas as the anti-agrarista motifs are frequent among the opposite party. The existing material suggests that such is not the case. Agrarista informants tell the same stories and experiences as the more conservative informants, whose stories sanction folk culture values. Their political position shows rather in the attitude with which they tell the story, one of disbelief.

* * *

771 538 Tarascan religious ideas and folklore sanction the Church and the proper observance of the cult, both in their local (folk culture) and national aspects.

The stories and case histories collected show an abundant use of religious motifs to point out the wickedness of the anticlerical agraristas. Those stories are told from the point of view of the traditional folk culture. The militant Catholics who are partly in conflict with that folk culture also tell such stories, for they attack their agrarista adversaries and sanction allegiance to the Church with which they are closely connected. In that aspect (cargos) in which they oppose the traditional folk culture, they do not use religious motifs except in that they support the priest who denies the need for this activity. Their attitude is one of lack of belief in those traditional ideas which sanctioned the sponsorship of festivals. They, like the agraristas, show a lack of belief in the traditional concepts of folk religion.

The Ideology of the Folk Religion in Decline: Attitudes of Belief

771 The social content of the religious ideology having been examined, we can now discuss how the change in this ideology is expressed in different belief attitudes which consequently involve changes in the meaning, use and function of a given religious concept or myth. We shall find different attitudes as to belief, and we shall try to correlate them with the economic and political tendencies discussed in previous chapters. We shall see how the breaking down of a folk religion involves a change from total belief in the content of the folk religious concepts and myths, towards skepticism, disbelief, and acceptance of outside (national) opinions. This change is not gradual and uniform, but results in extreme attitudes which can be

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 529] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

771 correlated with the different parties in the political conflict.

In the previously presented outline of that part of the religious ideology which is related to the concepts of good and evil, the material was arranged by the author and discussed as though it were a single body of opinion, attitude, and beliefs. Actually, what any single Indian knows and believes is not so well integrated. In reality there are great differences in the kind of material any one individual knows and is able to supply. A discussion of variability in folklore could be made in terms of individual participation in this aspect of culture; the different individuals' knowledge of folklore could be related to sex, age, status, personality, and other factors. Such a discussion is not attempted in this paper.

One also finds great variability in the
538 attitude toward the folklore material any one particular individual knows. This has already been pointed out in discussing types of narratives. What to one informant may be a true happening which God allowed to take place so that men can learn how to behave, to another is a fictitious story told for fun. What some tell as powerful and true manifestations of the supernatural, others tell jokingly as something which superstitious people do and believe.

These different belief attitudes are re-
771 lated to folk and national levels of culture
668 (particularly in religion), and to the social and political groups described in previous chapters.

We have been describing the change processes in terms of three main tendencies: (1) the traditionalist — following and advocating strict adherence to the values of traditional folk culture, even to the extent of opposing the priest; (2) the agrarista (agrarian reformer)—anticlerical and the most closely connected with policies of the national government; and (3) the militant Catholic. The last, reacting against the economic and religious agrarista policies, but partially in conflict themselves with the traditional folk culture, tend to follow a more orthodox Catholicism, and in national politics, connect themselves with the Church and the sinarquista movement.

In the ideological realm, as to the question of how much people believe in the content of their folk religion, we can also describe three attitudes which correspond to the above socio-political tendencies: (1) Correlated with the traditionalist group is an attitude characterized by total belief in

771 the folk religion and the content of folk-
668 lore. Most people, however, show a certain degree of disbelief. Among some (2) this goes with criticism of the Church and with the acceptance of the rational point of view taught in school. This attitude can be correlated with the agrarista position in politics. Among many people (3) some items of lore and religion are doubted or dismissed but always under the acceptance of basic religious tenets and of Church authority. The trend is thus towards a greater orthodoxy within Catholicism, by abandoning beliefs of the purely folk level. This is paralleled by the militant Catholic position in politics.

These three attitudes are ideal types in terms of which we describe individual behavior. In reality they are not necessarily pure nor does every individual connected with a particular political tendency have in every way the attitude which we correlate with that tendency. Individual differences are determined not only by political affiliation but also by personality and cultural participation in general.

771 In order better to see the balance of change we will discuss first the traditionalist position. This represents the folk culture point of view of the village community.

In the formal aspects of religion, the more conservative, traditionalist individuals or towns attach greater importance to private rituals like those connected with agriculture or witchcraft. Also, the religion based on the folk cult of the saints is the most important. These people insist on the need to continue cargos and fiestas. They oppose the priests who attempt to change this and scorn Catholics who do not care for cargos. In the field of belief, total belief in religious concepts and tales corresponds to the above attitudes. Cargos are believed to be a way of serving God and the saints, necessary to reach heaven.
[773] Myths are believed. Experiences with the supernatural are told as true happenings and even wonder stories are supposed to be true.

A few examples will illustrate this attitude:

539 Maximino tells how he has seen the Devil on two occasions, once as a woman and another time as a donkey. Once he discovered an attempt to bewitch him and in another case he caught a witch who had taken the shape of an owl. Once a heavy plank fell on him while he was building a house. He became unconscious

771 the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an
[539] easy life, that of a sorcerer.'

This basic trend of change is found in both convinced agraristas and militant
771 Catholics, but there are also differences which warrant a discussion.
178 The disbelief attitude is sometimes push-
668 ed to an extreme, including doubt as to religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

178 These people scorn the others as super-
771 stitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experiences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

> ". . . And as in this town there are a lot
> [539] of superstitious people, the following day . . .
> the woman praying the rosary began shouting
> [781] and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of blood because Saint Peter had left . . . And what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

771 For the militant Catholics, agraristas are nothing but atheists. They describe
668 them as people who have no religion, as is proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 55a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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771 668 influence of the Government and its anti-Church policies.

In another agrarista informant, we find also the attitude that the saints are good but the priests are bad. This Ichan informant, although an agrarista, advised the people to hide the saints when he learned that the agraristas of other Cañada towns were coming to burn them.

The available material suggests that in the agrarista party, we would find among some people (mainly those with more outside connections and education) opinions approximating almost complete lack of belief in God, the saints, and dogmas of the Church, although perhaps believing in witchcraft. Some others would oppose the Church and the priests for political reasons but keep withal a fair amount of belief. This would compare with the existence of both traditionalists and modern tendencies in the Catholic reaction against the agraristas.

The fact remains, however, that among some people the trend away from folk religion goes with opposition to the Church and lack of belief in it. Just the opposite is observed among the militant Catholics.

The dominant milieu in most Tarascan towns — including Jarácuaro where most of this material comes from — was formed in the struggle against the agraristas. This reaction we have described as not uniform but embracing both the more conservative people, who are decidedly for the folk culture values, and the more modern, in part opposed to the folk culture, who have lately come under the influence of the sinarquista party. It is this more modern tendency within the Catholic movement which we will briefly characterize here. In it the folk ideology is in decadence, but, for political reasons, people in this group are strongly religious both in allegiance to the Church and in belief.

These are two extreme positions. It is not possible to fit every individual into one or the other group, as many people are not politically active, and both groups work together against the agraristas. They both favor religion. Differences occur when those of the more 'modern' point of view try to change the fiestas and cargos, and follow the priest who also wants to change the folk religion better to fit Catholic orthodoxy. The position against cargos among leading sinarquistas in Jarácuaro has been mentioned before. This position

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", *i. e.*, compacts with the Devil.

* * * *

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
behind the Church to make a compact with
538 the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

* * * *

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to
go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

* * * *

821 In Cocúcho there were many thunderstorms
539 over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
783 storm destroyed the cave. They said many
people were seen leaving the mountain; they

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 569] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 589] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 greater acceptance of outside authority in
182 questions of ideology. Also the institutions, such as sponsorships of festivals, sanctioned by the folk ideology, were now against the interests of people within the community.

178 The former forces of change led to con-
668 flict within the villages incited by the Mexican Revolution and subsequent agrarian reforms. Different political trends became discernible within the villages and the people in them had different religious aspirations and policies.

Agrarista groups were formed. In Mexico agraristas are peasants who receive land (usually from former haciendas) under the terms of the agrarian reforms. Such groups exist in some Tarascan villages which were close to haciendas, but in the conservative villages studied, agraristas are groups within the village, organized to take over lands which had been lost to outsiders, or which either belonged to larger landowners within the village or were communal property. In religion they aim at abolishing the cult. They particularly forbid the sponsorship and celebration of festivals, for they see in them the cause for the loss of their lands. Consequently the body of officers organizing those festivals is also suppressed. Belief in God and the saints may be kept and folk narratives are still told which express the old local community values but there is a considerable lack of belief in an ideology which sanctions what they oppose, including the Church. Some can be easily convinced by the anti-religious teachings of outside radicals.

In the conservative communities studied, since the agraristas formed a privileged minority, a reaction arose which finally prevailed. This reaction suppressed the privileges of the agraristas, gained control of the local government, and restored the cult. Within this reaction two trends in religious policies can be discerned. One group, which might be called traditionalist, favors following the cult as of old with the earlier system of sponsorships and a revival of the political and social importance of the sponsors within the community. In ideology it correlates with total belief in

178 the content of folklore and this folklore is
668 used to prove agrarista wickedness.

The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church
178 politically. This group restores the cult but the old causes for decline of the folk
668 religion are seen in their policy. They
771 sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

One can see clearly the forces of change
178 which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of
182 sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.86b] Sierra Tarascans

556 Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more
511 violent revolutionary days are close enough
that people conceal their wealth rather than
[669] display it. That this was not always the case
is evidenced by the considerable number of
ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy
before the revolution. Today wealthy men live
modestly. Their table differs primarily in
quantity rather than in quality from that of
the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless
they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their
wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule,
than do other women, and on special occasions
they display more and better jewelry. There
[357] are few servants in Cherán, and their place is
taken by dependent relatives or orphans who
are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a moro dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

435 The values of the major commodities and
services in Cherán are expressed in monetary
terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions
are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 20a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

423 The individual ejido is a turn back to small exploitation. No technological improvements have been made, no credit is received from the Ejido Bank, and in some cases corn for subsistence is now grown instead of a former commercial crop. Collective ejidos, on the contrary, are financed by the Ejido Bank and are under its ulti-
[453] mate control. This is a good example of the state intervention in production which characterizes the present development of world economy.

* * *

175 As stated when discussing the decline of the Indian village community in Michoa-
423 can, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, a number of haciendas were near the Tara-
668 scan region. Some villages had lost most of their lands and included great numbers of landless people. However, this is not typical of Tarascan villages. Most of them were and are villages of farmer-owners and craftsmen. Although most Tarascans had not lost lands to haciendas, private ownership of land prevailed and there was within the village noticeable inequality in wealth. Relatively large, medium and small landowners, sharecroppers, and landless laborers were to be found. In some towns outsiders owned a considerable amount of land. Consequently, the agrarian aspects of the Mexican Revolution, *i. e.*, the fight to get land from the haciendas, have been mainly external to most Tarascan villages, and the agrarian conflict caused by inequality within the village assumed here a peculiar form.

No good information is available as to
[669] the extent to which Tarascans participated in the armed conflicts, although some fought with agrarian revolutionists (Zapatistas and Villistas). The land tenure situation is reflected in the extent to which agrarian reforms have been carried out. Villages near haciendas have received ejidos, but the other villages have not, although agrarian conflicts also arose.

All the existing ejidos are of the individual type. In only one case (Tarajero) was collective exploitation attempted for some time. The people of Tarajero petitioned for land in 1915, and finally received it in 1924. It was good fertile land in a drained swamp, and, while part of former haciendas, the land had been used for commercial production. The agraristas decided to exploit it collectively. It seems, however,
[661] that the directing committee began to appropriate most of the profits derived from the exploitation, reducing the rest of the

175
423
668
[661] ejidatarios to the level of underpaid laborers. ("The committee and its gang are living off the work of the rest of the people.") The upshot was that the ejidatarios managed to obtain from the government the abandonment of the cooperative exploitation and the distribution of the land into personal parcels. No further information is available.[67]

Ejidos were also granted on the southern shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Here, ejidos were first established around 1920. Later on some were enlarged and new ones set up during the late 'thirties. Napízaro (originally granted 1936, enlarged 1938), Erongarícuaro (granted 1918, enlarged 1936), Uricho (granted 1920, actual possession given 1930, enlarged 1936), Santa Ana (1934), Tzurumútaro (granted 1921, possession given 1930, enlarged 1937), are among the main agrarista villages.[68] Other villages like Arócutin and Puácuaro have also agrarista groups but no information is available as to ejidos granted.

All these ejidos are individual. Lands are distributed to members by furrows, Tarascan style, and each individual lot is small (not more than 2 hectares). The till-
[241] ing of the land is done individually, although laborers are sometimes employed. The main crops are corn, wheat, and beans.
[452] No credit has been received from the Bank of Ejido Credit. Woodlands are owned in common by the ejido. Its members can exploit them freely, but non-members have to pay a fee.[69]

In the Sierra and the Cañada towns there were no haciendas, and the granting of ejidos was not feasible. Only Tanaquillo in La Cañada had an ejido granted, in 1935.[70] In most villages, however, groups of peasants organized into agrarian committees in order to seize whatever lands
[669] they could — communal lands or those belonging to the richer landowners. These revolutionary groups formed armed guards by means of which they seized and kept power in their villages.[71]

In some towns like those in La Cañada,
669 Charapan and Urapicho, a great number of
175 farmers had lost their lands to richer neighbors or to outsiders. Haciendas had not
423 been formed, but there were much absentee landownership and concentration of property. The people fought to get their lands back.[72]

67. *Ibid.*, 477ff.
68. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 285-88.
69. *Ibid.*, 283-4.
70. *Ibid.*, 283.
71. *Ibid.*, 281; Sáenz, 1936, 23.
72. For Urapicho, Beals, 1946, 131.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.219] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 In La Cañada the local revolt took place in 1918, led by people from Tanaquillo. The
423 lands which had fallen into the hands of mestizos from Chilchota, Purépero and
669 Tangancícuaro were recovered and distributed among the revolutionists. Only in 1932 was this reform legalized by the State government.[73] In other cases, medium farmers were the rule, and there is not a very great difference in property holdings. Nevertheless, agrarista groups were also organized. Most Sierra towns had groups of this sort.[74] Cherán and Jarácuaro, the two villages for which we have most information, belong to this type.

In these small towns, which legally had no ejidos, the agrarians took lands illegally either from richer villagers or from the communal lands. In all these villages where the majority of the people was not benefited, there was really a privileged group formed. The agraristas made themselves the only beneficiaries of the lands seized, or distributed them without satisfying the needs of other equally needy villagers who had not taken part in their movement.[75] When seizing lands to distribute among
[661] themselves, they sometimes took land belonging to other villagers merely because they had been political enemies.[76] They also seized formerly communal lands for their exclusive use. Hence villagers not belonging to the agrarista group were obliged to pay a fee to the agrarian committee *(Comisario ejidal)* in order to have access to the lands.[77]

423 In Jarácuaro, for instance, the rush grounds were formerly owned by the vil-
660 lagers, who used the proceeds from selling the rushes for buying candlewax for the temple; afterwards the agraristas exploited the grounds for their personal use. A similar case occurred during our stay on the island. A lowering of the lake's water level had left dry some flat land of considerable agricultural value. The agrarista group was trying to get the land from the federal government for distribution among its members, while the rest of the village wanted to distribute it among all the villagers (excepting the eight agraristas). At the time of our leaving (1945), the authorities were persuading the villagers to distribute the land among all people of both groups.

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73. Sáenz, 1936, 23-4; 96, 255-6; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291-2.
74. All but two, according to Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 280.
75. Sáenz, 1936, 256; also Tarejero, Simpson, 1937, 471-2.
76. Cañada, see Sáenz, 1936, 256; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 281, 291-2.
77. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279, 281.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan king-
642 dom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and
643 Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion.
[539] King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of
[176] Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation
[194] of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
539 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
[182] be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
539 that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to
644 generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of
648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique
644 of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival
173 in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.166]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

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[p.24a]

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fungus. [262] The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

243 672 685 Trespass by domestic animals and theft must be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 [132] Unseasonal frost often damages corn, particularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated ("*escarda*" also "*trozando*") by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded "*chaponeado.*" [412] This is done by hand with a short machete, called "*os,*" with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

243 221 674 As soon as grain is well formed on the ears, some maize is used for food, usually roasted. At this time, also, guards must be set in the fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

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243 221 674 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the crotches left by trimming the branches. Often several families may cooperate in watching, or several landowners may hire watchers, called *veladores*.

243 246 When the ears are well formed, but while stalks and leaves are still green, fodder ("*rastrojo*") is cut. All stalks without ears, and the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut, dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds. This forms the principal fodder for animals. The stalks remaining in the field are not cut after the harvest, but animals are allowed to graze the harvested fields.

243 [462] The main work of harvesting is done by men. Women bring food to the men, and they also glean, assisted by children. At harvest each man takes two rows at a time. The ears are picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-[482] splint burden basket (šundis) carried on the [285] back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also take the nubbins. When the basket is filled, the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 464 466 The harvest is the busiest time of year. Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the infirm, everyone works, either on his own harvest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor also comes from other towns. Wages are 40 to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean. Women and children follow the men of their own household and close supervision is necessary in order to prevent too many ears from being dropped or overlooked. The workday is about 7 hours. The larger landowners have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to work without gleaning rights, despite the opinion of most objective observers that the maize secured from gleaning had less value than the additional wages. The landowners would have saved through eliminating supervisors. When the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (čarándа).

243 492 [493] Most of the harvest is carried to town and the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are used, and for some fields employment of two-wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used.

Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[927] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[164] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; how-
[674] ever, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products (*"tornillo"*) from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

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[p. 187b]

585

Civil wedding—Domingo Hernández, a "grandfather."
Church wedding—Doña Feliciana.

According to report, Doña Feliciana provided only a new *rebozo* for the bride in the way of clothing, but this was not verified. No data were secured on who paid for the liquor.

The church wedding took place about 7 a. m. on January 9, this being the cheaper hour. The bride was returned to her home, then brought with her relatives to the groom's mother's house for breakfast. After breakfast, the party went to the municipal offices for the civil registry. This order was quite incorrect, as customarily the civil registry should precede the religious ceremony, usually by about a week. After this, matters proceeded as usual with the dinner. The older brother of the groom functioned as the male head of the household. Had the groom had no older brother, Doña Feliciana would have had to discharge the functions of the male head; none of her brothers or those of her deceased husband would have taken this position.

Late in the afternoon a number of poles were brought into the courtyard. Stuck in holes in these poles were many small sticks to which were attached small flaglike ornaments of paper of many colors which were divided among the women and children with a great deal of shouting and disorder (pl. 7, lower left). These banners are not produced at any other time than the period preceding Carnival.

The crownlike breads were not produced until quite late, about 4:30 p. m., and were not distributed until some time later (pl. 7, upper right). In turn, the dancing was late in starting in the groom's house, although it began some time earlier in the house of the grandfather entertaining that group.

Just before dusk the priest arrived and scolded the party for getting drunk. One of the men who took this to heart started home; [674] he was shot and killed while crossing the bridge to Parícutin by an unknown enemy, but none of these events stopped the wedding, which turned into one of the most prolonged large-scale drinking bouts occurring during the time of the study. Atole was served at midnight, while between 4 and 6 a. m. and again at 8 a. m. *posole* was served. The atole was provided by

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
428 sons remain in the family group and which
593 function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

All inheritances are supposed to be registered
428 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

Even though many details of the economic
181 system of Cherán are still not known in detail,
556 some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

342 435 *zaguán*, between them. The walls facing the *zaguán* and the patio are of wood. A foundation of morticed beams resting on stones supports a wooden floor and walls. These beams are grooved as shown in figure 14. Wall boards are tongue-and-grooved, a type of construction used in Uruapan but new to Cherán. The wall boards are vertical and fit in a channel in the ceiling beams. One room has two windows opening on the street (fig. 14). The roof is of shakes. Chávez actually paid for only half of one side wall and nothing for the other (which rests entirely on his land), as his neighbor paid all the cost. In formulating the cost estimate, however, the wall was carefully measured, the number of adobes counted, and the cost of all masonry-and-adobe work was included in the total. All the woodwork was done on a [675] definite contract which included wood materials, so it is unnecessary to itemize this.

	Costs in pesos
Masonry, 32 m. (106 ft.):	
Stone	24.00
Mason's charges	32.00
Adobe [1]	70.00
Four stone bases for veranda pillars	10.00
Zaguán door (not included in carpenter's contract)	25.00
Carpenter's contract	275.00
Shakes, best grade, 8 bundles	40.00
12 kilos of nails	6.00
Total	482.00
Roofing fiesta (not including contributions of relatives)	30.00
Total costs	512.00

[1] 1,435 adobes were used; door and window openings make a lineal estimate impractical. This figure takes into account different mason's charges at different heights.

Two "*trojes*," or houses, of approximately the same size would cost between 500 and 600 pesos, but the above-described structure has much more loft storage space through utilization of the area over the entryway and veranda. The cost probably would be less if the interior walls were made of masonry and adobe. A tile roof would have cost between 100 and 120 pesos, adding 54 to 74 pesos to the cost. Its longer life would make it cheaper in the long run, however. The owner probably will lay a tile roof when the shake roof needs replacing. It should be remembered also that a kitchen will be employed apart from this structure.

[p. 27a]

695 charge with equal vigor. Finally the acting
mayor ordered that she be locked up, and,
685 despite voluble protests against injustice, the
woman was conveyed forcibly to the jail. The
whole procedure seemed very high-handed, but
when the woman was out of earshot, the acting
mayor turned to me mildly and remarked that
he would not have acted that way on the man's
word alone but there had been two witnesses
and there was no doubt of the woman's guilt.
He was trying to frighten the woman into a
confession and restitution of the blanket, with
which he would be content to dismiss the case.

Several drunks on the morning of October 3
689 created a commotion. Two got into a fight
and were locked up. The rest were not
molested.

On another day, two women were noticed in
the jail. One said the other had thrown a
gourd at her head. The second accused the
first of stealing something from her lot. They
were both thrown in jail to cool off.

A little girl was "horsing around"—to use
627 the phrase of Augustín Rangel—near one of
the street-corner vendors. The woman told
her to go away, but the girl's mother did not
interfere. In the mother's absence the girl
broke some pottery. The two women began to
quarrel and finally went to the mayor's office.
After discussion, the woman with the pottery
was advised to be more careful of her goods
when there were children around.

Three men walked down the street, in vari-
ous stages of drunkenness. Two began to
quarrel and the drunkest of the three picked up
a rock and threatened one of the men. The
third man interposed himself, talked soothingly,
eventually got the rock away from the drunken
man, and they continued their walk.

One drunken man kept saying to another
"You are rich and can do everything you want
and I have nothing." The second man ignored
this. After a while the first man said, "I don't
care if you are rich, you —— —— ——," and
then began commenting on the man's mother.
The second man said, "Take back what you said
about my mother." The first man said,
"Never." Then they began to fight. Nothing
was done about this.

● 681 The cases given above represent conflicts
which resulted in no official punishment. Con-

681 flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

[683] October 9. A man knocked down a child and hurt her head. He was placed in jail overnight.

681 689 October 12. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail (no term indicated).

October 15. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 16. A drunken man broke onto a house. He was placed in jail until the eighteenth.

October 22. A woman was "disobedient" (probably disorderly conduct of some sort). She was placed in jail overnight.

681 [684] [183] November 3. A man raped a young woman, his second offense. He was placed in jail until the 10th. It should be observed that according to Cherán ideas a properly brought up girl whose parents looked after her as they should would never have been in a situation where rape would be possible.

[685] December 3. A man "abused confidence" by trying to register a piece of land as his own which actually belonged to his mother-in-law. He was put in jail overnight.

The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

579 Despite the fact that Cherán has a bad reputation in other towns for violence, there seem to be relatively few serious fights. Drunks often fall to fisticuffs, usually ineffective, but knife fights are rare and the use of firearms is even more unusual. In ordinary times there is probably not more than one killing a year. However, a very serious affair occurred shortly before the close of the study.

At a wedding the new priest appeared after the drinking was well under way. He reproved the people soundly for their excessive drinking and urged them to go home. One of the men, who was already very drunk, took the priest's words to heart and started home. Crossing the bridge to the *barrio* of Parícutin, he was shot from ambush and killed. That night the *ronda* went from house to house asking for certain persons, but up to the time the study closed

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The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

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583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," [683] that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of four types. Central to the system are those
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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

842 no remedies are taken for barrenness. Others reported that women speak to the professional midwives, who give them herbal remedies, [278] anoint the abdomen with mountain lion grease, or give stew made of mountain lion meat. However, none of the midwives reported any such practices.

Despite these attitudes, belief exists that 847 pregnancy can be prevented or abortion caused. It is believed by some that only families of poor economic standing who already have two to four children attempt to use these methods. Others suggest absence of love in the home as a reason; some women carrying on illicit affairs are believed to practice abortion. A good many people seem to know of the existence of abortion and to have knowledge of the herbs used. Consequently attempted abortion probably is more frequent than people wish to admit. The [842] ideal of Cherán is the large family; people prefer not to talk about those who do not share the ideal and some refuse to talk about it. It is also said that the municipal officials are vigilant in punishing such cases, but as the penalty is [684] said to be a fine of $1.00 or $1.50 or a night in jail after recovery, this probably would not be a great deterrent even if the danger of detection were great.

847 Four plants are named as being taken to cause abortion. One, *artamisa*, taken with 278 plenty of salt, was mentioned by one of the midwives. Another admitted to using iris root for this purpose, although generally the midwives claim to be opposed to abortion. The two plants most used, however, are *ruda* and *gobernadorcillo*, KUASA. It is possible that these are the same plants; at least descriptions of their use appear to be the same. If they are effective (and local medical men are sharply contradictory in their opinions), many unintentional abortions are probably caused, for *ruda* is a regular remedy for stomach pains. It is not taken, except intentionally, when pregnancy has occurred, as the herb is widely known as producing abortion. The herb is also believed to be helpful to women who have been unable to have children.

Much the same accounts were given of [842] *gobernadorcillo*. To have children, the herb is cooked with a tablet of chocolate and taken just before the menstrual period is expected.

243 While crops are small, posts are placed in the fields to provide perching places for hawks.

Worms may damage small plants to the point that reseeding is necessary, especially if there are long periods of cloudy weather without rain. Worms also damage about 35 percent of the ears. Deer damage crops badly only in isolated mountain fields. Badgers in some places are serious pests. The only remedy is to attempt to shoot the animals. Birds do little damage. Some maize is attacked by a fun-
[262] gus. The fungus is eaten, but it is not sold or prized as a delicacy as is the case in some parts of Mexico.

243 Trespass by domestic animals and theft must
672 be guarded against. Sometimes isolated fields
685 are completely stripped if not watched. Stray animals caught damaging corn are taken to the *municipio* and held in jail until the owner pays for the damage.

243 Unseasonal frost often damages corn, par-
[132] ticularly late plantings and in fields at high altitudes. In 1940, frost, heavy enough to damage some fields, occurred on September 29.

When maize is about 1 foot high it is cultivated (*"escorda"* also *"trozando"*) by running the plow between the rows, throwing dirt toward the plants. This is done a second time when the plants are about 18 inches tall. If it is delayed too long, the roots may be cut, the maize leaves will yellow at the tip, and no ears will form.

When the maize is in tassel, after the rainy season is well underway, the fields are weeded
[412] *"chaponeado."* This is done by hand with a short machete, called *"os,"* with a sharp curve at the point. Also, earth is piled around such plants as were not sufficiently covered by the cultivation. If the weeds are bad, a second weeding is sometimes done, but not often. If weeding is omitted, weeds climb high up the stalks and the crop suffers considerably. The weeds removed are piled up beside the fields and are not used for feed or fertilizer.

As soon as grain is well formed on the ears,
243 some maize is used for food, usually roasted.
221 At this time, also, guards must be set in the
674 fields, not only to keep animals out, but to prevent theft. Whole families may move to temporary field shelters at this time and remain until the harvest. In the "plains," usually

632 before the judge. In such cases he may dis-
693 cover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was
[685] sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10
[691] percent of the value, and all costs of the litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid $1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

625 *Police.*—Two (later three) men were em-
632 ployed as police in 1940-41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and
632 classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most impor-
624 tant are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

632 The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The
625 town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the
Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region
668 of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about
[186] conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
578 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these
626 never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

695 Another case illustrates the handling of
minor offenses. A woman was brought before
685 the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

695 charge with equal vigor. Finally the acting
685 mayor ordered that she be locked up, and, despite voluble protests against injustice, the woman was conveyed forcibly to the jail. The whole procedure seemed very high-handed, but when the woman was out of earshot, the acting mayor turned to me mildly and remarked that he would not have acted that way on the man's word alone but there had been two witnesses and there was no doubt of the woman's guilt. He was trying to frighten the woman into a confession and restitution of the blanket, with which he would be content to dismiss the case.

Several drunks on the morning of October 3
689 created a commotion. Two got into a fight and were locked up. The rest were not molested.

On another day, two women were noticed in the jail. One said the other had thrown a gourd at her head. The second accused the first of stealing something from her lot. They were both thrown in jail to cool off.

A little girl was "horsing around"—to use
627 the phrase of Augustín Rangel—near one of the street-corner vendors. The woman told her to go away, but the girl's mother did not interfere. In the mother's absence the girl broke some pottery. The two women began to quarrel and finally went to the mayor's office. After discussion, the woman with the pottery was advised to be more careful of her goods when there were children around.

Three men walked down the street, in various stages of drunkenness. Two began to quarrel and the drunkest of the three picked up a rock and threatened one of the men. The third man interposed himself, talked soothingly, eventually got the rock away from the drunken man, and they continued their walk.

One drunken man kept saying to another "You are rich and can do everything you want and I have nothing." The second man ignored this. After a while the first man said, "I don't care if you are rich, you —— —— ——," and then began commenting on the man's mother. The second man said, "Take back what you said about my mother." The first man said, "Never." Then they began to fight. Nothing was done about this.

The cases given above represent conflicts
681 which resulted in no official punishment. Con-

681 flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

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[p.44b]

389 elaborate, as they require fuses of various speeds, different colors of fire, and slow-burning types of powder. As handbooks exist for this type of manufacture and supply houses also furnish information to their patrons, it was felt that detailed inquiry into techniques was not worth while. The *cohetero* usually receives a small advance payment—5 to 15 pesos—when he accepts an order. He receives no further payment until the *castillo* is burned. Should [686] there be a failure, not only may the *cohetero* fail to receive his pay, but he may be jailed and fined.

Stonecutting.—Several men do stonecutting 324 on a part-time basis. Doorsills and bases for door posts and pillars are the major products, although some men also make grinding stones for *nixtamal* mills. A fine-grained gray lava from the barranca north of town is the most-used material. Tools include an iron-headed hammer, weighing about 2 pounds, steel chisels, and a pair of calipers. Stones for the *nixtamal* mills are made in pairs and are about a foot in diameter and 6 to 8 inches thick. About 3 days are required to make a pair.

Tanning.—The only full-time tanner of hides 281 in Cherán is a native of Aranza, who moved to Cherán because of the better water supply. He has a house and lot on the east side of town beside the aqueduct. Most of his work is done on hides brought him by shoemakers and *guarache* makers. Such work is charged for on a fee basis.

A man and his uncle also tan hides on a part-time basis. They are primarily farmers and do relatively little of the tanning in Cherán.

Cowhides are tanned with oak bark. The process takes 20 to 30 days, mostly occupied with soaking the hides in the tanning mixture. Sheepskins, used for inner soles of shoes, must be put through a lye bath, scraped, and then soaked with oak bark. A batch of five or six sheepskins requires 2 days' labor and about 8 days' soaking.

The principal equipment consists of a number of large hollow logs for soaking the hides.

Lacquer.—One woman learned lacquer mak- 532 ing in Uruapan. She works fairly steadily, producing a typical Uruapan black-background lacquer with floral designs in four or five colors. She sells all her product in Cherán.

[Text continues on page 46 a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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162 the municipal records, which probably are rela-
217 tively complete and moderately accurate. The data have been worked up into tables 11 and 12 by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, one of the collaborators in the study.

TABLE 11.—*Births in Cherán, 1936-39*[1]

163
162

Year and month of birth	Total births	Boys	Girls	Percentage of boys	Percentage of girls
1936					
January	9	6	3	1.7	0.9
February	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
March	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
April	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
May	11	3	8	.9	2.3
June	26	11	15	3.2	4.4
July	23	11	12	3.2	3.5
August	21	12	9	3.5	2.6
September	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
October	9	2	7	.6	2.0
November	12	7	5	2.0	1.5
December	6	1	5	.3	1.5
1937					
January	3	2	1	.6	.3
February	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
March	15	5	10	1.4	2.9
April	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	19	13	6	3.7	1.7
July	21	9	12	2.6	3.5
August	13	6	7	1.7	2.0
September	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
October	12	6	6	1.7	1.7
November	13	7	6	2.0	1.7
December	22	9	13	2.6	3.8
1938					
January	13	8	5	2.3	1.5
February	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
March	6	3	3	.9	.9
April	24	14	10	4.0	2.9
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	5	3	2	.9	.6
July	11	5	6	1.4	1.7
August	22	10	12	2.9	3.5
September	10	7	3	2.0	.9
October	12	5	7	1.4	2.0
November	10	3	7	.9	2.0
December	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
1939					
January	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
February	13	5	8	1.4	2.3
March	20	9	11	2.6	3.2
April	22	12	10	3.7	2.9
May	24	13	11	3.7	3.2
June	18	16	2	4.6	.6
July	22	13	9	3.7	2.6
August	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
September	15	4	11	1.2	3.2
October	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
November	17	7	10	2.0	2.9
December	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
Total	690	347	343	100.0	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

163 Birth records are probably correct for all live births. There is some possibility that many stillbirths were not reported either in the birth statistics or the death statistics. Although a
[686] fine is levied against persons known to have buried a still-born child without registering the fact in the *municipio*, the fine is nominal, and municipal authorities believe that probably the majority of stillbirths are not reported.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 120b]

FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT

527 624 The fiesta of the patron saint, San Francisco, is held for 4 days, beginning the first Sunday after October 4. Usually after the Fiesta of San Luís in Nahuatzen August 25, *comisionados* are named by the mayor (on August 20 in 1940) and are notified by formal letters delivered by the police. Only persons out of town or those providing very good reasons may refuse to accept the post. The major duties are distributed by *barrio*, and for each *barrio* a head commissioner is named who selects a group of from 5 to 15 assistants. The duties in 1940 were distributed as follows: *Barrios* II and III each had to provide a band, *barrio* I provided the fireworks or *castillo*, and *barrio* IV provided the wax (*la cera*). The *barrio* IV duty really meant that it paid for the Mass and for the special candles burned. These duties are rotated so that in the course of 4 years, for example, each *barrio* will have provided the fireworks. The commissioners collect a sum varying from 80 centavos to perhaps a little more than a *peso* from each householder in the *barrio*, which they may use for their expenses. [686] Anyone refusing to pay may be thrown in jail. The costs are not entirely equal for the different *barrios*, and, owing to the discrepancy in size of the different *barrios*, the individual contributions demanded also vary. The commissioners seem to have complete responsibility for collecting and expending funds, but if expenses are greater than the amount collected, the commissioners must make up the sum out of their own pockets.

In addition to the commissioners named for the above purposes, young men are commissioned for each *barrio* who have to provide poles and posts and reconstruct the bull ring or *toril*. Finally, four commissioners are named for the moros or dancers connected with this fiesta. Each commissioner has to find a dancer, provide him with his costume, and feed and look after the dancer throughout the fiesta. The duties of the commissioners will now be discussed in more detail as they functioned in 1940.

The commissioners for the *barrios* in 1940 were Mateo Ocampo, *barrio* I, fireworks; Florentín Rafaél, *barrio* II, music; Fernando

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
various volunteers working under the direction
389 of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo,* planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos.* When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by
[686] any means. The fireworks maker is always held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The
527 first band appeared and began to play about
533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner.
[541] About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the
578 Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land dis-
[775] tribution as going against this principle, and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they pre-
[823] vail. They are to blame for the volcano (Paricutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the
183 wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized relation, including
794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases
[776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God
● 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are
183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 489] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

183 688 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its [778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People [773] who lived before the blessing of the world [172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and 183 folklore primarily sanction the values of the folk culture. They support the family 771 (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The [776] Devil giving money always appears as a

695 charge with equal vigor. Finally the acting
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627 the phrase of Augustín Rangel—near one of
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when there were children around.

Three men walked down the street, in various stages of drunkenness. Two began to quarrel and the drunkest of the three picked up a rock and threatened one of the men. The third man interposed himself, talked soothingly, eventually got the rock away from the drunken man, and they continued their walk.

One drunken man kept saying to another "You are rich and can do everything you want and I have nothing." The second man ignored this. After a while the first man said, "I don't care if you are rich, you —— —— ——," and then began commenting on the man's mother. The second man said, "Take back what you said about my mother." The first man said, "Never." Then they began to fight. Nothing was done about this.

681 The cases given above represent conflicts
which resulted in no official punishment. Con-

681 flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

[683] October 9. A man knocked down a child and hurt her head. He was placed in jail overnight.

681 689 October 12. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail (no term indicated).

October 15. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 16. A drunken man broke onto a house. He was placed in jail until the eighteenth.

October 22. A woman was "disobedient" (probably disorderly conduct of some sort). She was placed in jail overnight.

681 [684] [183] November 3. A man raped a young woman, his second offense. He was placed in jail until the 10th. It should be observed that according to Cherán ideas a properly brought up girl whose parents looked after her as they should would never have been in a situation where rape would be possible.

[685] December 3. A man "abused confidence" by trying to register a piece of land as his own which actually belonged to his mother-in-law. He was put in jail overnight.

The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

579 Despite the fact that Cherán has a bad reputation in other towns for violence, there seem to be relatively few serious fights. Drunks often fall to fisticuffs, usually ineffective, but knife fights are rare and the use of firearms is even more unusual. In ordinary times there is probably not more than one killing a year. However, a very serious affair occurred shortly before the close of the study.

At a wedding the new priest appeared after the drinking was well under way. He reproved the people soundly for their excessive drinking and urged them to go home. One of the men, who was already very drunk, took the priest's words to heart and started home. Crossing the bridge to the *barrio* of Paricutin, he was shot from ambush and killed. That night the *ronda* went from house to house asking for certain persons, but up to the time the study closed

632 before the judge. In such cases he may dis-
693 cover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was
[685] sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10 percent of the value, and all costs of the
[691] litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid $1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

625 *Police.*—Two (later three) men were em-
632 ployed as police in 1940–41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and
632 classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most impor-
624 tant are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

632 The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The
625 town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.105a]

632 *barrio* III. Cheranástico, when classed as *barrio* V, apparently never filled either office. Similarly, if the even-numbered *barrios* elect, the mayor will be from *barrio* II, the *síndico* from *barrio* IV. The following 2-year period the situation will be reversed. Although the mayor is elected for 2 years to the *ayuntamiento*, he serves only 1 year as mayor. The second year he is merely an ordinary *munícipe* or *regidor*, that is, an ordinary member of the *ayuntamiento*.

The mayor has the most important duties in the government, for upon his ability and initiative depends most of the success of an administration. It is he who initiates most activities, the *síndico* who carries them out. Not only does the mayor preside at town meetings or *juntas* and meetings of the *ayuntamiento*, but he settles minor disputes and levies fines of less than 1 peso, orders temporary imprisonment, supervises and orders most municipal expenditures, appoints most of the *comisionados*, and sees that public works are initiated. The mayor alone of all the officials must be present daily in the *municipio*. If not present, he must have his *suplente* present. (In 1940, the mayor rarely was in the *municipio*, leaving administration to the *suplente*. If anything of crucial importance arose, however, the mayor would be called in.)

632 693 As a minor judicial official, the mayor settles many small cases involving thefts, drunkenness, minor assault, rape, debt, or fraud. In some cases, brief jail sentences are imposed; in others, fines are assessed, all fines below a peso going into the pocket of the mayor as his only salary. The mayor also gives orders about minor improvements, such as cleaning the plaza or painting the benches. In case expenditures are involved, he may advance money out of his pocket for supplies or labor, later getting a receipt which he presents to the treasurer for payment.

Síndico.—The *síndico* supervises most public 632 works and may initiate minor work. He is in charge of streets and the repair or reconstruction of bridges, and sees that many undertakings ordered by the mayor are carried out. With the help of a *veedor*, he oversees community affairs, such as the adequacy of the water supply and clandestine illegal activities.

632 He is in charge of the slaughterhouse; the collection of proper taxes and prevention of "black market" slaughtering are his responsibility. He supervises all questions of inheritance and the properties connected therewith, seeing that the heirs receive their due share of property. In cases of quarrels over inheritance, wounds inflicted with knives or pistols, and murders, [693] the *síndico* makes the initial investigations and prepares the papers for submission of the cases to the judge. The *síndico* receives no pay.

Secretary.—The secretary is named by the 632 mayor with the approval of the *ayuntamiento* 217 without a fixed term being set. His duties are to make all classes of documents and to maintain the municipal archives. These include the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. The secretary is paid $1.50 a day. He may augment this sum by preparing private documents for a fee. The office is fairly new; in the childhood of fairly young men there was no secretary. The present incumbent is not a native of the town.

632 *Veedor.*—The veedor is named by the *síndico* with the approval of the mayor. He is supposed to see that the water supply is functioning properly and to report any illegal acts. Apparently he receives no pay.

Treasurer.—The treasurer receives all the 632 town funds from various sources, including 651 fines above 1 peso, taxes, assessments, and funds from State and Federal sources. He is responsible for the collection of the small tax on vendors at the markets. He pays all bills of the *municipio* and must keep detailed accounts which are inspected by State officials. The office of treasurer is also new. His pay is 25 percent of the income. There is no term to his office.

Judge.—The judge and his *suplente* are 693 usually elected every 2 years but if the office is 632 satisfactorily filled, the election may not be held for 3 or 4 years. The judge hears all cases certified to him by the *síndico*. He may order brief imprisonment or fines, which are paid to the treasurer, but all serious cases are referred to the district court at Uruapan after a preliminary hearing. This is particularly true of murder cases or serious crimes. The judge reviews all cases of inheritance in which quarrels arise, and all land sales must be authorized

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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.114b]

575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region
668 of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made
[186] to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
578 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these
626 never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

Another case illustrates the handling of
● 695 minor offenses. A woman was brought before
685 the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

695 charge with equal vigor. Finally the acting
mayor ordered that she be locked up, and,
685 despite voluble protests against injustice, the
woman was conveyed forcibly to the jail. The
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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 30 a] Sierra

342 (2) Veracruz on the northern slopes of the Cofre
171 de Perote; (3) the Sierra Madre Oriental between Apulco and Huayacocotla near the Hidalgo-Veracruz border and near the Pan American highway northeast of Jacala, Hidalgo; (4) the Sierra Madre Occidental (Durango and Chihuahua); (5) isolated spots in the Sierra Madre del Sur (Guerrero) west of Chilpancingo; and (6) the Tarascan Sierra of Michoacán. The log cabin in
342 Durango and Chihuahua possibly may have been
171 introduced by United States Confederate refugees,
177 a few of whom settled in the Sierra Madre in the late 1860's and 1870's. Located near one of the main Veracruz-México roads, the Perote people also may have obtained the idea of interlocked logs from United States or European travelers or settlers. The plank structures of Michoacan are technically superior to the North American log cabin (introduced into the North American colonies from Scandinavia in the 17th century), and are known to have existed since the last quarter of the 18th century. Log cabins were apparently unknown in Spain during the colonial period. The idea of their construction may have been introduced into Mexico from northern Europe.

342 There is nothing in the Relación de Michoacán or in the available Relaciones Geográficas (Muc. Nac., leg. 102) that indicates the presence of log structures among 16th-century Tarascans.[39] The native houses were constructed of adobe or stone with four-shed straw-thatched roofs. The first definite evidence of the modern *troje* that the writer has encountered appears in the Calderon report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73), which mentions ". . . jacales de . . . vigas horizontales cubiertas de tajamanil . . ." in Tuícuaro (f. 336v), ". . . cuatro trojes de Maderas de Pino, bien construidas y conservadas . . ." in Nocutzepo (Lake Pátzcuaro) (f. 301), and ". . . chozas (or casas) de madera . . ." in many other towns in the Sierra (map 18). In most pueblos, however, wooden houses were mingled with those of stone or adobe. Moreover, houses constructed of small logs or poles placed vertically ("*estacas plantadas*") were

[39] Log fortifications were constructed by the Tarascans at Tzintzuntzan (Ciudad Hidalgo) in pre-Spanish times (Stanislawski, 1947 a, p. 46). There is no evidence, however, that the notching technique was known. For a description of pre-Conquest Tarascan houses, see Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944, pp. 33-38.

[712]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
648 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
721 and other data essential to a successful compaign.
726 Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangared and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

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[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 22-b]

191 and Cumachuén (62 percent monolingual). Moreover, the pueblos of La Cañada, adjacent to modern transportation facilities, are surprisingly monolingual (59 percent). Other scattered, ultraconservative towns, such as Angahuan, Cocucho, and Cheranátzicurin in the Sierra, contain a large number of monolinguals.

731 **Effects of Parícutin Volcano.**—The eruption of
166 Parícutin Volcano early in 1943 caused the redistribution of some of the Tarascan population.

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731 The inhabitants of the completely destroyed towns of Parícutin and Parangaricutiro were transferred to new lands near Uruapan. Those of Parícutin were moved to the new settlement of Caltzontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan, in February 1943. This pueblo now forms a new island of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. With Government aid the people of Parangaricutiro established a new pueblo near the *rancho* of Los Conejos, 6 km. west of Uruapan, in March 1944. Another new town,
[Text continues bottom P. 23b---Analysis]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-b]

166 called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was
● 731 founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra caliente*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[10]
[182] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-
[161] 46) the population of Villa Silva has decreased from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[10] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the ranchs of Barranca Blanca, 4 km. to the northwest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [133] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

827 linear body build which was repeated in the
143 children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark
[142] skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

● 732 Occasional examples occur of children apparently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeblemindedness.

854 Few special attentions to infants are recorded. There is no use of ashes or leaving of corn ears or fire pokers with infants when they are left alone, but a broom of straw may be left at the head of the child's bed for protection against evil if the mother wishes to leave it for a few minutes. Children are nursed freely whenever
853 they desire the breast. Although some evidence of shyness was evident, for example, some
[834] mothers draped their *rebozo* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

854 Infants are ordinarily carried by their mothers, almost invariably wrapped in the *rebozo*. Even if the child is carried in the arm, the *rebozo* is slung around the child and over the shoulders to take part of the weight. Ordinarily a small child is slung more or less horizontally in the *rebozo* on the mother's back. One end of the *rebozo* goes under the left arm, the other over the right shoulder, the two ends

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
erty, this financed not only the cult and
423 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
hospital officers, such as caring for the sick
575 and paying for masses of the dead. In addi-
tion, the cargueros could use this same
794 source of income to provide food for the
villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
735 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring
himself out as a muleteer servant [sirvi-
794 ente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very im-
poverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautioan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Goacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarasco speaking villages.
28. Relación, 1904, passim.
29. Ibid., 478.
30. Ibid., 486.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Relación, 1904, 477, 478.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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The effect of excessive cult expenses on Indian poverty was strong enough to lead the subdelegate (Spanish district authority) to give instructions against it. He recommended avoiding those banquets and superfluities based on the pretext of church festivals. In the case of Amatlan, he directed that no personal service should be given the priest other than that of sexton and bellman.[33]

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The civil administration conformed to general practice in colonial Mexico. Every Indian town was headed by a *gobernador*. There were also one or more *alcaldes* (mayors) and a number of *regidores* (councilmen), according to the size of the town. Minor officials seem to have been more variable: *alguaciles*, similar officers called *katápi* in Tarascan, errand boys *(topil)*, and a scribe.

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An important characteristic of this civil organization was its close connection with the cult organization. For as long as the union of State and Church lasted (until the middle of the nineteenth century), the obligations of the village toward the priest and the cult had the sanction of the civil authorities who approved the church fees *(aranceles)*. The higher civil authorities also intervened in the regulation of cult activities.[34] The village civil officers had also some religious obligations in sponsoring certain festivals or in contributing to the support of the priest.[35]

The custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder (Spanish, *principal*; Tarascan, *t'aıépiti*) seems also to have been present. Evidence for the eighteenth century is lacking. Only for the village of Cutzeo we know that the principales were those who had passed through the office of governor, and that *atole* (cornmeal) for their Saturday meetings was made by the semaneros in the hospital. Today, however, traits of the surviving religious organization suggest the former existence of this connection between civil and religious officers. The group of elders is called *cabildo*, which originally meant 'town council', although it can also mean sodality council. In Cherán, principales are those who have passed through the offices of prioste and colector. In Angahuan also, religious offices have to be held before one becomes alcalde or member of the cabildo.[36]

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33. Osbourn Ms.
34. Osbourn Ms.; Estado, 1944, *passim*.
35. The governor in Ario, Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.), Coeneo (Rivera, 1888, 332, 334), San Francisco (Ocampo, 1900, 287); the councilmen in Tancítaro (Osbourn Ms.).
36. Beals, 1946, 132, 143.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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624 More detailed information comes from
794 Chilchota. Here a man was first mayordomo of the hospital, then mayordomo of the patron saint, later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

175 At the end of the eighteenth century,
794 then, the heavy cult expenses were causing the impoverishment of the Indians in
735 those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 For the nineteenth century there is no
794 survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only for the turn of the century is information again available. Since this is the period of
423 further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 215.
38. León, 1906, 437.
39. Beals, 1946, 122 (for Cherán); 218 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 216, 139.

175
794 duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro
423 was used until a short time ago to buy wax for the church.

Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions
794 from cargueros or the townspeople at large. Indian impoverishment caused by
735 attending to religious festivals is reported again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

The period of Mexican Independence up
624 to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *municipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:398.
42. Beals, 1946, 105; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1902, 404, 414–415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:391.

794 by commissioners (*comisionado, encargado*) named by the priest or the town council for a given task. In this case the time required is less and also the contributions, the expenses being met by the town or ward (barrio) and the commissioner acting as collector.

Changes in recent years have been, on
794 the one hand, the rise of an anticlerical
668 movement among the agraristas, aiming at
798 suppressing the cult. On the other hand, in the conservative communities trying to preserve the cult, changes can be described in terms of the decline of the cabildo, increased intervention by the priest or town council, and the change from individual sponsor to commissioner.

* * *

The accumulation of causes giving rise to a movement against the organization of the cult and the cargos had thus been going on for a long period of time when the Mexican agrarian revolution began to be influential in Michoacan. The local participation of Tarascan villages in the movements for agrarian reform has been outlined in the previous chapter. The local agraristas became supporters of the national revolutionary governments from which they expected to receive lands. Both the national and the local situations also combined to produce an anticlerical policy on the part of the agraristas.

Social studies in Michoacan have been limited to peasant communities, and no good study is available on the haciendas and the cities. Consequently there is no good information as to the way in which the anticlerical policy of the government was evident in Michoacan. In Mexico at large the official Church has been connected with the traditional landowner class, which explains the anticlerical policies of the government. In Michoacan we can assume the same situation prevailed, for we know that the church here, too, opposed the government's agrarian reforms.[51] Anticlericalism appears on the one hand as the influence of governmental policies. On the other hand, the local situation is of paramount importance and only in those places where local conditions provided a basis for it has anticlericalism gained any stronghold.

[735] Financing the traditional cult had been the cause in many villages for Indian impoverishment and the loss of land to a few rich or to outsiders. This fact led the

51. Foster, 1948, 175.

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775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand, if one gives alms to beggars, they will
[735] speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized, to become *compadres* the parents and god-
[788] parents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

These communities began to decline in
621 the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and
178 tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

The loss of Indian lands to haciendas
423 diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within
182 the Indian communities the economic im-
178 pact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be
[794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a
[735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

The factors disrupting the folk culture
182 are evident in the folk ideology as it con-
178 demns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

592 and the number of persons in the household. A
362 sampling technique was used, and about 5 percent
125 of the houses in each *barrio*, or *cuartel*, were measured and a census of their inhabitants taken. The only subjective factor in the study was the selection of houses for measurement. An effort was made to select houses in different classifications more or less in the proportions in which

they seemed to occur in the *cuartel*. As this study was done only after several months of familiarity with the town, it is believed the subjective error is not large. Comparative data are given from the town of Sevina. In the latter town, two streets were selected, and data taken from every house on each of the two streets from the central plaza to the edge of town.

592 It is evident that in an appreciable number of cases more than one family occupies a lot. This
362 situation may be due to several causes. In some
● [735] instances, it is a reflection of extreme poverty.
[591] In others, it results from sons remaining with their parents after marriage. In some instances also sons or sons and daughters may jointly occupy a lot inherited from their parents without subdividing the property.

362 In those cases where no house existed, 15 out of 52, poverty is indicated. It is true, however,
[735] that cases may exist where the person may be relatively comfortable financially and has not built a house because he has no agricultural land and hence no great need for storage space. In most cases where more than 1 family occupied a lot, there is a separate kitchen for each family. In the 22 cases in which more than 1 family occu-

854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress.
[864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave mis-
● 736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
[195] when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 About 25 percent of the boys go to school at ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are
871 ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

868 Actual participation in adult work begins at about 8 years for boys. At this age they
857 accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans may have been influenced by Vasco de 175 Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He tried to organize every Indian town around [743] a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held [423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hos- [794] pital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has [438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 188-194.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

175 the close interrelation of civil and religious
621 offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 Besides the hospital proper to take care
476 of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

175 The cult of the Virgin and other religious
794 activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuniso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a
175 sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

794 Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of
575 cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

175 This sodality of the Virgin was the domi-
794 nant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subor-
575 dinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'co-
621 fradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can
743 be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly
624 elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
743 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéṇi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young
624 girls, other times older women; they were most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages
624 for which there is information.[20] Many
796 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1908, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

175 Besides the cargueros of the hospital
794 there were other religious officers. Sodali-
575 ties other than those of the hospitales with
624 funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes, fiesteros,* or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal,* Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 Financing the cult involved payment of
794 alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep
651 of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua,* custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 In the eighteenth century, many of the
743 hospitales had property devoted to the sup-
423 port of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the
575 village commons. One of the cargueros or
794 a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good property, this financed not only the cult and
423 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
575 hospital officers, such as caring for the sick and paying for masses of the dead. In addition, the cargueros could use this same
794 source of income to provide food for the villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
796 were specially onerous and sometimes led the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
735 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring himself out as a muleteer servant [sirvi-
794 ente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very impoverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautivan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutseo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutseo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Estado, 1944, passim.
29. Ibid., 478.
30. Ibid., 480.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Estado, 1944, 477, 479.

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888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of [178] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a [759] *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the [366] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

759 All the curers (*curanderas*—ǰurijki; in other towns ɸinájpiri) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

751

751 PREVENTIVE MEDICINE--conception of health and hygiene; health regimen; protective measures (e.g., sun tan lotion, amulets, charms, spells, prophylaxis, immunization);etc. See also:

Incidence of disease	164	Health insurance	456
Diet	202	Personal hygiene	515
Exercise	526	Magic	789
Public health and sanitation	744	Infant care	854
Fetishes	778	Child care	855
Taboos	784	Prescriptions for longevity	896

262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*
252 more often than is maize.

Nixtamal prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed
[751] with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they
[576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with čurípo but may sometimes be eaten with atole. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the
[265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets
[435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

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252 chiles are added. Everything is passed through
272 a colander before cooking.

Puṭiti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamaríndo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čarákata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamaríndo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Iṭúkua kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.[17]

252 *Tóquera ičusta.*—Uncooked maize tóquera
262 (half way between green and mature maize) is ground on the metate, mixed with brown
[751] sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo.*

Uačakata.—This is red or black maize which
251 has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at
252 least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

252 *Arroz kamáta, rice atole.*—Well-cooked rice,
262 milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

[17] It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquite. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 In addition to the above methods of bewitch-
892 ment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 Methods of prevention and cure against
751 witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured
755 by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

844 her; "but God gave me the power to know
[578] medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from $1.50 to $2.50. One midwife charges $2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being $1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the $1.50, according to the
[578] midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

According to some midwives, if there is time,
844 the midwife goes to church before the delivery,
782 saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a
844 prayer to her just before the delivery. Mid-
[751] wives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino*, considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed,
[782] a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

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608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
[123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
754 but there are few special treatments for them. Only the evil eye must be guarded against
854 especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

751 sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently,
754 that is, the person with power to cause the evil
854 eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chile, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

553 In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be chosen at a council of the adult relatives who
608 pick a name from among the deceased relatives,
851 never the saint's day, as is the case among the Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

753 recover. Some curers wash their hands in
757 alcohol when treating *sarampión* to prevent
[751] catching the infection.

Whooping cough, perénsjuk (*tosferina*), is a very common disease, with a high mortality rate among children. Burro's milk, turpentine, copal, and *yerba buena* are used in treatment.

Syphilis, gonorrhea, diphtheria, and tuberculosis are either unknown or their existence in Cherán is denied. Most of the previously described diseases are recognized as infections by some curers; other diseases are not so considered.

Toothache seems always to be treated by patent medicines bought in drug stores at Uruapan or Purépero. One man said he had heard that letting of blood from the gums was done in the past, but the practice has been abandoned.

Goiter, kuéékua, is fairly common in Cherán, especially among females. It is regarded as a disease. Patients are bathed up to the knees with hot water to make the "heat" come down. Alcohol is then applied to the bottoms of the feet to make the "heat" stay down.

An extremely common disease, especially for children in the dry season, is dysentery, *posición*, usually accompained by high fever. Lard is washed with clean water. When the water is evaporated, a half centavo of sodium bicarbonate is mixed with the lard and the stomach is rubbed with the mixture.

Fevers are said to be very common, but there are few standard treatments. A well-known, herb, *romero*, is much used. A blue-flowered plant called *sadadrón* is also employed. Pneumonia and rheumatism are recognized, but, again, there are no standard treatments. Typhus in mild form has occurred in epidemics, but no treatment could be learned.

Pains are regarded as a class of illness. When children have pains, *dolores*, the mother anoints the seat of the pain with saliva mixed with ashes. The water in which maize has been cooked, *nejallote*, is also given in small quantities. This water is also used as a remedy whenever anything "fresh" (*fresco*) is needed. Women after birth are especially subject to pains of the breast, k'uaningiota. The pains may be in the breast, about the stomach region, or anywhere about the ribs. Sometimes

755 what is involved, they accede without asking questions. They take one of the garments they have on, such as the end of a *rebozo* or a blanket, and pass it over the infant's body, pretending to rub the child, although actually they often do not touch it. According to Rendón's information, as they "clean" the child each person says "čita ká'ka" (meaning not learned), repeating the phrase three or more times. The person cleaning the child then raises its shirt and either spits on the child over the heart, or pretends to do so. All persons, regardless of age, are asked to "clean" the child, for the evil eye may be caused by a child as well as an adult. This statement would seem to imply that the performance is conducted with the hope that the person causing the attack will be one of those to "clean" the victim; this is borne out by other information that if the person causing the evil eye is known, anyone can effect a cure by "cleaning" the victim with a piece of worn, soiled clothing lent by the causer.

Another method of curing the evil eye is to "clean" the patient with certain grasses or animals. The animals used are pigeons, black cats, and dogs. The entire body of the patient is rubbed with the animal, which is then released. By using only the pigeon or both the cat and dog, a child may be cured, but adults require rubbing with all three. If the evil eye is very strong, the pigeons may die, but the other two animals apparently are uninjured.

In order to prevent the evil eye, "deer eyes" [751] are tied to the wrist or about the neck, or a little sack filled with salt, lime, and black chile is hung about the neck. Adults wear a scapular with a stamp of some saint inside as a preventive.

McCorkle made several efforts to be "cured" in order to secure additional data, but only one instance was he taken seriously. Even this case is open to suspicion that the curer decided there was a possible gold mine in the situation and tried to exploit it to the limit. The curer in this instance also has the reputation of being a witch and able to turn herself into an owl at night. She refused to talk until her husband arrived, and he actually did most of the talking. They were very suspicious, asking if there were not doctors in Uruapan or

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222 237 ing. The combs found here are round and hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravo*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon [752] juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If [481] the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk with a small special-type ax, tying himself with [412] a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

753 are recognized as of mechanical origin. Some diseases are vaguely regarded as of natural causation and as possibly contagious; others are clearly of supernatural character even though curable by natural means, although the line between the two is not sharp. In either case, herbs, unguents, and drugs are believed capable of helping the sickness. To utilize these methods of curing requires no special ability but merely knowledge. Many minor ailments are treated at home; the curer is merely a
759 person of greater knowledge who is called in when home remedies fail or the case is obviously beyond the knowledge of the household. Similarly, the doctor at Parácho is called only when the curer fails or the case is believed beyond the curer's powers. Obviously, this situation has not greatly enhanced the reputation of the doctor, for most of his patients are nearly moribund some hours before he can reach them.

Curers usually make a diagnosis first. No
757 information on methods could be secured. It appears that a visual inspection and questioning of the patients are parts of the diagnosis, and possibly the only diagnosis. Once the diagnosis is made, the curer decides what steps to take to cure the patient. Often herbs kept on hand can be used; others, however, must be specially sought because they must be collected either fresh or at certain hours of the day.

In general, sickness by some is related to the
753 strength of the blood which resides below the
[826] nape of the neck. This is also the location of the individual's life. Persons with much blood are healthy. When persons are seriously ill, it is because their blood is scanty; when there is insufficient to nourish the "seat of life," the person dies. There are also vague concepts of sickness being caused by "heat" or "cold," (sophisticated Agustín attributed a cold to drinking water while sweating) "airs" (which may also be either hot or cold), fright (*espanto*), and, much more specific, evil eye.

Broken bones are treated by specialists, who
752 may also be curers of diseases or, in one case
[759] at least, midwives. The bones are manipulated into place and bound to splints without other treatment.

Dislocations are massaged repeatedly with olive oil until the bones are back in place. They

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752 are then covered with belladonna leaves. Bruises are sometimes cured by splitting a lizard and applying it to the injured place.

Hernia is recognized as being from natural causes through lifting heavy weights. One curer treats the ailments with massage with oils. The patient also takes medicine made by collecting all the kinds of alcoholic drinks the curer can find, such as *charanda*, sherry, etc., and mixing them together. The patient takes a third to a half cup of the mixture every morning before breakfast.

757 Headache, ép'amerání, is extremely common and is ordinarily treated with home remedies. A patch of some herb (or of adhesive plaster or court plaster bought in the stores) is applied to each temple. Some people wear these patches almost constantly, especially some women.

Bilis, bile, is one of the commonest diseases,
753 especially among children; it also is one of the
757 most difficult to define. Often the vaguest of symptoms are attributed to *bilis*. Lassitude, especially in young persons, often is diagnosed as *bilis*. According to one curer, however, the patient turns yellow, seems tired, and develops sores similar to those of smallpox. Three causes are given for *bilis*, air in the stomach from waiting too long for a meal, not getting enough to eat and so getting air in the stomach, and getting air in the stomach from any other cause. Children are sometimes born with *bilis* and are thought to become infected in the womb. Treatments of *bilis* are vague. *Flor de pila* well cooked with cinnamon, and given by the teaspoon as a tonic, and an infusion of *simonillo* are two remedies. *Amargo* (see below) is another remedy.

Stomach pains are also regarded as being caused by air, either hot or cold. *Basa*, a pain on either side, is also caused by air, or by drinking too much water. *Espinocilla*, a red-flowered plant, is good for both these afflictions. Nopal leaves are put on the soles of the feet for too much heat in the stomach. (See below for account of a cure of one of the members of the staff.)

Itch or mange, *sarna*, súta, is treated with unguents purchased in the drug store, polvo Juan and mercuric ointment.

Heart trouble, *latido de corazón*, is recognized from pains in the heart and by palpita-

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753 tions. There is a high fever, a cough, and sometimes the patient spits blood. The patient
757 is rubbed with oil of seven different flowers, bought in the drug store, and given an infusion of sunflowers, spines from the tejecote tree, prickly pear, chayote, and dry white and red maize leaves. The infusion is taken several times a day in place of water. The disease may be caused if the person arrives somewhere very agitated and drinks cold water or something cold, *fresca*. One informant thought eating lice was good for heart trouble.

Piles, *almorranas*, are cured with a remedy
752 made with copper sulfate and lard washed with
753 vinegar, unguent of serato, and drying salve (*pomada secante*). One of the assistants was told confidentially, and as a thing not to be passed on, that cauterization with a hot iron was also employed.

Erysipelas, čarápiti, appears with a high
753 fever, which increases. There is angry red
757 swelling and much pain. The cause given is allowing the clothing to dry on the body if one becomes soaked; the disease is also an accompaniment of wounds. The patient is given a cooked infusion of *yerba de cancer* and asked to eat only milk, sago, and orange-leaf tea.

753 Salmoneda is a disease of small children;
755 they fall down in fits. The cause is fright, *espanto*, and the disease is cured by burning copal and having the child inhale the smoke.

Smallpox, kuarósikua, occurs every March.
753 There are 3 days of fever, 3 days of cough and
757 fever accompanied by breaking out of the pustules, 3 days of feeding to regain strength. After the sixth day the pustules begin to dry up. Possibility of contagion from using the same cup, spoon, etc., is recognized. The stage accompanied by the cough is treated with burro's milk (application not clear) and a common herb occurring on the streets, ¢ákua peréně. The latter is boiled and drunk instead of water.

Sarampión, measles, usually occurs in March also and is regarded as much more dangerous than smallpox (although this may be true, it seems more likely that the identification of diseases is faulty). The patients get a red rash, fever, and colds. An infusion of grapefruit (?) is used to bring out the rash; if the rash does not come out the patient may not

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755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the
752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling
755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which
[824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them
755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in
761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to
[888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially
775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the
764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

232 common. If wounds are bound, carefully washed lard mixed with sugar may be applied or wet dressings may be used, dampened at frequent intervals with salt water.

Rabies is believed to be caused by the bite of some other animal, by inadequate food, or by heat. There is no cure.

Dysentery, *"posición,"* in horses and burros is believed to be caused by cold or *"salitre,"* a very salty mineral-bearing earth. The animal is fed pills of coffee, lemon, and bicarbonate of soda.

"Onia" is caused by overwork, but the symptoms were not recorded. Treatment is bleeding the side of the neck and rest. (In general, [753] overwork is regarded as an important cause of sickness.)

Sore feet result from the feet becoming full of blood. The bottom of the foot is bled and the animal must rest until well.

"Roncha" is a disease caused by mosquito bites; if it is not cured within 24 hours, the animal usually dies. Symptoms and treatment were not recorded.

"Pirojon" is very dangerous and kills in 24 hours. It is believed to be caused by mosquitoes or flies that have bitten a dead animal already putrefying. One curer burns the bites with a magnifying glass.

Evil eye, *malojo*, may affect animals that refuse to eat. There is no cure. The best thing is to sell the animal to the man who cast the evil eye (at his price usually); the animal then recovers.

[925] Bats are reported to bite animals at night and make them bleed. Nothing is done to prevent this. As it is said bats never bite humans, and as Cherán probably is above the range of vampire bats, the report may be folklore.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

In the previous sections were described the 128 technological processes which involve the exploitation of the environment and the extraction therefrom of raw materials. The present section will describe techniques by which the raw materials are processed and made ready for consumption. Obviously, such classifications must be somewhat elastic. No doubt, good reasons could be advanced against including domesticated animals under exploitative activi-

163 The data again are not entirely reliable because of a tendency not to count deceased children
842 until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938,
165 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

165 The table of deaths by causes (table 16)
753 should be considered primarily of interest in showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities.
[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

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165 Possibly (although not necessarily) of more significance is the summary in table 17. This
753 summation was prepared in the belief that the general class of cause was perhaps more accurately known; in other words, diphtheria as a cause of death very likely is an incorrect diagnosis, but very possibly a pulmonary disease was involved. Particular attention is called to category 3a, *bílis*. It is not at all certain that an intestinal disease is involved. *Bílis* is the catch-all of Cherán medicine. Whenever one is "under the weather," he is apt to say he has *bílis*, and very possibly the concept is a receptacle for whatever beliefs of supernatural disease causation still exist in Cherán. The problem will be elaborated on in the discussion of disease and curing.

Knowledge of emigration is necessary to
167 understand the Cherán population situation. Virtually all the emigration has been to the United States; relatively few persons appear to have emigrated either to other parts of Mexico or to other Tarascan towns. Impressionistically, it would appear that a very considerable portion of the Cherán population has been in the United States. Probably very few families either have not been in the United States or do not have some fairly close relative who is or has been in this country. Too small a sample was taken for statistical data on this point to be valid, but of 28 males interviewed specifically with reference to emigration, 25 had been in the United States. Discussion of the motivations, character, and personal significance of this migration will be given later.

Although many Cherán residents have emigrated, few persons have immigrated. A tanner from Aranza and a butcher from Chilchota, two tilemakers, two school teachers, the secretary, and the tax collector are the only persons known to have settled in the town in recent years. Of these, only the first two regard themselves as permanent residents. Most outsiders are treated as citizens, and there is no bar to purchase of land by outsiders. However, if land is for sale, owners are expected to offer it first to local residents.

If the Cherán population continues to increase to the point that land becomes scarce, it will be interesting to observe whether an emigration pattern again develops. The present

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases
821 of the moon determines the length of labor.
844 Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as
[144] occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal
[753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

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841 track of the periods are used but some account is kept of the phase of the moon and an approximate idea formed. The normal menstruation is regarded as lasting 3 or 4 days. Slight or excessive flows during the period are believed to be bad. No special garments are worn, but the ordinary underwear is carefully washed after the flow ends.

[834] Women should not have relations with men during the menstrual period, and most women do not resume relations with their husbands until they have bathed, although some do so as soon as menstruation ends. Violation of this [753] rule is believed to be bad for the men and to cause them to contract a disease with ulcers. 841 Women may prepare food for themselves and others, but they must not eat certain foods. 262 These include "cold" things, such as avocados or prickly pears. Beans, if eaten, must be consumed with quantities of onions. Rice, pork, and preserved chiles (because the liquid is very "cool") are also believed to be bad. Dried chiles may be eaten. *Aguardiente* is also avoided, although a little in coffee or orange-leaf tea is believed to be helpful. The majority, if possible, drink chocolate in the mornings even though they may not normally do so or may even dislike it. In connection with the concept of "coldness" it should be noted that this refers to the supposed effects on the person, not to the quality of the thing itself. Cold water, for example, may be consumed freely. Aside from sexual restrictions, men have no special rules to observe when their wives menstruate.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONSHIPS

581 Marriage is the normal state of the Cherán adult and unmarried persons are relatively rare, except among the aged. Although sexual inverts were reported, in every case they had 838 married. One woman is known to be an invert and is called *toro-vaca*. As a girl she attempted to seduce other girls, and a woman told Rendón that in her childhood the individual in question once tried to drag her into a vacant lot, stopping her mouth with a *rebozo*, but she tore loose and screamed and was rescued by her father. Various charges were also made against the woman in court, but nothing was ever done.

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[p.202a]

888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of [178] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a [759] *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the [366] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

759 All the curers (*curanderas*—šurijki; in other towns ¢inájpiri) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

753 are recognized as of mechanical origin. Some diseases are vaguely regarded as of natural causation and as possibly contagious; others are clearly of supernatural character even though curable by natural means, although the line between the two is not sharp. In either case, herbs, unguents, and drugs are believed capable of helping the sickness. To utilize these methods of curing requires no special ability but merely knowledge. Many minor ailments are treated at home; the curer is merely a
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[p.2036]

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757 sometimes the patient spits blood. The patient is rubbed with oil of seven different flowers, bought in the drug store, and given an infusion of sunflowers, spines from the tejecote tree, prickly pear, chayote, and dry white and red maize leaves. The infusion is taken several times a day in place of water. The disease may be caused if the person arrives somewhere very agitated and drinks cold water or something cold, *fresca*. One informant thought eating lice was good for heart trouble.

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753 recover. Some curers wash their hands in
757 alcohol when treating *sarampión* to prevent
[751] catching the infection.

Whooping cough, perénsjuk (*tosferina*), is a very common disease, with a high mortality rate among children. Burro's milk, turpentine, copal, and *yerba buena* are used in treatment.

Syphilis, gonorrhea, diphtheria, and tuberculosis are either unknown or their existence in Cherán is denied. Most of the previously described diseases are recognized as infections by some curers; other diseases are not so considered.

Toothache seems always to be treated by patent medicines bought in drug stores at Uruapan or Purépero. One man said he had heard that letting of blood from the gums was done in the past, but the practice has been abandoned.

Goiter, kuéékua, is fairly common in Cherán, especially among females. It is regarded as a disease. Patients are bathed up to the knees with hot water to make the "heat" come down. Alcohol is then applied to the bottoms of the feet to make the "heat" stay down.

An extremely common disease, especially for children in the dry season, is dysentery, *posición*, usually accompained by high fever. Lard is washed with clean water. When the water is evaporated, a half centavo of sodium bicarbonate is mixed with the lard and the stomach is rubbed with the mixture.

Fevers are said to be very common, but there are few standard treatments. A well-known, herb, *romero*, is much used. A blue-flowered plant called *sadadrón* is also employed. Pneumonia and rheumatism are recognized, but, again, there are no standard treatments. Typhus in mild form has occurred in epidemics, but no treatment could be learned.

Pains are regarded as a class of illness. When children have pains, *dolores*, the mother anoints the seat of the pain with saliva mixed with ashes. The water in which maize has been cooked, *nejallote*, is also given in small quantities. This water is also used as a remedy whenever anything "fresh" (*fresco*) is needed. Women after birth are especially subject to pains of the breast, k'uaningiota. The pains may be in the breast, about the stomach region, or anywhere about the ribs. Sometimes

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753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness
2 78 which are quite generalized, that is, they may be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nurite, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe,* and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

753 Of considerable interest is a class of diseases
754 and ailments which seem to be of supernatural causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was
755 something attacking only drunkards and persons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

753 slightly broiled, on which is sprinkled a little
755 salt. The patient's mouth is opened and the tomato is pressed upward against the soft palate while with the left hand the curer pushes down on the crown of the patient's head. After doing this for some minutes, the tomato is removed from the finger, opened, and rubbed on the crown of the patient's head, on the wrists, and on the joints of the arms. Following this, the patient's head is massaged with gentle pressure, with special attention to the face, the cheek bones, forehead, temples, and occiput. This is called "raising the crown of the head." The treatment is given to both adults and children.

Few data were secured on "wind" or "air." People with the sickness are sometimes said to have been "taken by the wind." In some cases "air" attacks the stomach; some data on treatment have been given above.

The "evil eye" is a very dangerous matter
754 because it attacks mainly small children who
753 are often unable to resist the sickness. Moreover, the power of the evil eye may be possessed by anyone without the knowledge of the possessor. Most commonly persons with the power of the evil eye will afflict individuals of whom they are especially fond. Children who are very pretty or clean and with neatly combed hair are particularly subject to the evil eye. When two persons desire very much to see each other and cannot do so, one is apt to afflict the other with the evil eye; for example, lovers who wish very much to see each other. The evil eye is always believed to be caused unconsciously and without malice.

Symptoms of the evil eye among children are weakness, pale or yellowish complexion, and a tendency to cry a great deal. Adults feel disconsolate; are unable to sleep or, when they do sleep, dream constantly of the person causing the disease, dream someone is calling or talking; or while awake, they think constantly of the person causing the sickness, with feelings of sorrow and pain. In either case, if a cure is not effected, the person dies with vomiting and fever.

755 In order to cure infants of the evil eye, mothers take their children to a street intersection. All passersby are asked to "clean" the child with their clothing. As everyone knows

755 *zorilla* (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

The majority of Capacuaro residents have
164 goiter. This is said often to result from drink-
755 ing from a spring of bad water. The spring is
[753] said to be bad because many humming birds drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

The power of the evil eye belongs only to
754 certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the
755 person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

The following remedies are reported by
755 Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.

2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.

3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).

4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaíri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

● 753 828 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is about to leave his body. "My heart [i.e., soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of 775 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God, 773 decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when [262] a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

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533 also play for some civic events, such as the installation of new officers, for which they receive no pay.

In addition to the organized bands, there are smaller and less well organized groups of musicians, mainly performers on stringed instruments such as violin, violincello, bass fiddle, and guitar, although a clarinetist may be included. Such groups meet and play together at one another's houses for their own pleasure. At times, however, they may be hired for *mayordomías* or household fiestas, especially if the sponsor cannot afford a full band. Such groups may also be asked to play at some public function. In 1940 one such group was asked by the mayor to play in the school in connection with the final oral examinations and closing exercises.

WITCHCRAFT

754 For many miles around, Cherán has the reputation of being the outstanding center for witchcraft among the Tarascans. As is often the case, however, it was extremely difficult to secure any information about witchcraft in the town. Enough was secured, however, and enough significant evasions encountered, to make it likely that the reputation is deserved. Even by the informants and assistants on the study, concealment was practiced, and at the very end of the study some data were obtained virtually by accident from Agustín, our United States born helper, which he obviously told with great reluctance.

Witches, sakuájpiri, are believed always to be women. In general, the name of witch is applied to all "women of the street," that is, women who live without men. Generally, these are either aged women without relatives or women, usually widows, who are believed to be prostitutes. No one would dare do anything against such women. Although these women may live in any part of the town, there is evidence that they are believed to live more in *barrio* I on the slopes of Santiákujákua, the hill on the northwest corner of the town. This hill is said to be full of witches and to be a very dangerous spot to go to at night. Passing along one of the uppermost streets on the hill one day, we were asked for a coin by an old woman. Agustín R. refused to let me give a coin and

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754 hurried us away, obviously much shaken by the experience and firmly convinced the woman was a witch.

Despite the fact that several persons stated all witches are women, a story was collected that witchcraft was started in Cherán by a man who found a book. Most power, though, is said to be obtained by a witch who goes alone to the summit of Kukundikáta, a volcanic cone a mile or two southeast of town and about a thousand feet in height. Here the witch calls the devil, "Sir devil, I ask a favor." A strong wind is felt or the sound of a strong wind is heard and the devil appears before the petitioner. The would-be witch then makes a contract for 20 years, at the end of which time he loses his life. In the meantime the witch may teach others, however, who do not have a contract unless the witch makes a subsidiary agreement with them. In any case they are not as powerful as the witch who secures power directly from the devil. (Note again in this account the implication that the witches are male.)

Witches operate in several ways. The most common is to secure some very personal object, a comb, piece of hair, piece of clothing, or even sweat from a coin (which is why Agustín refused to let me give a coin, as mentioned above). A doll of wax or clay is made to resemble the person and dressed in similar clothes. The article obtained is used in making or clothing the doll. If hair of the victim has been obtained, for example, it is placed on the head of the doll. Pins are then stuck in the joints and, if it is desired to kill the victim, in each temple. The doll is then taken to one of several places, things are recited in Tarascan, candles are burned, and each time the pins are pushed in a little farther.

The places visited are a spot in the *barranca* separating Parícutin from the other *barrios* or two caves on the slope of Kukundikáta. It was undesirable to attempt to locate the spot in the *barranca*, but the two caves were visited. Neither showed signs of much use. In one candles had evidently been burned. The second had been visited fairly recently. Far in the back of the cave a small trench crossed the steeply sloping floor and the rocks about it had been well swept. In a corner were twigs from

754 an oak tree and at one side two crossed branches of oak. A cigarette butt and some fragments of pitch pine, apparently dropped casually, were the only other evidence of use.

It was reported that a good deal of witchcraft had been stamped out and that the municipal government, acting on orders from Morelia, had posted two armed guards at night in the *barranca* and one on Kukundikáta with orders to shoot to kill anyone they found practicing witchcraft. It is necessary to kill the witch, because if the witch escapes the magic will turn against the person interfering. Any attempt at verification of this report from the municipal officials met with such skillful evasive action that there may be a modicum of truth in it.

Another way of bewitching is to carry objects at night to the house of the victim. Bones of dead persons were mentioned as one of the objects. Pedro Chávez had also seen a candle with many holes in it and cut in many places which was hidden close to the house of an intended victim. Candles are used because they are associated with the dead. Earth from the floor of the jail is also very useful in such matters, and certain flowers may also be deposited.

One of the ways of leaving things or of obtaining a personal object is for the witch to change into some animal. Witches may change into cats, owls, dogs, roosters, or burros. In this guise they may hide something by the house of the victim or may steal some personal object. If a strange cat, or even a neighbor's cat which has never come around before, should come into the kitchen and play and try to snatch personal things it is probably a witch in disguise. If such a cat is caught by the tail and held in the smoke of an oak fire it will soon talk and answer any question asked, such as the name of the witch, the person sending the witch, and so on. A friend of Agustín R. caught a witch cat in this way. He threatened to kill it if he saw it again. When he released the animal, it simply vanished.

The animals may also talk softly to the victim at night. A woman heard a voice outside saying, "Sleep, *Doña* ———, sleep." She went to a good witch and after a period of treatment was not bothered again. Owls will get in trees

754 outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

754 Little is known about curing techniques. In
755 the account secured, the good witch goes into an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

754 In all probability an important reason for the departure of the Rangel family from Cherán
[167] for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

754 magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

754 Data are too scanty to form any reliable
157 hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in
621 Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

754 Two other items should be added to this discussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

791 Although not considered witches, there are women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

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WITCHCRAFT IN CAPACUARO

754 As is often the case, more specific details of witchcraft were secured in Capacuaro, which has no reputation for witchcraft, than in Cherán. In the course of a brief stay in Capacuaro, Rendón and Carrasco made the acquaintance of a delightful couple who openly admitted to being witches. The remaining members of the staff subsequently became fairly well acquainted with the couple. Their witchcraft seemed, on the whole, a relatively harmless and unmalicious variety, which may account for their willingness to admit to the practice. Per-
754 haps the most entertaining incident was when
832 the wife told Rendón under promise of secrecy that she had secured her husband through witchcraft and had been able to keep him only through the same means. The husband told Carrasco the same story about his wife!

The following are details, mostly collected by Rendón:

1. Method of winning the love of someone; of making a wife return to her husband; or of making a husband return to his wife; or causing someone who is impassioned without hope to obtain what he desires:

Secure five candles costing 5 centavos, three of paraffin and two of tallow. The practitioner must shut himself in a room without anyone seeing him, but if he has asked a witch to do the ceremony for him, he must be present. The candles are arranged in the following form:

•	tallow candle
• • •	paraffin candles
•	tallow candle

The paraffin candle in the center is known as the "Candle of the Heart." The candles must be in the center of the room and oriented to the cardinal directions.

Placing of the candles begins with the lower tallow candle. First the candle is turned between the fingers in a certain way, saying "so and so, come, come, come, come, come . . . " many times. Upon saying this the necessary number of times depends much of the success of the ceremony, but there are no rules; the witch simply feels when it has been enough. The candle is then lighted and put in position. The same is done with the other candles, but the order could not be given unless the investigator had hired the ceremony performed with serious purpose.

The center candle, the "Candle of the heart," is previously softened by exposure to the sunlight. Two fingers are then measured on the candle from the base

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754 832 "for your guardian angel, two fingers for the Holy Spirit, and one finger for your name." At the point reached by the five fingers measurement, the candle is opened and a flower called the "flower of thought" is placed inside, and the wax is replaced carefully as though the candle had not been opened.

The center candle is now lighted at the butt end and placed in position upside down. Great care must be exercised, however, not to permit the candle to burn past the point where the flower is located. If it did, the bewitched person would die and the person performing the incantation would go to the inferno and suffer throughout eternity.

This ceremony may be performed in any position of the moon and by either day or night. Nevertheless, Wednesday is the best day, and night is the best time. The indispensable prerequisite is that no one see the ceremony except the person on whose behalf it is performed. Any other person, even though equally interested in the success of the procedure, would interfere with the result, while a hostile person who knew, could intercept the "labor" and even do injury to the witch.

Despite this prohibition in ordinary cases, there are some circumstances in which several witches or women "initiated in remedies," even though they did not know how to officiate, might perform this ceremony together. The informant, however, refused to tell how the ceremony was performed in this case or the object of the ceremony.

After the ceremony has been performed, the subject is observed for several days or a week. If no improvement in attitude is noticeable, the bewitchment continues in the following form:

Candles are burned again as described above. In addition, the witch procures a meter of black belting material, a small stamp of Saint Judas, a bit of red paper, "flowers of thought," dahlias or other red flowers, and a collection of as many kinds of flowers as can be found. The Saint Judas is wrapped carefully and thoroughly in the black belt. The bundle is then wrapped in the red paper and laid on a cross made of the miscellaneous flowers at the "head" of the candles with the saint's face down. On the bundle is placed the red flower and the "flowers of thought." Then the witch says, "Saint Judas, bring me so and so, for I have you there prisoner and if you do not hurry I will burn you." A "prayer" is then said in Tarascan which the informant refused to divulge. The witch remains in a kneeling position and recites seven credos until the "Candle of the Heart" reaches the point past which it must not burn. (In order to have the candles burn an equal amount, it is necessary to put out the others when they reach the same level.)

754 2. To make someone hate another person; to make a husband leave his wife or a wife leave her husband; to make children desert their parents or parents abandon their children; to make a person feel repulsion for others:

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754 The witch or the person who wishes to accomplish the result secures excrement of the person who is to be hated. The excrement is dried in the sun from 12 until 3, being careful not to expose it at other hours. When dry, the excrement is ground to a powder. Each day at sundown a little of the powder is burned and clothing of the person who is to hate the other is passed through the smoke. Thus a witch who wished another woman's husband secured some of the woman's excrement [832] and passed a pair of trousers and shirt of the man through the smoke. The very next day the man left his wife and came to live with the witch (and is now her husband). The deserted wife immediately went with another man and her first husband "danced with pleasure."

3. To make mischief so that something goes badly with a person—so that his animals will die, so his harvest will fail, so he will fall in jail, so he and all his family will weaken and catch diseases:

Take about a quarter-liter bottle of alcohol. Mix this with earth taken from a spot where there was a quarrel to the death, or where someone had an accident and died, or where there is a burial of a person who did not die in Christian fashion, or from the illegal grave of some recently born child whose parents did not notify the authorities and buried it surreptitiously. If no serious injury is to be caused it will be sufficient to take earth where there has been a quarrel and bloodshed, even though there was no death. This earth, after mixing with alcohol, is allowed to dry thoroughly and is kept in a bottle until it is needed. When the opportunity offers, a little of the earth is sprinkled on the back of the person it is desired to injure, at the same time saying in one's mind the kind of injury one wishes will occur.

4. To cause suppurating sores on the genitals of a person one hates:

Buy oil for lamps and let it burn several days before a holy image. Take what is left and mix it with a bit of earth recently stepped on by the person it is desired to injure, or put in the oil something of the victim, such as hair, fingernails, or some piece of used clothing, and burn the oil, saying "So and so, you must have sores on such and such a part of the body." In addition, if the person is a man, he must be given a glass of *aguardiente* in which an herb from the hot country has infused a number of days; and if the person is a woman, a *gorda* made from maize dough or nixtamal in which the same herb is mixed. (The informant refused to name the herb, claiming she identified it only by sight when the herb sellers came around.)

754 832 5. So that a man or woman will "become tame" and do what one wishes, including making a husband permit his wife sexual relations with another man or a wife permit her husband

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754 832 sexual relations with another woman, and, in addition, aiding the adulterers to meet:

Buy a new small pottery vessel (*ollita*); it is best to buy it direct from the kiln to make sure it has not been used for anything else. Fill the vessel with holy water, first fastening a new 20 centavo piece to the bottom, inside, with campeche wax. Into the water put a large paraffin candle which has been cut into many small pieces. Each piece represents part of the strength (*fuerza*) of the individual while the holy water signifies that the strength is broken. In order that the results will be "good," put in a piece of cane from the mountains known as *otate del leon* and a very resinous splinter of pitch pine. Then cover the top of the vessel with a thick cap of campeche wax so that no air may enter. The vessel is then buried beneath the spot where the person to be bewitched sleeps, if this person is a spouse. If not, the vessel is buried in the patio of the house of the person.

6. To make a man lose his sexual vigor so that he will recover it only with the woman who has had the magic done:

[824] The witch must first seek a small grass known as *pito de toro* and place it in *aguardiente* to infuse. The man should drink a little of this *aguardiente* every day for 8 days. If he is not a drinking man, then it must be given in coffee or atole or in some other manner so that he will not be aware that he is being given something. After 8 days the woman spies on the man until he goes to urinate, when she must recover a bit of the moist earth or, if he has not urinated on the earth, place earth in the receptacle. The urine-moistened earth is placed inside a *chile ancho* of the largest size it is possible to secure. The *chile* is then sewed up with needle and thread so none of the earth can escape and placed below the spot where the man sleeps with someone, or, if he is unmarried, it is buried in his patio as close as possible to the place where he sleeps. With this, the man remains incapacitated from having sexual relations with any woman except the one who has performed the rite.

754 7. To make a person suffer so that he will be sad and feel sick, although it will be imagination and not in reality; so that he will feel he is going to die; so that everything is revolting; and so that he will be unable to find tranquillity at any moment because [illegible] will seem something is about to happen:

Make a small doll resembling the human figure out of campeche wax and clothing used by the person. It is important that the clothing used should not have been washed, but be soiled from wearing. When the doll is made, stick pins in it all along the part of the spinal column, one in the crown of the head, two in the temples, two in the throat on each side, two in the nape of the neck, two in the umbilicus, and seven on the

754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 In addition to the above methods of bewitch-
832 ment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 Methods of prevention and cure against
751 witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured
755 by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

754 refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft, Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too [831] scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches [763] disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

776 Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural outside of the various aspects 151 of Christianity and withcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the miríŋgua, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the miríŋgua. The most common place about town for the miríŋgua to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

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608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
[123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
but there are few special treatments for them.
● 754 Only the evil eye must be guarded against
854 especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

751 sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently,
754 that is, the person with power to cause the evil
854 eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chilè, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

553 In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be
608 chosen at a council of the adult relatives who
851 pick a name from among the deceased relatives, never the saint's day, as is the case among the Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

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753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness
278 which are quite generalized, that is, they may be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nuríte, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe,* and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

Of considerable interest is a class of diseases
753 and ailments which seem to be of supernatural
754 causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was something attacking only drunkards and per-
755 sons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

753 slightly broiled, on which is sprinkled a little
755 salt. The patient's mouth is opened and the tomato is pressed upward against the soft palate while with the left hand the curer pushes down on the crown of the patient's head. After doing this for some minutes, the tomato is removed from the finger, opened, and rubbed on the crown of the patient's head, on the wrists, and on the joints of the arms. Following this, the patient's head is massaged with gentle pressure, with special attention to the face, the cheek bones, forehead, temples, and occiput. This is called "raising the crown of the head." The treatment is given to both adults and children.

Few data were secured on "wind" or "air." People with the sickness are sometimes said to have been "taken by the wind." In some cases "air" attacks the stomach; some data on treatment have been given above.

754 The "evil eye" is a very dangerous matter
753 because it attacks mainly small children who are often unable to resist the sickness. Moreover, the power of the evil eye may be possessed by anyone without the knowledge of the possessor. Most commonly persons with the power of the evil eye will afflict individuals of whom they are especially fond. Children who are very pretty or clean and with neatly combed hair are particularly subject to the evil eye. When two persons desire very much to see each other and cannot do so, one is apt to afflict the other with the evil eye; for example, lovers who wish very much to see each other. The evil eye is always believed to be caused unconsciously and without malice.

Symptoms of the evil eye among children are weakness, pale or yellowish complexion, and a tendency to cry a great deal. Adults feel disconsolate; are unable to sleep or, when they do sleep, dream constantly of the person causing the disease, dream someone is calling or talking; or while awake, they think constantly of the person causing the sickness, with feelings of sorrow and pain. In either case, if a cure is not effected, the person dies with vomiting and fever.

755 In order to cure infants of the evil eye, mothers take their children to a street intersection. All passersby are asked to "clean" the child with their clothing. As everyone knows

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755 *zorilla* (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

The majority of Capacuaro residents have
164 goiter. This is said often to result from drink-
755 ing from a spring of bad water. The spring is said to be bad because many humming birds
[753] drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

The power of the evil eye belongs only to
● 754 certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels
755 burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

The following remedies are reported by
755 Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.

2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.

3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).

4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

Among the Tarascans, their connection
771 with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater ac-
177 culturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has
[241] a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are light-
[821] ed to them. There are also a number of
[824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

In the life cycle ceremonies the main re-
796 ligious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and
[754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although
[177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

Unorganized (non-Church) religion is
779 comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɣakurin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

Other than those of wealth, most pacts
●754 with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witch-
776 craft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.

Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil.
776 They either are caused by him or are special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (a) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (b) be-

183 another woman, lending one's wife, marriage between brother and sister, killing a brother or a son, failure to become *compadres* according to custom, not taking good care of children—such are the sins against the family.

Witchcraft is learned from the Devil by 754 selling him one's own soul or even one's children's. Consequently, witches are doomed to hell and all their activities are definitely evil; they make people sicken and die, they ask for the help of the devils, and they deal sacrilegiously with the church.

183 (*b*) Behavior against special interests or groups, which is considered evil in Tarascan folklore, can be arranged under two main headings: (1) that relating to money and property; and (2) that relating to the Church and organized religion.

(1) All the evil associations of money come out very clearly in the very common theme of the man who sells his soul to the Devil, money being the main cause for his doing so. The same moral is found in other stories: In a number of tales, a poor girl's marriage to a rich man leads only to her damnation. The cupidity of the people of San Juan Parangaricutiro in connection with the pilgrims to their fiesta leads to their destruction by the volcano of Paricutin. The priest who wants to keep the money a boy found and took to him to be blessed is turned into stone. Those who do not fulfill promises regarding inheritance find their failure to do so an impediment to entering heaven.

The bad association of money is thus clearly established. Poverty, work (richness and idleness go together in Tarascan world view), and resignation are the good qualities opposed to those associated with money. "If you marry a rich man, you will not love God; you better marry a poor man and think always of God." Marrying a rich man "you profit only for a while and then you have to pay for it in the other world." For the rich, it is good to give away property. Beggars will speak favorably to God. In the story of the rich man who gave corn to the poor in times of scarcity, God rewards him by making him the spirit of rain.

This censure of wealth and praise of poverty, however, form but one aspect of the attitude towards property. Certain tales clearly stress, on the contrary, the rightness of property, and damnation is brought to whoever dares attack it. In one

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
668 in the fact that their ideas about cargos are changing. Whereas for the traditionalist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics oppose this idea. They say it is only custom, an unnecessary expenditure of money, not required to be a good Catholic, and they are supported by the priest. When discussing this point, Manuel has a ready argument: "Do you have cargos in Mexico City? You don't have them there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the supernatural are usually believed, and sometimes even wonder stories, but the attitude of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", i. e., compacts with the Devil.

• • • •

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave behind the Church to make a compact with
538 the Devil and learn their art. The present lack of witches is attributed to the fact that the entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to go back to hell; and they have not been seen thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocúcho there were many thunderstorms
539 over a certain mountain. "A priest went and blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
783 storm destroyed the cave. They said many people were seen leaving the mountain; they

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245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and
[252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote.*" Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples [439] from Pichataro. The San Juan fiesta is the occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

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[p. 141 b]

796 honey gatherers determine the list of candidates for the *mayordomía* at a meeting before Corpus. For the upper two *barrios*, only one principal was mentioned. In this case the principal was interviewed and asserted that all candidates for the *mayordomía* applied to him. The real *carguero* in the lower *barrios* in 1940 was the 4-year-old son of the household, according to his father. The *mayordomía* was sought because the boy was not growing normally.

[755]

On some occasions the principals of the lower *barrios* have some expenses. For example, one year the box in which the saint's image is taken to the mountains was partly burned through an accident. The principals ordered a new box at their expense.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE THREE KINGS

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings, Los Treyes Reyes, is celebrated on January 6, the new *carguero* taking the images the following day. The *mayordomía* is relatively new, and the present images were secured in 1940. The previous images were small and provisional. The *carguero* in 1940 had held the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child the previous year. In both cases the *mayordomía* was sought to aid the health of a sickly child. In addition, the parents had vowed the child to perform in the dance of the *viejos* every year.

[755]

It is obvious that the *carguero* in 1940 was well-to-do to be able to take two *mayordomías* on 2 successive years. Moreover, he introduced an innovation by taking over all the expenses of the dancers who perform in connection with the Day of the Kings. Previously the dance group had been entirely independent of the *mayordomía*, raising their own money for expenses and music.

The expenses of the *carguero* in 1940 were secured in some detail. They are as follows:

796
435

Musicians	$ 70.00
1 pig butchered (estimate)	25.00
1 ox butchered (estimate)	60.00
22 *fanegas* of maize at 3.75 to 4.00	80.00
40 sugar canes and 40 oranges for dancers	2.00
Bread for all (about 200 guests) at end of dance; three breakfasts for dancers	10.00

754 outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

754 Little is known about curing techniques. In
755 the account secured, the good witch goes into an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

754 In all probability an important reason for the departure of the Rangel family from Cherán
[167] for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 In addition to the above methods of bewitch-
832 ment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 Methods of prevention and cure against
751 witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured
755 by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

753 tions. There is a high fever, a cough, and sometimes the patient spits blood. The patient
757 is rubbed with oil of seven different flowers, bought in the drug store, and given an infusion of sunflowers, spines from the tejecote tree, prickly pear, chayote, and dry white and red maize leaves. The infusion is taken several times a day in place of water. The disease may be caused if the person arrives somewhere very agitated and drinks cold water or something cold, *fresca*. One informant thought eating lice was good for heart trouble.

Piles, *ąlmorranas*, are cured with a remedy
752 made with copper sulfate and lard washed with
753 vinegar, unguent of serato, and drying salve (*pomada secante*). One of the assistants was told confidentially, and as a thing not to be passed on, that cauterization with a hot iron was also employed.

Erysipelas, čarápiti, appears with a high
753 fever, which increases. There is angry red
757 swelling and much pain. The cause given is allowing the clothing to dry on the body if one becomes soaked; the disease is also an accompaniment of wounds. The patient is given a cooked infusion of *yerba de cancer* and asked to eat only milk, sago, and orange-leaf tea.

753 Salmoneda is a disease of small children;
755 they fall down in fits. The cause is fright, *espanto*, and the disease is cured by burning copal and having the child inhale the smoke.

Smallpox, kuarósikua, occurs every March.
753 There are 3 days of fever, 3 days of cough and
757 fever accompanied by breaking out of the pustules, 3 days of feeding to regain strength. After the sixth day the pustules begin to dry up. Possibility of contagion from using the same cup, spoon, etc., is recognized. The stage accompanied by the cough is treated with burro's milk (application not clear) and a common herb occurring on the streets, ¢ákua perénă. The latter is boiled and drunk instead of water.

Sarampión, measles, usually occurs in March also and is regarded as much more dangerous than smallpox (although this may be true, it seems more likely that the identification of diseases is faulty). The patients get a red rash, fever, and colds. An infusion of grapefruit (?) is used to bring out the rash; if the rash does not come out the patient may not

753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

The blood of animals is generally regarded
[826] as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

There are a number of treatments of illness
757 which are quite generalized, that is, they may
278 be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nuríte, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe,* and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

Of considerable interest is a class of diseases
753 and ailments which seem to be of supernatural
754 causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

Some informants believed that "fright" was
753 something attacking only drunkards and per-
755 sons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

753 slightly broiled, on which is sprinkled a little
755 salt. The patient's mouth is opened and the tomato is pressed upward against the soft palate while with the left hand the curer pushes down on the crown of the patient's head. After doing this for some minutes, the tomato is removed from the finger, opened, and rubbed on the crown of the patient's head, on the wrists, and on the joints of the arms. Following this, the patient's head is massaged with gentle pressure, with special attention to the face, the cheek bones, forehead, temples, and occiput. This is called "raising the crown of the head." The treatment is given to both adults and children.

Few data were secured on "wind" or "air." People with the sickness are sometimes said to have been "taken by the wind." In some cases "air" attacks the stomach; some data on treatment have been given above.

The "evil eye" is a very dangerous matter
754 because it attacks mainly small children who
753 are often unable to resist the sickness. Moreover, the power of the evil eye may be possessed by anyone without the knowledge of the possessor. Most commonly persons with the power of the evil eye will afflict individuals of whom they are especially fond. Children who are very pretty or clean and with neatly combed hair are particularly subject to the evil eye. When two persons desire very much to see each other and cannot do so, one is apt to afflict the other with the evil eye; for example, lovers who wish very much to see each other. The evil eye is always believed to be caused unconsciously and without malice.

Symptoms of the evil eye among children are weakness, pale or yellowish complexion, and a tendency to cry a great deal. Adults feel disconsolate; are unable to sleep or, when they do sleep, dream constantly of the person causing the disease, dream someone is calling or talking; or while awake, they think constantly of the person causing the sickness, with feelings of sorrow and pain. In either case, if a cure is not effected, the person dies with vomiting and fever.

755 In order to cure infants of the evil eye, mothers take their children to a street intersection. All passersby are asked to "clean" the child with their clothing. As everyone knows

755 what is involved, they accede without asking questions. They take one of the garments they have on, such as the end of a *rebozo* or a blanket, and pass it over the infant's body, pretending to rub the child, although actually they often do not touch it. According to Rendón's information, as they "clean" the child each person says "čita ká'ka" (meaning not learned), repeating the phrase three or more times. The person cleaning the child then raises its shirt and either spits on the child over the heart, or pretends to do so. All persons, regardless of age, are asked to "clean" the child, for the evil eye may be caused by a child as well as an adult. This statement would seem to imply that the performance is conducted with the hope that the person causing the attack will be one of those to "clean" the victim; this is borne out by other information that if the person causing the evil eye is known, anyone can effect a cure by "cleaning" the victim with a piece of worn, soiled clothing lent by the causer.

Another method of curing the evil eye is to "clean" the patient with certain grasses or animals. The animals used are pigeons, black cats, and dogs. The entire body of the patient is rubbed with the animal, which is then released. By using only the pigeon or both the cat and dog, a child may be cured, but adults require rubbing with all three. If the evil eye is very strong, the pigeons may die, but the other two animals apparently are uninjured.

In order to prevent the evil eye, "deer eyes" [751] are tied to the wrist or about the neck, or a little sack filled with salt, lime, and black chile is hung about the neck. Adults wear a scapular with a stamp of some saint inside as a preventive.

McCorkle made several efforts to be "cured" in order to secure additional data, but in only one instance was he taken seriously. Even this case is open to suspicion that the curer decided there was a possible gold mine in the situation and tried to exploit it to the limit. The curer in this instance also has the reputation of being a witch and able to turn herself into an owl at night. She refused to talk until her husband arrived, and he actually did most of the talking. They were very suspicious, asking if there were not doctors in Uruapan or

755 in California. This was the usual reaction of other curers who, although less suspicious and more good-natured, simply refused to go further, advising McCorkle to go to a Mexican doctor.

When McCorkle insisted doctors had done him no good and that he had a persistent pain in the stomach, the curer suggested it was indigestion and would go away, asking Agustín privately if McCorkle was not making fun of them. Agustín replied that the curer knew how to tell fortunes so why did she not discover for herself whether McCorkle was sincere. The customary fee of 25 centavos was now offered and the curer and her husband at this point evidently decided that McCorkle could be exploited.

The symptoms recounted to the curer were a sudden pain in the stomach, sometimes after meals, sometimes before breakfast or at other odd times, and poor sleep. The curer asked how long the patient had been in Mexico and where he had slept the first night in Mexico. The curer now unwrapped a deck of cards from a dirty cloth. She shuffled the cards, picked out one, and declared the disease was *maloficina*, an affliction not reported by any other source. Someone had given the patient something to drink so he would have a stomach ache all the time.

The remedy suggested was to take a purge to be bought at the drug store. When asked to recommend a purge, the curer and her husband decided they could capitalize on the situation and said they could get a very superior purge at an old drug store in Purépero for $5.00. When this price was demurred at, the curer finally decided that if the patient was not difficult to purge, $2.50 would secure enough of the purge. The first day after taking the purge, the patient was to stay in bed, as he would sweat; the second day he could get out of bed but should not do heavy work and should eat only toasted white bread and milk. The third day the patient should stay home and on the fourth day come back to the curer and be massaged. During this time the patient could smoke but not drink liquor. A case was cited of a man who violated this prohibition and died shortly afterward.

755 On McCorkle's return to get the purge, an effort was made to raise the price. When this had been successfully countered, McCorkle asked if the curer could find out who caused the pains. This was said to be difficult because McCorkle had stopped in a hotel instead of with friends on his first night in Mexico. Finally, after consultation of the cards, it was stated that a tall woman with blue eyes had caused the illness "just for fun." This was a person whom McCorkle had "liked very much" in the hotel. At this point they asked Agustín in an aside if McCorkle was "church married" to his wife.

The purge proved to be a packet of herbs and a bottle of oil. New directions were now given for the treatment. Half the tea was to be boiled, sugar added, and the mixture allowed to become lukewarm. The oil, about an ounce and a half, was all to be taken, then the tea. The patient would purge about five times. He should not eat meat, chile, or beans, but could eat cheese, milk, and toasted white bread. The medicine should be taken in the morning and the patient should stay in bed 3 days and not drink water. The patient should not bathe for 6 days. The instructions were somewhat confused because the curer and her husband sometimes simultaneously produced variant instructions, for example, one stating that the patient should return in 4 days, while the other said 6.

A few notes were secured by Rendón in other towns. In San Juan Parangaricutiro the fat of animals mixed with ground river crawfish is rubbed on the body to cause a sweat in cases of pneumonia. Headaches are treated with "patches" covered with melted copal, kurikʼunda, placed on the temples.

In nearby Parícutin the leaves of the *floripondio* (*Datura* sp.?) are placed on the body to cure pains.

In Capacuaro attacks of "air" may be either hot or cold. If cold, the urine of the patient is mixed with *aguardiente* and rubbed on the joints. When the "air" is hot, the joints are rubbed with ashes. Pains are cured by rubbing the joints with edible oil. Another treatment used in a variety of illnesses is to "take out," *sacudir*. The patient's arms are placed behind his neck and two persons pull on them "until the veins thunder." This is done when the person feels pain over the entire body. The

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755 *zorilla* (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

The majority of Capacuaro residents have
164 goiter. This is said often to result from drink-
755 ing from a spring of bad water. The spring is said to be bad because many humming birds
[753] drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

The power of the evil eye belongs only to
754 certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels
755 burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

The following remedies are reported by
755 Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.

2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.

3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).

4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the 752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling 755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which [824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them 755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in 761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to [888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially 775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the 764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

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796 On Palm Sunday palms brought from the hot country are taken to the church to be blessed. Formerly a more elaborate observance was held. An image representing Christ was mounted on the image of a burro called San Ramos. The images were carried on a stretcher to the spring supplying water and were put in a little shrine made of flowers. To this spot came youths who had left 2 weeks earlier to secure palms. The youths came down to the spring from a place called La Mesa, wearing carnations and little gourds about their necks and cracking their whips. The girls brought music for dancing and also provided čurípo and kurúndas. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon all went with the palms to the church.

On Holy Thursday there formerly was a market at which the principal goods sold were clothing and fruit from the hot country. People purchased the latter to make offerings to the church for the decoration of the altar.

● [755] Holy Saturday the girls carried small, highly decorated jars of water to be blessed. These were used later to cure the sick and to protect from "fright" (*espanto*). When the church [789] bells ring, children and fruit trees are shaken so that they will grow more rapidly. Images of Judas are burned on the street corners at this moment also. They are provided by anyone who feels like doing so.

In April the *regidor* notifies the youths to clean the spring. The boys provide music and the girls bring them čurípo and kurúndas.

The day of the Assumption, most people go to the fiesta at the town of Huáncito. On their return, the wild honey collectors go through the streets announcing the fiesta of Corpus. They play the *chirimía* and make a special cry called pitakuri.

Two days before the fiesta of Corpus, bread is made in all the houses. The night before Corpus, each *barrio* hires musicians to play. On the day of Corpus the girls bathe at the spring. On their return they dress for church. In the afternoon, boys and girls gather and present each other with fruit and trinkets.

The following day there is a large fiesta in the plaza. The ox drivers bring out their oxen with the yokes decorated with silk kerchiefs, ribbons, and flowers. The drivers also decorate their hats with flowers and their goads with

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what
[273] little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast
[757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

Honey is produced to some extent. It is
263 used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made
[556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into šošóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

845 inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were [821] born dead. The phenomena were attributed to an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

[805] Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

After the birth of the child the mother stays 846 in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife may still massage her with unguents, either [278] coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

846 One case of what was probably a postparturient infection was recorded. The midwife
757

846 bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*.
757 The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

834 Husband and wife do not resume sexual
846 relations until at least 35 days after the birth; in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

844 Shortly after the delivery the mother is given
262 her first food. This may be chocolate, milk, and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *rafino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as kágwash kamáta for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

844 Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *rosas de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

753 are recognized as of mechanical origin. Some diseases are vaguely regarded as of natural causation and as possibly contagious; others are clearly of supernatural character even though curable by natural means, although the line between the two is not sharp. In either case, herbs, unguents, and drugs are believed capable of helping the sickness. To utilize these methods of curing requires no special ability but merely knowledge. Many minor ailments are treated at home; the curer is merely a
759 person of greater knowledge who is called in when home remedies fail or the case is obviously beyond the knowledge of the household. Similarly, the doctor at Parácho is called only when the curer fails or the case is believed beyond the curer's powers. Obviously, this situation has not greatly enhanced the reputation of the doctor, for most of his patients are nearly moribund some hours before he can reach them.

757 Curers usually make a diagnosis first. No information on methods could be secured. It appears that a visual inspection and questioning of the patients are parts of the diagnosis, and possibly the only diagnosis. Once the diagnosis is made, the curer decides what steps to take to cure the patient. Often herbs kept on hand can be used; others, however, must be specially sought because they must be collected either fresh or at certain hours of the day.

753 In general, sickness by some is related to the strength of the blood which resides below the
[826] nape of the neck. This is also the location of the individual's life. Persons with much blood are healthy. When persons are seriously ill, it is because their blood is scanty; when there is insufficient to nourish the "seat of life," the person dies. There are also vague concepts of sickness being caused by "heat" or "cold," (sophisticated Agustín attributed a cold to drinking water while sweating) "airs" (which may also be either hot or cold), fright (*espanto*), and, much more specific, evil eye.

752 Broken bones are treated by specialists, who may also be curers of diseases or, in one case
[759] at least, midwives. The bones are manipulated into place and bound to splints without other treatment.

Dislocations are massaged repeatedly with olive oil until the bones are back in place. They

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752 are then covered with belladonna leaves. Bruises are sometimes cured by splitting a lizard and applying it to the injured place.

Hernia is recognized as being from natural causes through lifting heavy weights. One curer treats the ailments with massage with oils. The patient also takes medicine made by collecting all the kinds of alcoholic drinks the curer can find, such as *charanda*, sherry, etc., and mixing them together. The patient takes a third to a half cup of the mixture every morning before breakfast.

757 Headache, ép'ameráni, is extremely common and is ordinarily treated with home remedies. A patch of some herb (or of adhesive plaster or court plaster bought in the stores) is applied to each temple. Some people wear these patches almost constantly, especially some women.

Bilis, bile, is one of the commonest diseases, 753 especially among children; it also is one of the 757 most difficult to define. Often the vaguest of symptoms are attributed to *bilis*. Lassitude, especially in young persons, often is diagnosed as *bilis*. According to one curer, however, the patient turns yellow, seems tired, and develops sores similar to those of smallpox. Three causes are given for *bilis*, air in the stomach from waiting too long for a meal, not getting enough to eat and so getting air in the stomach, and getting air in the stomach from any other cause. Children are sometimes born with *bilis* and are thought to become infected in the womb. Treatments of *bilis* are vague. *Flor de pila* well cooked with cinnamon, and given by the teaspoon as a tonic, and an infusion of *simonillo* are two remedies. *Amargo* (see below) is another remedy.

Stomach pains are also regarded as being caused by air, either hot or cold. *Basa*, a pain on either side, is also caused by air, or by drinking too much water. *Espinocilla*, a red-flowered plant, is good for both these afflictions. Nopal leaves are put on the soles of the feet for too much heat in the stomach. (See below for account of a cure of one of the members of the staff.)

Itch or mange, *sarna*, súta, is treated with unguents purchased in the drug store, polvo Juan and mercuric ointment.

Heart trouble, *latido de corazón*, is recognized from pains in the heart and by palpita-

753 tions. There is a high fever, a cough, and
sometimes the patient spits blood. The patient
757 is rubbed with oil of seven different flowers,
bought in the drug store, and given an infusion
of sunflowers, spines from the tejecote tree,
prickly pear, chayote, and dry white and red
maize leaves. The infusion is taken several
times a day in place of water. The disease
may be caused if the person arrives somewhere
very agitated and drinks cold water or some-
thing cold, *fresca*. One informant thought
eating lice was good for heart trouble.

Piles, *almorranas*, are cured with a remedy
752 made with copper sulfate and lard washed with
753 vinegar, unguent of serato, and drying salve
(*pomada secante*). One of the assistants was
told confidentially, and as a thing not to be
passed on, that cauterization with a hot iron
was also employed.

Erysipelas, čarápiti, appears with a high
753 fever, which increases. There is angry red
757 swelling and much pain. The cause given is
allowing the clothing to dry on the body if one
becomes soaked; the disease is also an accom-
paniment of wounds. The patient is given a
cooked infusion of *yerba de cancer* and asked to
eat only milk, sago, and orange-leaf tea.

753 Salmoneda is a disease of small children;
755 they fall down in fits. The cause is fright,
espanto, and the disease is cured by burning
copal and having the child inhale the smoke.

Smallpox, kuarósikua, occurs every March.
753 There are 3 days of fever, 3 days of cough and
757 fever accompanied by breaking out of the
pustules, 3 days of feeding to regain strength.
After the sixth day the pustules begin to dry
up. Possibility of contagion from using the
same cup, spoon, etc., is recognized. The stage
accompanied by the cough is treated with
burro's milk (application not clear) and a com-
mon herb occurring on the streets, ¢ákua
peréně. The latter is boiled and drunk instead
of water.

Sarampión, measles, usually occurs in March
also and is regarded as much more dangerous
than smallpox (although this may be true, it
seems more likely that the identification of
diseases is faulty). The patients get a red
rash, fever, and colds. An infusion of grape-
fruit (?) is used to bring out the rash; if the
rash does not come out the patient may not

753 recover. Some curers wash their hands in
757 alcohol when treating *sarampión* to prevent
[751] catching the infection.

Whooping cough, perénsjuk (*tosferina*), is a very common disease, with a high mortality rate among children. Burro's milk, turpentine, copal, and *yerba buena* are used in treatment.

Syphilis, gonorrhea, diphtheria, and tuberculosis are either unknown or their existence in Cherán is denied. Most of the previously described diseases are recognized as infections by some curers; other diseases are not so considered.

Toothache seems always to be treated by patent medicines bought in drug stores at Uruapan or Purépero. One man said he had heard that letting of blood from the gums was done in the past, but the practice has been abandoned.

Goiter, kuéékua, is fairly common in Cherán, especially among females. It is regarded as a disease. Patients are bathed up to the knees with hot water to make the "heat" come down. Alcohol is then applied to the bottoms of the feet to make the "heat" stay down.

An extremely common disease, especially for children in the dry season, is dysentery, *posición*, usually accompained by high fever. Lard is washed with clean water. When the water is evaporated, a half centavo of sodium bicarbonate is mixed with the lard and the stomach is rubbed with the mixture.

Fevers are said to be very common, but there are few standard treatments. A well-known, herb, *romero*, is much used. A blue-flowered plant called *sadadrón* is also employed. Pneumonia and rheumatism are recognized, but, again, there are no standard treatments. Typhus in mild form has occurred in epidemics, but no treatment could be learned.

Pains are regarded as a class of illness. When children have pains, *dolores*, the mother anoints the seat of the pain with saliva mixed with ashes. The water in which maize has been cooked, *nejallote*, is also given in small quantities. This water is also used as a remedy whenever anything "fresh" (*fresco*) is needed. Women after birth are especially subject to pains of the breast, k'uaningiota. The pains may be in the breast, about the stomach region, or anywhere about the ribs. Sometimes

753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness which are quite generalized, that is, they may
278 be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nuríte, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe,* and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

753 Of considerable interest is a class of diseases and ailments which seem to be of supernatural
754 causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was something attacking only drunkards and per-
755 sons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

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[p.546]

262 511 556 straits as the one mentioned above, would probably spend, in addition, 1 or 2 centavos daily for sugar, consumed in cinnamon tea, or 3 to 6 ounces of brown sugar for use in *atole blanco*. Atole would occasionally be made of milk, 3 to 5 centavos worth being bought. Such a family [158] would drink milk only in case of illness, when a sick person might get a pint or a little more each day.

A "middle class" family, consisting of 8 persons (2 adults, 6 children aged 4 to 16), eats about 3½ liters of maize daily, about 3½ pounds of meat (a peso's worth) a week, and 10 centavos worth of cheese daily. In addition, about 25 centavos a day would be spent for other foods. (The data on the three diets given above were all collected by Sra. Silvia Rendón.)

What appeared to be two reliable quantitative records, covering 2-week periods, were obtained, the first for a wealthy family and the second for an average family. They are as follows:

Diet records of two families for 2-week period

1. Wealthy family, Don Hilaro Xhemba (10 persons in household):

Maize	111 liters
Meat	13 pounds
Cheese	2 pounds
Fruit	[1]$ 2.54
Milk	1.54
Chiles (about ½ dozen)	.03
Bread (15 pieces, whole wheat, about 4½ inches diameter, 1¼ inches thick)	.75
Beans (brown or red; little less than 3 liters)	.41
Fish (probably about ½ pound dried fish)	.21
Total expenditure	$12.50

2. Average family, Melquiades Romero (2 adults and 5 children):

Maize	75 liters
Meat	12 pounds
Fruit	[2]$0.96

[1] This amount seems high. It would be the cost of 50 to 75 oranges, small to medium size, but undoubtedly it was not all spent for oranges; in fact, it was much more probably spent for bananas, pears, and perhaps apples or peaches.

[2] Perhaps spent for 20 to 30 small to medium oranges, but probably mostly for bananas, peaches, pears, and apples.

In both cases recorded above, vegetables undoubtedly came out of the family garden and are not listed. Probably, from the distribution of purchases, this would mean cabbage daily, perhaps half a leaf per person, boiled with the

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888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of [178] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a ● [759] *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the [366] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

All the curers (*curanderas*—šurijki; in other 759 towns ¢inájpiri) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

753 are recognized as of mechanical origin. Some diseases are vaguely regarded as of natural causation and as possibly contagious; others are clearly of supernatural character even though curable by natural means, although the line between the two is not sharp. In either case, herbs, unguents, and drugs are believed capable of helping the sickness. To utilize these methods of curing requires no special ability but merely knowledge. Many minor ailments are treated at home; the curer is merely a 759 person of greater knowledge who is called in when home remedies fail or the case is obviously beyond the knowledge of the household. Similarly, the doctor at Parácho is called only when the curer fails or the case is believed beyond the curer's powers. Obviously, this situation has not greatly enhanced the reputation of the doctor, for most of his patients are nearly moribund some hours before he can reach them.

Curers usually make a diagnosis first. No 757 information on methods could be secured. It appears that a visual inspection and questioning of the patients are parts of the diagnosis, and possibly the only diagnosis. Once the diagnosis is made, the curer decides what steps to take to cure the patient. Often herbs kept on hand can be used; others, however, must be specially sought because they must be collected either fresh or at certain hours of the day.

In general, sickness by some is related to the 753 strength of the blood which resides below the [826] nape of the neck. This is also the location of the individual's life. Persons with much blood are healthy. When persons are seriously ill, it is because their blood is scanty; when there is insufficient to nourish the "seat of life," the person dies. There are also vague concepts of sickness being caused by "heat" or "cold," (sophisticated Agustín attributed a cold to drinking water while sweating) "airs" (which may also be either hot or cold), fright (*espanto*), and, much more specific, evil eye.

Broken bones are treated by specialists, who 752 may also be curers of diseases or, in one case [759] at least, midwives. The bones are manipulated into place and bound to splints without other treatment.

Dislocations are massaged repeatedly with olive oil until the bones are back in place. They

755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the 752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling 755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which [824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them 755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in 761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to [888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially 775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the 764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaríri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

753 828 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is about to leave his body. "My heart [i.e., soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

● 761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of 775 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God, 773 decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

754 refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft, Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too [831] scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches [763] disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

776 Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural outside of the various aspects 151 of Christianity and withcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the miríŋgua, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the miríŋgua. The most common place about town for the miríŋgua to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

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Because of the different beliefs regarding the 764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

764 washed. If the deceased is a girl, the dress is a long gown of white with a sort of long cape of blue. The corpse of a boy is dressed in the same way except the inner garment is yellow and the cape is green. In both cases a crown of cardboard, covered with silver paper and decorated with paper flowers, is placed on the head.

The body is placed on a table. Arches of flexible wood, wrapped in paper and decorated with paper flowers, are placed over the body.

A bunch of flowers with a candle in the middle is placed in the hands of the corpse. Preparation of the flowers is done by girls related to the deceased. The body is watched during the night and candles are burned. A "prayer," uandátsikuritíč (*rezador*), is asked to come and pray. He is paid from $0.75 to $1.50 for his service.

In the morning all the relatives assemble and are fed. The food is provided by the parents, but the relatives of the mother aid in its preparation. Opinion is divided regarding aid given the parents. Some say that persons attending the death watch during the night bring *aguardiente* and that all those visiting the house make a present of a few centavos to aid in the expenses. Others denied this custom and claimed the parents must stand all the expense even though they have to sell some property. However, everyone who visits the house brings a candle, which is burned for the deceased.

The body is usually taken to the graveyard sometime during the afternoon. Formerly the body of a child was often accompanied by musicians, but this practice seems to have entirely disappeared, or nearly so. Each family has a plot or section in the graveyard and three or four male relatives prepare the grave in advance of the burial. Four girls, who are relatives of the deceased, carry the body to the graveyard on the table on which it has rested. Often only a few of the closer relatives will go to the graveyard, but the godparents are always present.

At the graveyard the body is removed from the table and placed in a wooden box or coffin. This is lowered into the grave without ceremony by relatives who also fill the grave with earth. Sometimes some of the women will sprinkle a

764 handful of earth on the coffin in the form of the cross before the grave is filled. The arches decorating the table are placed over the grave. There are no prayers or other ceremonies and the party leaves immediately after the grave is filled.

The body of an adult is watched through the night with candles; this night watch is attended by many more people than in the case of an infant and atole made of rice and brown sugar is served at midnight. The corpse is dressed in black clothing of the type worn in life. Nothing is placed on the head. A candle is placed in the hand of the corpse but no flowers. The clothing is prepared by the nearest relatives, the godparents taking no part in the funeral of a person over about 14 years of age.

In the morning the visitors and mourners are served beans and tortillas. At noon it is obligatory to serve broth, čurípo, and white tamales, kurúndas (although these are regarded as injurious to the digestion). The food is all prepared by relatives of the wife. The body is taken to the graveyard in a wooden coffin and is carried by four male relatives. A few people take the body first to the church, but generally it is taken directly to the graveyard. In any case, there are never any prayers at the graveyard. As in the case of a child, all the prayers are in the house, usually with the aid [767] of a professional "prayer" or *rezador*. The priest is never asked to officiate, although he may have been summoned while the person was dying. The body is buried in the family plot (but a woman is buried in the plot of her husband's family). In the case of both adults and children a small stoppered *olla* of water is placed at the head of the corpse but outside the coffin. There are no flowers, but each mourner carries a candle.

One evident contradiction between theory and 183 practice was observed. Numerous informants 764 insisted that there was never any music for funerals of adults at any time. In actual fact, several funerals were observed in which music played in the house almost the entire day of the funeral.

765 In some cases, the interment ends all mourn- 767 ing. In others, the family hires a *rezador* to come to the house every afternoon for 9 days to pray. The members of the family join in

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

Tarascan words are written in the alphabet 104 approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most [764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

342 Two clearly defined types of construction exist in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

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765 these prayers, but it is not necessary for other
767 relatives to do so. However, if a relative attends the first day, he is obligated to continue the entire 9 days. On the ninth day, the *novena* is sometimes observed with prayers in the house. There is no purification or burning of incense or other materials in the house.

After the funeral, the parents or the survivi-
765 ng spouse may remain very sad. If it appears
[152] they may be made ill of "sadness," the relatives visit the survivors frequently, talking to them of things which they think may alleviate their condition and giving consolation. If this does not improve matters, they seek a curer who gives medicines.

A very few families pay for Masses for the deceased. More commonly, members of the family of the deceased will visit the church from time to time and burn candles and pray for the dead.

A few additional observations may be of interest. It is said that formerly the bells were
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632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the
[767] graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government.
653 Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*, but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

764 handful of earth on the coffin in the form of the cross before the grave is filled. The arches decorating the table are placed over the grave. There are no prayers or other ceremonies and the party leaves immediately after the grave is filled.

The body of an adult is watched through the night with candles; this night watch is attended by many more people than in the case of an infant and atole made of rice and brown sugar is served at midnight. The corpse is dressed in black clothing of the type worn in life. Nothing is placed on the head. A candle is placed in the hand of the corpse but no flowers. The clothing is prepared by the nearest relatives, the godparents taking no part in the funeral of a person over about 14 years of age.

In the morning the visitors and mourners are served beans and tortillas. At noon it is obligatory to serve broth, čurípo, and white tamales, kurúndas (although these are regarded as injurious to the digestion). The food is all prepared by relatives of the wife. The body is taken to the graveyard in a wooden coffin and is carried by four male relatives. A few people take the body first to the church, but generally it is taken directly to the graveyard. In any case, there are never any prayers at the graveyard. As in the case of a child, all the prayers are in the house, usually with the aid [767] of a professional "prayer" or *rezador*. The priest is never asked to officiate, although he may have been summoned while the person was dying. The body is buried in the family plot (but a woman is buried in the plot of her husband's family). In the case of both adults and children a small stoppered *olla* of water is placed at the head of the corpse but outside the coffin. There are no flowers, but each mourner carries a candle.

One evident contradiction between theory and 183 practice was observed. Numerous informants 764 insisted that there was never any music for funerals of adults at any time. In actual fact, several funerals were observed in which music played in the house almost the entire day of the funeral.

765 In some cases, the interment ends all mourn- 767 ing. In others, the family hires a *rezador* to come to the house every afternoon for 9 days to pray. The members of the family join in

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765 these prayers, but it is not necessary for other
767 relatives to do so. However, if a relative attends the first day, he is obligated to continue the entire 9 days. On the ninth day, the *novena* is sometimes observed with prayers in the house. There is no purification or burning of incense or other materials in the house.

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425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house ("*troje*") to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
428 sons remain in the family group and which
593 function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

All inheritances are supposed to be registered
428 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
217 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone
425 signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

Even though many details of the economic
181 system of Cherán are still not known in detail,
556 some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

262 With čurípo, the kurúnda is one of the most
252 typical of Tarascan dishes.[16]

There are various forms of the kurúnda, which are eaten on special occasions. The details follow.

Atápakwa kurúnda.—Atápakwa is a sauce made of any kind of chile, cooked, toasted, or raw. This is ground with green tomatoes, garlic, and onion, and seasoned with salt. Fresh or dried cheese, finely broken up, may be added. The regular kurúnda is simply dipped in the sauce as it is eaten. This dish may be served at any time, but it is most frequently used when men come home to lunch from the fields or on other occasions in the middle of the day when the family do not ordinarily have a midday meal.

Agwákata kurúnda.—Beans of any sort are cooked and ground. They are placed in layers alternating with layers of *nixtamal* until a thick cake is formed. This is wrapped in maize leaves and steamed. Agwákata kurúndas are made primarily at the time of the bean harvest (Cherán grows few beans) and are eaten at any of the main meals. They may also be given to children between meals.

Nákatamal.—This is a tamale made with maize dough filled with meat and chile sauce. Beef is commonly used, although pork may also be employed. The meat is boiled in water and cut in small pieces without bones. It is then mixed with a chile sauce made of the dry chile known as *pasiya,* which is cooked in water and ground with tomatoes, garlic, and onions. These tamales are not wrapped in maize leaves but in dry maize husks soaked in water. A small quantity of dough is spread over the leaf and on this is placed a small quantity of meat and sauce. The leaf is then doubled over and the tamale cooked in boiling water. The nákatamal must be small in size to be properly made. The name and the type suggest it is of
[177] Valley of Mexico origin. It is ordinarily made
769 only for the fiestas of the dead on the 1st and
252 2d of November, although it was served to me
262 once on an ordinary occasion. It forms a part of the offerings made to the dead and is also eaten in the graveyard by the mourners and

[16] In Parícutin kurúnda means "corn husks." Kurunduráni means "to wrap tamales in maize leaves."

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[169] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.
252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atóles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common
252 form of atole. It is made as is described above
262 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is
263 usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

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769 people hid them when the priest approached, placing them out again when he moved on.
782 The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of nákatamales, bread, and
[574] fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the
[text continues on top of p. 210b]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

Of immediate concern in dealing with a group
121 as large as the Tarascans is the question
184 whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

Final resolution of the question raised seems
121 to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a
[text continues on middle of p. 210b]

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[p.2106]

769 graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day.

Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

[822]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

The present study of Cherán reveals a number of points of considerable interest. Perhaps the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation of Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

177
181

579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of
796 four types. Central to the system are those church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[178] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-68.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic policies of liberalism, and greater decay of the
177 village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest
794 landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the dom-
668 inant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 177 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater acculturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the [241] moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are light- [821] ed to them. There are also a number of [824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and [754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although [177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

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RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

In the preceding chapter, changes in the organization and ceremonials of folk Catholicism have been examined, as affected by economic and social developments within the local and the national cultures. The trends in religious ideas and folklore will presently be discussed as related to those same factors, and particularly to the political conflict whose relation to religion and the cult organization has been described.

An important trait of Tarascan folk Catholicism (as of Catholicism in general) is the ethical nature of its ideology, dominated by concepts of good and evil. Non-ethical concepts are relegated to a second plane constituting mere miscellaneous beliefs, or, in so far as they form a system of ideas, are part of wider concepts dominated by an ethical dichotomy.

In examining the relation of such a religion to social change, we find an interesting problem of how the social values at stake in the economic and social conflict are reflected in religious ideology. What do religious ideas tell about the agraristas, about the cargo system of sponsoring festivals, about the sinarquistas who are militantly Catholic and yet to some extent are in conflict with the traditional cult system? Is conflict between national influences on the folk culture and folk resistance to change reflected in the folklore? What is the attitude of different political groups toward the existing body of religious ideology?

In order to discuss this relation of religious ideology to social change, an outline of religious ideas and beliefs, as dominated by the good and evil concept, will be presented. This outline is based on folk narratives, mainly myths and experiences with the supernatural, which express religious concepts. A discussion of narrative types will be sketched in order to place them in a wider setting.

The social values sanctioned in religious ideology will then be examined. It will be seen that primarily they endorse the values of the traditional folk culture although they are in conflict with influences from the national culture. Also, in the same way as the ideology of folk Catholicism is part of the wider Catholic religion,

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771 178 it also sanctions the national values of the Church. Political conflict mentioned in folklore seems to reflect almost exclusively the conservative point of view. Religious people can put it to use to point out the wisdom of following their party and to present the opponent as wicked.

The tendencies which are disrupting the folk culture do not create a new body of folklore. Even religious people, like the sinarquistas, allied to the church, keep only that part of the religion which is more orthodox, and neglect that which is purely folk. Here, as with the agraristas, changes in the religious ideology and folklore do not create a new folklore but induce changes in the *function* of the old, leading to obsolescence. The different attitudes of belief will consequently be considered.[1]

Main Traits of Tarascan Religious Ideology

538 In contrast to what is reported for other Mexican folk cultures[2] the Tarascans do not classify their folk narratives into well defined types according to the story's characters or the didactical or recreative use of the tale. All tales are called *uandánǫkua*, (from *uandáni*, to tell, to speak; in Spanish, *cuento*). Sometimes, at least in Jarácuaro, the Spanish word (pronounced *kuéntu*) is used in Tarascan discourse. Its meaning, however, seems to be synonymous with *uandánǫkua*. Everything which is told can be called a tale. This does not mean of course that all narratives are of the same type; it means only that Tarascan culture and language do not recognize standard categories of tales. Different types are to some extent recognized in that some are told as true experiences, usually giving concrete place and personal names, while in others the action takes place in unnamed places and among unknown people. Informants are themselves aware of this possible distinction. Sometimes the word *uandánǫkua* (or *kuéntu*) is

1. This chapter is based almost exclusively on the author's field work. A complete field report will contain a full collection of tales. As this is not yet published, references to it are not possible. Most information comes from Jarácuaro, a strongly religious and conservative village, with sinarquismo as the dominant tendency.
2. M. Redfield, 1935.

538 greater magical knowledge and were stronger, braver, and cleverer than the modern people.

These are the main types of narratives. Animal stories are another common type, similar to the Æsopian fable. They are considered fictitious and are told for their entertainment value. Usually they are funny and meant to make people laugh. When asked for tales (meaning fiction) many informants think most readily of this kind of story. Other types of tales, such as jokes, sexy stories, etc., are less common and are not used in this work as they do not reflect religious concepts.

● 771 Religious ideas are also expressed in
538 what in Spanish are called beliefs (*creencias*): items of lore giving bits of knowledge of the supernatural, as, for instance, omens or the wondrous qualities of certain animals. Sometimes these beliefs treat of a special behavior; for example, the rules about what a pregnant woman should or should not do, or the magical procedures to follow in a technological activity. These beliefs are to some people rules which have to be followed. For many people, however, they are just sayings one does not have to care about. They say, "This is just a belief," meaning "Some people say that, but it is not true."

538 Thus, folk narratives, an expression of the religious ideas of the people, can mean different things to different people. To those to whom a given tale is a true happening, it has a moral meaning and may sanction a certain kind of behavior. The same happening or tale may be to others an example of how superstitious people are. It will have no moral meaning, sanction, or behavior, although it may be told as an entertaining tale or piece of information.

538 The religious ideology expressed through such narratives will now be examined at
779 its face value, while the different attitudes of belief will later be discussed.

* * *

The general concepts of Tarascan folklore and religion are those of Catholicism. The Christian God created the world and the supernaturals, including the Devil and the saints. The fundamental Christian concept of good and evil is also paramount in Tarascan folklore and religion. This opposition of good and evil appears in a number of contrasts. Everything is classified as one or the other: God and the saints, the good supernaturals who inhabit

183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People
[773] who lived before the blessing of the world
[172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and
183 folklore primarily sanction the values of the folk culture. They support the family
●771 (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict with-
[776] in it or the loss of land to outsiders. The Devil giving money always appears as a

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well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

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668 538 Not enough data are available for us to say whether or not stories of this type are as common among the agraristas as the anti-agrarista motifs are frequent among the opposite party. The existing material suggests that such is not the case. Agrarista informants tell the same stories and experiences as the more conservative informants, whose stories sanction folk culture values. Their political position shows rather in the attitude with which they tell the story, one of disbelief.

* * *

771 538 Tarascan religious ideas and folklore sanction the Church and the proper observance of the cult, both in their local (folk culture) and national aspects.

The stories and case histories collected show an abundant use of religious motifs to point out the wickedness of the anticlerical agraristas. Those stories are told from the point of view of the traditional folk culture. The militant Catholics who are partly in conflict with that folk culture also tell such stories, for they attack their agrarista adversaries and sanction allegiance to the Church with which they are closely connected. In that aspect (cargos) in which they oppose the traditional folk culture, they do not use religious motifs except in that they support the priest who denies the need for this activity. Their attitude is one of lack of belief in those traditional ideas which sanctioned the sponsorship of festivals. They, like the agraristas, show a lack of belief in the traditional concepts of folk religion.

The Ideology of the Folk Religion in Decline: Attitudes of Belief

771 The social content of the religious ideology having been examined, we can now discuss how the change in this ideology is expressed in different belief attitudes which consequently involve changes in the meaning, use and function of a given religious concept or myth. We shall find different attitudes as to belief, and we shall try to correlate them with the economic and political tendencies discussed in previous chapters. We shall see how the breaking down of a folk religion involves a change from total belief in the content of the folk religious concepts and myths, towards skepticism, disbelief, and acceptance of outside (national) opinions. This change is not gradual and uniform, but results in extreme attitudes which can be

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771 correlated with the different parties in the political conflict.

In the previously presented outline of that part of the religious ideology which is related to the concepts of good and evil, the material was arranged by the author and discussed as though it were a single body of opinion, attitude, and beliefs. Actually, what any single Indian knows and believes is not so well integrated. In reality there are great differences in the kind of material any one individual knows and is able to supply. A discussion of variability in folklore could be made in terms of individual participation in this aspect of culture; the different individuals' knowledge of folklore could be related to sex, age, status, personality, and other factors. Such a discussion is not attempted in this paper.

One also finds great variability in the
538 attitude toward the folklore material any one particular individual knows. This has already been pointed out in discussing types of narratives. What to one informant may be a true happening which God allowed to take place so that men can learn how to behave, to another is a fictitious story told for fun. What some tell as powerful and true manifestations of the supernatural, others tell jokingly as something which superstitious people do and believe.

These different belief attitudes are re-
771 lated to folk and national levels of culture (particularly in religion), and to the social
668 and political groups described in previous chapters.

We have been describing the change processes in terms of three main tendencies: (1) the traditionalist — following and advocating strict adherence to the values of traditional folk culture, even to the extent of opposing the priest; (2) the agrarista (agrarian reformer)—anticlerical and the most closely connected with policies of the national government; and (3) the militant Catholic. The last, reacting against the economic and religious agrarista policies, but partially in conflict themselves with the traditional folk culture, tend to follow a more orthodox Catholicism, and in national politics, connect themselves with the Church and the sinarquista movement.

In the ideological realm, as to the question of how much people believe in the content of their folk religion, we can also describe three attitudes which correspond to the above socio-political tendencies: (1) Correlated with the traditionalist group is an attitude characterized by total belief in

771 668 the folk religion and the content of folklore. Most people, however, show a certain degree of disbelief. Among some (2) this goes with criticism of the Church and with the acceptance of the rational point of view taught in school. This attitude can be correlated with the agrarista position in politics. Among many people (3) some items of lore and religion are doubted or dismissed but always under the acceptance of basic religious tenets and of Church authority. The trend is thus towards a greater orthodoxy within Catholicism, by abandoning beliefs of the purely folk level. This is paralleled by the militant Catholic position in politics.

These three attitudes are ideal types in terms of which we describe individual behavior. In reality they are not necessarily pure nor does every individual connected with a particular political tendency have in every way the attitude which we correlate with that tendency. Individual differences are determined not only by political affiliation but also by personality and cultural participation in general.

771 In order better to see the balance of change we will discuss first the traditionalist position. This represents the folk culture point of view of the village community.

In the formal aspects of religion, the more conservative, traditionalist individuals or towns attach greater importance to private rituals like those connected with agriculture or witchcraft. Also, the religion based on the folk cult of the saints is the most important. These people insist on the need to continue cargos and fiestas. They oppose the priests who attempt to change this and scorn Catholics who do not care for cargos. In the field of belief, total belief in religious concepts and tales corresponds to the above attitudes. Cargos are believed to be a way of serving God and the saints, necessary to reach heaven. Myths are believed. Experiences with the [773] supernatural are told as true happenings and even wonder stories are supposed to be true.

A few examples will illustrate this attitude:

539 Maximino tells how he has seen the Devil on two occasions, once as a woman and another time as a donkey. Once he discovered an attempt to bewitch him and in another case he caught a witch who had taken the shape of an owl. Once a heavy plank fell on him while he was building a house. He became unconscious

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539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 181 178 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credulous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

821 812 "Who knows, really?" or "Who knows what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world, the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

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538 Mateo likes to tell long and elaborate entertainment stories. When a myth is not quite believed and becomes entertainment, wonder stories seem to be preferred. Also stories learned in school or read from books are highly appreciated. In Jarácuaro (874 inhabitants) two copies of the *Arabian Nights* were located in the possession of literate informants. Some other informants gave stories from that source, considering it among their best. Some were aware of the provenience of the story, but not others.

Experiences with the supernaturals which express this attitude of doubt are often told. Manuel, after telling of a supposed magician, says, "I wonder if this is true or if they just go around playing the suckers." Not only are some experiences doubted; one hears "false experiences," which ridicule certain beliefs. They cause great hilarity and it is to be supposed that they spread skepticism. Some examples follow:

539 771 A woman once told her brother that her husband had gone to the mountains in order to ask the Devil for money. Her brother thought, I am going to answer. He went after his brother-in-law and he heard him shouting, 'Devil, Devil. I want money.' His brother-in-law spoke to him. 'Come here then.' And when he came near to him, he beat him with a whip and he told him, 'Here you have your money.' The other fellow ran to his house and he was so ashamed that when his brother-in-law arrived he went to the attic.

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A widow asks the sexton if the dead really come back at Hallowe'en, so that she can wait for her husband. The sexton instructs her to wait for him and have ready brandy and other things he liked to eat. In the night the sexton goes to the house and passes as the husband and asks for money and brandy. When he leaves he is drunk and falls asleep on the street. Next morning the woman leaves the house and finds that the man she thought was her husband has not been able to go back to the dead. She sees it is the sexton. "You damn —. This man made a fool of me." She takes a stick and beats him and the sexton runs away. And from that day she does not ask any more questions about the dead.

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A boy's sweetheart gives him some food. He suspects she might be trying to bewitch him and takes the food to BA (the town's best known witch). BA tells him the food is dangerous and he keeps it to bury it. When

771 [539] the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an easy life, that of a sorcerer.'

This basic trend of change is found in both convinced agraristas and militant 771 Catholics, but there are also differences 178 which warrant a discussion.

668 The disbelief attitude is sometimes pushed to an extreme, including doubt as to religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

178 These people scorn the others as superstitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experi- 771 ences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

> ". . . And as in this town there are a lot [539] of superstitious people, the following day . . . the woman praying the rosary began shouting [781] and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of blood because Saint Peter had left . . .. And what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

771 For the militant Catholics, agraristas are nothing but atheists. They describe them as people who have no religion, as is 668 proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

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influence of the Government and its anti-Church policies.

In another agrarista informant, we find also the attitude that the saints are good but the priests are bad. This Ichan informant, although an agrarista, advised the people to hide the saints when he learned that the agraristas of other Cañada towns were coming to burn them.

The available material suggests that in the agrarista party, we would find among some people (mainly those with more outside connections and education) opinions approximating almost complete lack of belief in God, the saints, and dogmas of the Church, although perhaps believing in witchcraft. Some others would oppose the Church and the priests for political reasons but keep withal a fair amount of belief. This would compare with the existence of both traditionalists and modern tendencies in the Catholic reaction against the agraristas.

The fact remains, however, that among some people the trend away from folk religion goes with opposition to the Church and lack of belief in it. Just the opposite is observed among the militant Catholics.

The dominant milieu in most Tarascan towns — including Jarácuaro where most of this material comes from — was formed in the struggle against the agraristas. This reaction we have described as not uniform but embracing both the more conservative people, who are decidedly for the folk culture values, and the more modern, in part opposed to the folk culture, who have lately come under the influence of the sinarquista party. It is this more modern tendency within the Catholic movement which we will briefly characterize here. In it the folk ideology is in decadence, but, for political reasons, people in this group are strongly religious both in allegiance to the Church and in belief.

These are two extreme positions. It is not possible to fit every individual into one or the other group, as many people are not politically active, and both groups work together against the agraristas. They both favor religion. Differences occur when those of the more 'modern' point of view try to change the fiestas and cargos, and follow the priest who also wants to change the folk religion better to fit Catholic orthodoxy. The position against cargos among leading sinarquistas in Jarácuaro has been mentioned before. This position

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
668 in the fact that their ideas about cargos are changing. Whereas for the traditionalist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics oppose this idea. They say it is only custom, an unnecessary expenditure of money, not required to be a good Catholic, and they are supported by the priest. When discussing this point, Manuel has a ready argument: "Do you have cargos in Mexico City? You don't have them there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the supernatural are usually believed, and sometimes even wonder stories, but the attitude of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", i. e., compacts with the Devil.

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754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave behind the Church to make a compact with the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

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776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to go back to hell; and they have not been seen thereafter.

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821 In Cocúcho there were many thunderstorms
539 over a certain mountain. "A priest went and blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
783 storm destroyed the cave. They said many people were seen leaving the mountain; they

821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

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539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

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182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

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and the cult is also part of the national Catholic cult, we find acceptance of two kinds of outside opinions. Some people rely more than before on the authority of the Church in questions of belief, while others criticize the Church in the same manner as the anticlericals throughout the country.

With the decline of the purely folk aspects of the local culture and the community's becoming increasingly part of the external world, come the decay of religious beliefs centering around and sanctioning these folk elements, and the growth of national aspects of culture, either through connection with the Church or with anticlerical groups.

To the decline of some local cult forms and of cargos as their manner of organization, corresponds (in the realm of ideology) a lack of belief in folk concepts, resulting in either the acceptance of more orthodox Catholicism or doubt in religion in general.

This is the trend by which the folk culture seems to begin to disappear. But as in the village economy and organization of religion, these trends are not carried to the end. The traditional folklore which sanctions folk culture still has meaning, and evidence that for some people it is still alive is seen in its being used against the disruptive tendencies personified in the agraristas.

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128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

For a point of departure we took the 185 folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a 177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national 621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

Catholicism, the state religion, was also 771 the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. 794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and 178 tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian 182 communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic im- 178 pact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be [794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a [735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

The factors disrupting the folk culture 182 are evident in the folk ideology as it con- 178 demns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

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178 the content of folklore and this folklore is
668 used to prove agrarista wickedness.

The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church
178 politically. This group restores the cult but the old causes for decline of the folk
668 religion are seen in their policy. They
771 sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

One can see clearly the forces of change
178 which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of
182 sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.

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776 and some natural elements also are called demons. As there is only one word (*noambákiti*, evil one) both for the Devil and the demons, it is used sometimes as if the Devil were omnipresent, and at other times as if there were many different demons.

776 The Devil inhabits hell under the earth where he rules over the doomed dead. He 778 also attends "ugly" places—woods, caves, ravines, volcanos, the places where the [772] pre-Christian giants were buried, etc. In these places the Devil appears. It is said that in those places "they frighten", because the appearance of the Devil causes fright. Places where the ancient people became enchanted are called *encanto* (enchanted place), and this name is used for all places where the Devil appears regularly at a given hour when music is heard or a peculiar-looking animal is seen.

776 The distribution of souls between God and the Devil has been mentioned. As the 775 Devil gets the wicked souls, that is, those who have sinned, his activities are directed 773 towards provoking bad behavior and thus winning souls for himself. The Devil goes after drunkards. Wherever there are drunkards, there is the Devil. He induces people to drink by appearing to them in human form. Or he persecutes drunkards in order to take them to hell with him, or mixes among them in order to make them fight. Similarly the Devil tries to make everyone quarrel and fight. Experiences are told of how one, while drunk, saw the Devil or how an animal (i.e., the Devil) was seen leaving a place where there was a fight.

Another way of getting souls is for the Devil to take the form of a woman and go after men. Many men tell experiences of this type. Going to see a sweetheart during the night, the boy suddenly realizes she has hairy hands or goat's feet, or some other beastly attribute which makes him realize that it is the Devil he is with. Walking in the streets during the night, one sees a pretty woman and follows her, but at a certain movement sees some of her beast-like features. The Devil disguised as a woman tries to take the man out of town and take him to some ravine or cave in the woods which is the way to hell. To women, the Devil appears as a rich man (*catrín*) who marries the girl, which means taking her to hell.

In these experiences of drunkards or lovers, the victim prays when he realizes

538 heaven, are opposed to the bad super-
779 naturals, the Devil and the demons in hell; the right Religion and the Church are set against superstition and lack of religion; good behavior against bad (sin); the idea of the good going to heaven at death against that of the sinful being punished in hell.

Ethical values are apparent in the rea-
577 sons given for the destruction of the world
538 and the creation of the Devil, in the actions
[779] of the saints in rewarding good behavior and punishing evil, in the acts of the Devil in sponsoring bad behavior, and in the destiny of the dead.

Taking this concept of good and evil as the main theme, we can give an outline of practically the whole, and certainly the most important part, of Tarascan religious ideas. Nonethical concepts are few and of secondary importance. They are mainly miscellaneous beliefs or tales (in which some natural elements are personified), omens, and so on.

● 773 Creation stories are not common among the Tarascans. In those collected, the con-
538 cept of good and evil is apparent. The duality of the supernatural—God and the
577 saints against the Devil—is explained as the consequence of the bad behavior of one of the sons of God who revolted against his Father and was punished by being made into the Devil. Insubordination and lack of respect for paternal authority are the causes of this punishment.

In several myths about the creation of animals, the good animals are created by God while the bad ones are related to the Devil. Thus, when Jesus and the children of the Devil play making mud figures,
[825] those of Jesus become birds while those of the Devil become "snakes and lizards, and scorpions and all sorts of bad animals". The coyote was a dog which deserted his master, the Devil.

Most important are the myths regarding
773 the destruction of the world. In these we have a blend of Spanish and Indian ele-
538 ments in which the Indian motives, nonethical in origin, are reinterpreted and subordinated to the Catholic concept of Good and Evil. A number of stories give two destructions of the world. A first one by water is identified with the Christian flood, although it keeps also some traits of the Mesoamerican flood myth; and a second by fire embodies Indian traits but is identified with the advent of Christianity and the Spanish conquest. Some ver-

538 sions, however, give only one destruction of the world, equating the flood with the
773 advent of Christianity, or depriving this last event of its catastrophic character.

Flood stories include a typical Mesoamerican tale—that the survivor of the flood was transformed into a dog because he started a fire. Since the cause of the transformation was disobedience to the Christian God, who had forbidden starting a fire without his command, the story thus becomes integrated with the good and evil theme:

[539] ". . . down came the angel and kicked him once and again and said, 'This is so that you understand. You have not obeyed me.' And the man began to cry like a dog and the angel said, 'You will be a dog and in punishment you will have to take care of the house.' And this is why there are dogs."

Several stories and beliefs deal with the *k'uaŋári*, or giants, the people who lived before the advent of Christianity. The k'uaŋári had very great strength. They built what are now the ruins of pre-Spanish sites, and also are supposed to have built the churches and installed the bells; bells were their most precious treasure. They did not believe in the true religion but worshipped idols and stones:

[539] "The ancient people killed people when they had a fiesta and made a feast over that body. That was their custom. They also killed an ox and then they ate it. They covered it with flowers and there they made their fiesta. With the fat of the animal they made candles which they lit for their idols."

The kings of the k'uaŋári set the boundaries of the existing towns and placed the border stones. Some of their deeds are still remembered. They named the towns, they left their imprints on a number of stones, and made war on neighboring kings. The point stressed in the stories is the destruction of these beings because of their lack of religion: they were "unbaptized humans" or "big devils". In order to put an end to this state of affairs, God decided to bless the world. This event is described in some tales as a destruction by fire, in others by water, in the latter case being identified either with the flood or with the formation of Lake Pátzcuaro.

The stories in which the giants are alive before the flood attribute the destruction of the world to their heathenness:

773 539 "T'ałésača are the idols worshipped by ancestors, those who lived before the flood. They had no images [saints]; the t'ałésača were their saints. When God decided to end the world he told Adam and Eve . . . he believed but the others didn't . . ." [At this point in the story the flood occurs.]

Another short statement says:

". . . With the flood the k'uaŋári were extinguished. Don Antonio Siuangua [Jarácuaro's king] was a k'uaŋári. They didn't believe in religion [i.e., Catholicism]; that's why there was the flood. They danced naked and they had no fear of God. I think it was something like those sexy dances they say they have in Morelia or Mexico City where people dance stark naked."

In other stories the giants were destroyed when the world was blessed. Sometimes this is described as a destruction by fire. In some statements God himself came to bless the world and introduce Christianity. In others this task is ascribed to Jesus, Saint James or Saint Peter. In still others, the advent of Christianity was the work of a priest or of Vasco de Quiroga.

When the world was thus blessed, the giants buried themselves with their implements and they became stones, the idols and tools that now come to light when the land is tilled. The reason for their hiding lay in their old religion and failure to accept Christianity:

"They lived in error." "They buried themselves [because] persecuted by the Belief [i.e., Christianity]." "That happened to them because they didn't want to see the blessing of the world."

The more elaborate stories refer to the particular way in which the kings of the k'uaŋári in Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio fled from the Faith to become enchanted in different places. Those who accepted Christianity were saved and became the ancestors of the present people:

"Some people got the blessing from the priest [Don Vasco] while others died alone because of their ignorance. The former are in heaven now while the others are buried with their belongings."

775 The Tarascans firmly believe in man's survival after death. The basis for this belief lies in man's division into body and soul. The soul for the Tarascan resides in the heart, and the word heart (*minzíta*) stands also for soul; while the other words

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaríri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

753 828 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is about to leave his body. "My heart [i.e., soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of 775 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God, 773 decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

539 those who die in the lake. God told him He wouldn't give him all those, because so many people die like that that there would be nobody left for Him. He would give him only those with great sin. They also agreed that they would weigh those who die in an accident, and if they were heavier than the Devil he would take them; if lighter, God would take them. And this is the agreement they had. All people who die in an accident have to be weighed to see to whom they fall."

773 775 Other stories and statements elaborate further this myth. Two concepts determine this destiny: a mechanical one, according to the circumstances of death and without moral meaning; and a second one wherein the future of the dead is a consequence—reward or punishment—of their behavior in the present world. This last concept prevails.

In what we call the mechanical concept, we include the idea that those who die in an accident (fall, run over by an automobile, etc.), or drown in the lake, go to hell, or have to be weighed in order to determine their destiny. Other ways of meeting death can determine automatically the destiny of the dead person: *e.g.*, death in fights or as result of drunkenness. In this case, however, a moral factor is involved, in that drunkenness and fighting are considered bad or sinful. Similarly, children automatically go to heaven and become little angels. The reason is that they die before they are old enough to commit sin. As one informant puts it: "They don't say *disparates* [obscene, sinful words; swearing] and they have no sins."

As a general rule, however, the destiny of the dead is determined by their good or bad behavior in this world. A balance has to be drawn between a person's good and bad actions to see if his next abode is heaven or hell. A typical statement follows:

[539] "Those who drown are doomed, and also those who die in drunkenness. Those who kill a person are doomed, and the priests do not allow them to confess, except when they take charge of the dead person's children and dress them and look after them as their own father would. Those dead 'in vice' are doomed, too."

The idea of purgatory is not ommon in folk stories and belief, although of course it is taught in church.

[539] "Dead children go to heaven until the age when they learn to swear; they have no sins.

773
775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand, if one gives alms to beggars, they will
[735] speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized,
[788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 still alive in town, and one particular man
775 who had been drowned in the lake was there wrapped in a blanket and dead drunk.

In the experiences of revived people, we also find the theme of coming back to the world in order to correct or help correct bad behavior:

[539] "A woman was dead for three hours. She was ordered to come back to this world in order to go to her son who had abandoned his wife and was living with another woman. She was ordered to tell her son that he should take his wife again and only then would he be forgiven and would he be able to reach purgatory. When the woman saw them living together again, she then died."

In another case the dead person has to come back to life in order to have the mass said which he had promised to Saint Francis.

Besides coming back to life, the dead appear to living persons in dreams or otherwise in order to ask them to correct their bad behavior. In one case a dead man appears to his friend and says:

[539] "Doroteo, Doroteo, don't be afraid. It's me, your friend Refugio. Come with me where I have my money. Hidden as it is, nobody profits from it and God does not want to forgive me because of that money which I have like that and nobody finds it. Come so that you can tell my wife and then you can take as much as you want."

The man (Doroteo) had almost decided to go but suddenly he was scared and ran away.

In another case, a married couple had [428] adopted a boy. The man had promised to give him the kitchen as inheritance, but when the man died the woman did not give the kitchen to the boy:

[539] "She dreamed of her husband; she dreamed he was in hell and was taken to be burned. He told her it was her fault, that because she didn't give the kitchen to the boy they were taking him to be burned and that she should give it to him. Then an angel came and arranged the whole thing so he didn't go to the burning because he had repented. 'That's what I dreamed,' the woman says, 'and I think it's true.'"

A similar case is that of the dead bandit who had buried his money. His ghost keeps calling people to take the money and have some mass said for him.

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775 An interesting theme is that of the dead
773 who come back to earth in order to return stolen property. The following case is among the most significant, socially speaking, in our collection:

539 "There was a hacienda steward who was very good to the peons. He used to take handfuls of corn to give them, because at that time the people were very poor and he felt sorry for them. When he died he had no sins, so he went right to heaven, because the only sin he had committed was that of giving corn by handfuls to the peons without the permission of his master. God told him that was bad because he gave away the corn without his master's permission, and he would have to go back to earth to account for what he had done.

"So he fell in the center of the hacienda courtyard and he went to his house where he used to live and said, 'My children, here I am come back.' And his wife said, 'O my dear, how right you were to come back; you are the only one I love. Besides, everyone is unhappy around here because now there is nobody to give food to them like you used to do.' But then he said, 'Look here, I came only to attend to this; you should know what happened to me up there in heaven. I came to pay my master back so that God can forgive my sin. This is why I advise you not to do what I used to do but always act like the master tells you. Now I will have to go to the fields to pay my master back.'

"So he went to see his master, and said, 'Look here, sir, I used to take handfuls of corn and beans to give to the peons and this is why I missed heaven. Now you will have to put me to work so I can pay you back. And this is what God sent me to do, to tell you.'

"He was given the oxen and the plow and he spent all his time working. He never went to his home, and he never ate; nobody could see where he was or where he went, and he was always bareheaded. Until at last he fulfilled his debt to his master. Then he went again to his house and said, 'Now my children, I am through with my debts and I can go up again.' He went to a chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and knelt and said, 'My Mother of Guadalupe, I have already paid this debt I owed my master. Let me go to heaven, show me the road, my Mother.' And the roof opened and he rose right to heaven; everybody could see him.

"And this is why they said it is such a great sin to take what does not belong to one."

775 In a similar story, the woman servant who
773 used to cheat her master had to come back and work for him again until she paid

773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

* * *

776 An outline of the nature of the saints
778 and of the main features of their cult has been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

Saints occasionally wander on earth.
776 The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

Tales about the activities of the saints
776 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding
789 the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

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In these experiences of drunkards or lovers, the victim prays when he realizes

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɛakurin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

Other than those of wealth, most pacts
754 with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witch-
776 craft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

775 The evil dead who go to hell (or at least
776 some of them) become devils or devil-like spirits. This is an important concept in Tarascan folklore. We saw, for instance, how those people drowned in lakes or wells go to hell. Places where such accidents have happened are very dangerous because the drowned "pull people in, and cause canoes to capsize so that people drown". In some cases the water spirits died long ago in the past. They are mythi-
[773] cal characters, like the three daughters of the king of Tzintzuntzan, who were hidden in order not to see the blessing of the world; or the well spirits in the mountain towns, who discovered the springs but were plunged into the water by the people in the remote past. These spirits are called devils by informants, when asked about spirits' nature, and in some stories their devil-like attributes are clearly seen.

When a man has been murdered, a heap of stones is placed on the spot where the event took place. The stone on top of the head is marked with a cross and is called *krús ánimiri* (Tarascan from Spanish, cross of the soul). Anyone can put this soul to his service by getting hold of the cross. The cross is taken home and the soul haunts the house and scares intruders away. A soul's cross can be prayed to in order to ask the soul for help in getting a relative out of prison, or finding a lost animal.

The middle finger of a very brave dead
778 man can also be used to put the soul at one's service. The finger placed in front of
775 a door has the virtue to open it, although one has to be brave enough to stand the sight of the dead man who appears on the door sill.

Many beliefs treat of hidden treasures. In one of these it is said that when a person wants to bury money to keep it secure, he kills a man or has one killed by somebody else and buries the dead man with his money. The dead man keeps the money, and frightens anybody who comes along. Only a very brave man could take the money out.

In the case of the soul's cross, the dead man's finger, or the dead man buried with money, it seems clear that we deal with the dead which do not reach their abode and are put to service by someone. In our material, however, this concept is not explicitly given. When asked about the nature of these dead persons, informants

183 havior against the interests of a certain class or institution.

(a) Among the behavior which is considered bad, we find activities which are harmful to the social body in general without regard to special group interests. Thus, drunkenness is incited by the Devil. He leads drunkards to disregard friends and family and to quarrel. The dead as a [775] consequence of drunkenness go to hell. In the same way, fighting is incited by the Devil and both the killed and the killer are doomed.

Behavior against the family and disapproved sex relations loom large under this heading. Rebelliousness against the [773] father (God, in this case) in the creation myths caused the Devil's damnation. Killing the father equally dooms the murderer in one story; and one of the causes for the outbreak of the volcano in Parícutin is said to have been punishment for a patricide which had happened there. Disobedience toward parental authority is also condemned in a prodigal son type of tale.

Deserting one's wife and living with another woman bar entrance into heaven. In a story where a man agrees to lend his wife to a friend, they are taken away by the Devil. Marriage between brother and sister among the mountain spirits occurs in one story, and their son is half snake, proof of his devilish nature. When blessed, they disappear amidst thunder and whirlwinds.

Cain, by killing his brother Abel, caused [773] the flood in one creation story. The *llorona* is the spirit of a woman who killed her son; she is condemned to wander on earth crying for her baby.

Failure to become godparents (*compadres*) according to proper custom is punishable by having to look for the other person after death in order to perform the ceremony. Similar punishment awaits the woman who does not take proper care of her children; she will have to do so after death.

Sex is a powerful bait the Devil uses to trap his victims, although not quite bad in itself. Thus the Devil appears as a seducing woman to draw men into the woods; or when a boy goes to see his sweetheart in the night, the Devil takes her form to catch him. A boy who used love magic powder loses his heart (*i. e.*, soul) to the Devil.

Disobedience to the father, killing the father, deserting the wife and living with

183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People
[773] who lived before the blessing of the world
[172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and
183 folklore primarily sanction the values of the folk culture. They support the family
771 (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The
[776] Devil giving money always appears as a

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.526] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

771 the folk religion and the content of folk-
668 lore. Most people, however, show a certain degree of disbelief. Among some (2) this goes with criticism of the Church and with the acceptance of the rational point of view taught in school. This attitude can be correlated with the agrarista position in politics. Among many people (3) some items of lore and religion are doubted or dismissed but always under the acceptance of basic religious tenets and of Church authority. The trend is thus towards a greater orthodoxy within Catholicism, by abandoning beliefs of the purely folk level. This is paralleled by the militant Catholic position in politics.

These three attitudes are ideal types in terms of which we describe individual behavior. In reality they are not necessarily pure nor does every individual connected with a particular political tendency have in every way the attitude which we correlate with that tendency. Individual differences are determined not only by political affiliation but also by personality and cultural participation in general.

771 In order better to see the balance of change we will discuss first the traditionalist position. This represents the folk culture point of view of the village community.

In the formal aspects of religion, the more conservative, traditionalist individuals or towns attach greater importance to private rituals like those connected with agriculture or witchcraft. Also, the religion based on the folk cult of the saints is the most important. These people insist on the need to continue cargos and fiestas. They oppose the priests who attempt to change this and scorn Catholics who do not care for cargos. In the field of belief, total belief in religious concepts and tales corresponds to the above attitudes. Cargos are believed to be a way of serving God and the saints, necessary to reach heaven.
[773] Myths are believed. Experiences with the supernatural are told as true happenings and even wonder stories are supposed to be true.

A few examples will illustrate this attitude:

539 Maximino tells how he has seen the Devil on two occasions, once as a woman and another time as a donkey. Once he discovered an attempt to bewitch him and in another case he caught a witch who had taken the shape of an owl. Once a heavy plank fell on him while he was building a house. He became unconscious

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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539 and when he came to. he tells how he has been dead in the other world but was sent back to life because his time had not yet come. Once in the night he was followed by a ghost trying to harm him. As a young man, he owned a dead man's finger which can be used to unlock doors. He did not want to tell the author the prayer which has to be said in order to use the finger. He did not want to have it published, because then people would use it and he would be responsible for their sins.

He thinks corn should be carefully handled; it's bad to throw it on the ground. "Corn is one's own life. That is what God Our Lord said: It is our Life. Adam sinned because Eve made him sin, and the Lord told him, 'Now you are going to work and sweat; take this adze, this spade, and this seed so that you can eat from your sweat.' When corn lies on the ground, it cries and that is not good. We mistreat it and that is bad, because it is our life, our food. Some people say they earn their living with their work, but that is only because God allowed us to be able to work. Were it not for that we would do nothing."

773 824 This explanation contrasts strongly with the attitude of other people who laugh when asked if it is bad for corn to lie on the ground.

Maximino draws morals from his stories:

[539] A man who tries to reach the end of the world dies very old before he can reach it. This teaches man that he should not attempt to learn certain things which are only God's. He tells the story of the rich man's son who leaves his house to become poor and has to be taken back home by his father. Also that of the man who tries to kill his wife he wrongly thinks unfaithful because of a friend's slander. She survives, dresses as a man, and manages to become king. Then she finds that her former husband, who has repented, has become the town drunkard.

Are these stories true? Of course; "these stories are real happenings which God allowed to happen in order that we might learn how to behave." (Mateo, on the other hand, tells this last story as fiction.)

539 Clemente tells how Saint Peter came to town descending from heaven. No doubt about it; his grandfather saw it.

Agustin tells how the ancients of Ihuatzio were enchanted and the treasures buried in the ruins. A boy had a chance to disenchant a girl and the money, but he failed when he could not carry to church the girl who had turned into

539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found 181 only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credul- 178 ous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

"Who knows, really?" or "Who knows 821 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world, 812 the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
668 in the fact that their ideas about cargos
are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", *i. e.*, compacts with the Devil.

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754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
behind the Church to make a compact with
538 the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

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776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to
go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

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821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
539 over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
783 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
storm destroyed the cave. They said many
people were seen leaving the mountain; they

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation.

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved.

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions.

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block.

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of Pre-Conquest days.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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nation and its princes. This account forms the principal part of the *Relación* and refers to the marvels of creation performed by their god, Curicaueri. The miracles of the creation are told in the countryside between Lake Pátzcuaro and Lake Cuitzeo as the tale of the birth of Cueróhperi.

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The Legend

In the beginning of time there was no light. The silent dwelling place of Curicaueri, the only god at that time, was full of minute (atómica) material which slowly moved around without any order or harmony. Curicaueri realized that his enormous circular eyes could not penetrate the darkness nor contemplate infinity; therefore he created four orbs of light, each burning in one of the cardinal points of the universe, and light existed.

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Great shapeless masses from the depths now were reflected in the eyes of the powerful god. From some of the mass, Curicaueri created Huriata, the sun god, naming him father and overseer of the universe. Then Huriata formed the heavenly bodies, ordering that they light the heavens in their own manner.

Thus day and night came into the world.

Through his golden mask Curicaueri smiled upon seeing the light of the four orbs, and, viewing the orderliness which Huriata had given to the universe, he desired to reward Huriata. Thus he created the moon goddess, Cutzi, and presented her to Huriata to take as his wife.

The contact of the two – Father Sun and the Mother Moon – brought darkness to the cosmos. From the two joined bodies, three rays of light broke forth upon the firmament to form three concentric circles around the dusky body of Cutzi.

From the three circles was born Cueróhperi (the creative principle or Mother Nature), the daughter whom Father Sun endowed with beauty and wisdom.

The three rays of light were extended through space, and they caused colors to be reflected from the heavenly bodies and the organized atoms.

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Curicaueri had created light; Cutzi and Huriata created harmony.

Curicaueri heard the hymn which the heavenly bodies intoned in their course through the sky. In addition, the slow, rhythmic beats of the atoms added to his conviction that his work was perfect. Retiring to his dwelling place amidst the four orbs, he sat upon his crossed legs and assumed a contemplative attitude. From this vantage point he beheld Cueróhperi, and, upon seeing how beautiful she was, he launched from his eyes four beams of light which shielded her from the sight of the world. One beam rested upon Cueróhperi's forehead, another upon her heart, another upon her hands, and the last upon her womb.

The daughter of Huriata felt herself pregnant. Below on earth, amidst the crashing of a furious tempest, she gave birth to the mountains, the seas, the lakes, the trees, and the flowers. Father Huriata and Mother Cutzi carefully attended Cueróhperi throughout her ordeal and afterwards maintained the closest vigilance over her, he by day and she by night. The gift of fertility which Curicaueri had given Cueróhperi made her always encumbered with the responsibility of deliverance.

Next she gave birth to the animals of the earth. Then came mankind, to whom she gave wisdom and the name of Purépecha.

The wisdom of the Purépecha was so great that they immediately began to govern the land with a knowing hand, cultivating and populating it in every direction. They created art and brought forth musical tones on magnificent instruments, such as the sweet-sounding ocarina and the sonorous *quiringua*. They painted with the colored plumes of birds, and they worked with stones to construct their dwelling place.

Very soon these men learned of their origin and displayed their gratitude to the gods by making sumptuous altars where they could worship the images of their gods. Curicaueri was represented as seated, with eyes and ears of the finest polished gold. They wished to denote that, in addition to being invisible, he had large eyes and ears in order to see and hear the sufferings of mankind. Besides this deity, the only things capable of seeing human beings

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient. 539 773

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it. 535 [538] 173 [773]

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces. [292] [532]

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri. [883] [773]

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [175] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

Some further insight into production prob-
433 lems may be gained by detailed studies of
434 specific activities. These data throw light
128 upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi-
433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so
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755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the
752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling
755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which
[824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them
755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in
761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to
[888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially
775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the
764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

773 539 "*T'aješača* are the idols worshipped by ancestors, those who lived before the flood. They had no images [saints]; the t'ješača were their saints. When God decided to end the world he told Adam and Eve . . . he believed but the others didn't . . ." [At this point in the story the flood occurs.]

Another short statement says:

". . . With the flood the k'uaŋári were extinguished. Don Antonio Siuangua [Jarácuaro's king] was a k'uaŋári. They didn't believe in religion [i.e., Catholicism]; that's why there was the flood. They danced naked and they had no fear of God. I think it was something like those sexy dances they say they have in Morelia or Mexico City where people dance stark naked."

In other stories the giants were destroyed when the world was blessed. Sometimes this is described as a destruction by fire. In some statements God himself came to bless the world and introduce Christianity. In others this task is ascribed to Jesus, Saint James or Saint Peter. In still others, the advent of Christianity was the work of a priest or of Vasco de Quiroga.

When the world was thus blessed, the giants buried themselves with their implements and they became stones, the idols and tools that now come to light when the land is tilled. The reason for their hiding lay in their old religion and failure to accept Christianity:

"They lived in error." "They buried themselves [because] persecuted by the Belief [i.e., Christianity]." "That happened to them because they didn't want to see the blessing of the world."

The more elaborate stories refer to the particular way in which the kings of the k'uaŋári in Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio fled from the Faith to become enchanted in different places. Those who accepted Christianity were saved and became the ancestors of the present people:

"Some people got the blessing from the priest [Don Vasco] while others died alone because of their ignorance. The former are in heaven now while the others are buried with their belongings."

775 The Tarascans firmly believe in man's survival after death. The basis for this belief lies in man's division into body and soul. The soul for the Tarascan resides in the heart, and the word heart (*minzíta*) stands also for soul; while the other words

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaríri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

753 828 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is about to leave his body. "My heart [*i.e.*, soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of 775 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God, 773 decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

539 those who die in the lake. God told him He wouldn't give him all those, because so many people die like that that there would be nobody left for Him. He would give him only those with great sin. They also agreed that they would weigh those who die in an accident, and if they were heavier than the Devil he would take them; if lighter, God would take them. And this is the agreement they had. All people who die in an accident have to be weighed to see to whom they fall."

773 775 Other stories and statements elaborate further this myth. Two concepts determine this destiny: a mechanical one, according to the circumstances of death and without moral meaning; and a second one wherein the future of the dead is a consequence—reward or punishment—of their behavior in the present world. This last concept prevails.

In what we call the mechanical concept, we include the idea that those who die in an accident (fall, run over by an automobile, etc.), or drown in the lake, go to hell, or have to be weighed in order to determine their destiny. Other ways of meeting death can determine automatically the destiny of the dead person: *e.g.*, death in fights or as result of drunkenness. In this case, however, a moral factor is involved, in that drunkenness and fighting are considered bad or sinful. Similarly, children automatically go to heaven and become little angels. The reason is that they die before they are old enough to commit sin. As one informant puts it: "They don't say *disparates* [obscene, sinful words; swearing] and they have no sins."

As a general rule, however, the destiny of the dead is determined by their good or bad behavior in this world. A balance has to be drawn between a person's good and bad actions to see if his next abode is heaven or hell. A typical statement follows:

[539] "Those who drown are doomed, and also those who die in drunkenness. Those who kill a person are doomed, and the priests do not allow them to confess, except when they take charge of the dead person's children and dress them and look after them as their own father would. Those dead 'in vice' are doomed, too."

The idea of purgatory is not ommon in folk stories and belief, although of course it is taught in church.

[539] "Dead children go to heaven until the age when they learn to swear; they have no sins.

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775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand,
[735] if one gives alms to beggars, they will speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized,
[788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 still alive in town, and one particular man
775 who had been drowned in the lake was there wrapped in a blanket and dead drunk.

In the experiences of revived people, we also find the theme of coming back to the world in order to correct or help correct bad behavior:

[539] "A woman was dead for three hours. She was ordered to come back to this world in order to go to her son who had abandoned his wife and was living with another woman. She was ordered to tell her son that he should take his wife again and only then would he be forgiven and would he be able to reach purgatory. When the woman saw them living together again, she then died."

In another case the dead person has to come back to life in order to have the mass said which he had promised to Saint Francis.

Besides coming back to life, the dead appear to living persons in dreams or otherwise in order to ask them to correct their bad behavior. In one case a dead man appears to his friend and says:

[539] "Doroteo, Doroteo, don't be afraid. It's me, your friend Refugio. Come with me where I have my money. Hidden as it is, nobody profits from it and God does not want to forgive me because of that money which I have like that and nobody finds it. Come so that you can tell my wife and then you can take as much as you want."

The man (Doroteo) had almost decided to go but suddenly he was scared and ran away.

In another case, a married couple had
[428] adopted a boy. The man had promised to give him the kitchen as inheritance, but when the man died the woman did not give the kitchen to the boy:

[539] "She dreamed of her husband; she dreamed he was in hell and was taken to be burned. He told her it was her fault, that because she didn't give the kitchen to the boy they were taking him to be burned and that she should give it to him. Then an angel came and arranged the whole thing so he didn't go to the burning because he had repented. 'That's what I dreamed,' the woman says, 'and I think it's true.'"

A similar case is that of the dead bandit who had buried his money. His ghost keeps calling people to take the money and have some mass said for him.

775 773 An interesting theme is that of the dead who come back to earth in order to return stolen property. The following case is among the most significant, socially speaking, in our collection:

539 "There was a hacienda steward who was very good to the peons. He used to take handfuls of corn to give them, because at that time the people were very poor and he felt sorry for them. When he died he had no sins, so he went right to heaven, because the only sin he had committed was that of giving corn by handfuls to the peons without the permission of his master. God told him that was bad because he gave away the corn without his master's permission, and he would have to go back to earth to account for what he had done.

"So he fell in the center of the hacienda courtyard and he went to his house where he used to live and said, 'My children, here I am come back.' And his wife said, 'O my dear, how right you were to come back; you are the only one I love. Besides, everyone is unhappy around here because now there is nobody to give food to them like you used to do.' But then he said, 'Look here, I came only to attend to this; you should know what happened to me up there in heaven. I came to pay my master back so that God can forgive my sin. This is why I advise you not to do what I used to do but always act like the master tells you. Now I will have to go to the fields to pay my master back.'

"So he went to see his master, and said, 'Look here, sir, I used to take handfuls of corn and beans to give to the peons and this is why I missed heaven. Now you will have to put me to work so I can pay you back. And this is what God sent me to do, to tell you.'

"He was given the oxen and the plow and he spent all his time working. He never went to his home, and he never ate; nobody could see where he was or where he went, and he was always bareheaded. Until at last he fulfilled his debt to his master. Then he went again to his house and said, 'Now my children, I am through with my debts and I can go up again.' He went to a chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and knelt and said, 'My Mother of Guadalupe, I have already paid this debt I owed my master. Let me go to heaven, show me the road, my Mother.' And the roof opened and he rose right to heaven; everybody could see him.

"And this is why they said it is such a great sin to take what does not belong to one."

775 773 In a similar story, the woman servant who used to cheat her master had to come back and work for him again until she paid

773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

* * *

776 An outline of the nature of the saints
778 and of the main features of their cult has been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

Saints occasionally wander on earth.
776 The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

Tales about the activities of the saints
776 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding
789 the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

776 and some natural elements also are called demons. As there is only one word (*no-ambákiti*, evil one) both for the Devil and the demons, it is used sometimes as if the Devil were omnipresent, and at other times as if there were many different demons.

776 The Devil inhabits hell under the earth where he rules over the doomed dead. He
778 also attends "ugly" places—woods, caves, ravines, volcanos, the places where the
[772] pre-Christian giants were buried, etc. In these places the Devil appears. It is said that in those places "they frighten", because the appearance of the Devil causes fright. Places where the ancient people became enchanted are called *éncanto* (enchanted place), and this name is used for all places where the Devil appears regularly at a given hour when music is heard or a peculiar-looking animal is seen.

776 The distribution of souls between God and the Devil has been mentioned. As the
775 Devil gets the wicked souls, that is, those who have sinned, his activities are directed
773 towards provoking bad behavior and thus winning souls for himself. The Devil goes after drunkards. Wherever there are drunkards, there is the Devil. He induces people to drink by appearing to them in human form. Or he persecutes drunkards in order to take them to hell with him, or mixes among them in order to make them fight. Similarly the Devil tries to make everyone quarrel and fight. Experiences are told of how one, while drunk, saw the Devil or how an animal (i.e., the Devil) was seen leaving a place where there was a fight.

Another way of getting souls is for the Devil to take the form of a woman and go after men. Many men tell experiences of this type. Going to see a sweetheart during the night, the boy suddenly realizes she has hairy hands or goat's feet, or some other beastly attribute which makes him realize that it is the Devil he is with. Walking in the streets during the night, one sees a pretty woman and follows her, but at a certain movement sees some of her beast-like features. The Devil disguised as a woman tries to take the man out of town and take him to some ravine or cave in the woods which is the way to hell. To women, the Devil appears as a rich man (*catrín*) who marries the girl, which means taking her to hell.

In these experiences of drunkards or lovers, the victim prays when he realizes

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɕakuɪin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

Other than those of wealth, most pacts
754 with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witch-
776 craft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

775 776 The evil dead who go to hell (or at least some of them) become devils or devil-like spirits. This is an important concept in Tarascan folklore. We saw, for instance, how those people drowned in lakes or wells go to hell. Places where such accidents have happened are very dangerous because the drowned "pull people in, and cause canoes to capsize so that people drown". In some cases the water spirits died long ago in the past. They are mythi-
[773] cal characters, like the three daughters of the king of Tzintzuntzan, who were hidden in order not to see the blessing of the world; or the well spirits in the mountain towns, who discovered the springs but were plunged into the water by the people in the remote past. These spirits are called devils by informants, when asked about spirits' nature, and in some stories their devil-like attributes are clearly seen.

When a man has been murdered, a heap of stones is placed on the spot where the event took place. The stone on top of the head is marked with a cross and is called *krús ánimiri* (Tarascan from Spanish, cross of the soul). Anyone can put this soul to his service by getting hold of the cross. The cross is taken home and the soul haunts the house and scares intruders away. A soul's cross can be prayed to in order to ask the soul for help in getting a relative out of prison, or finding a lost animal.

778 The middle finger of a very brave dead man can also be used to put the soul at one's service. The finger placed in front of
775 a door has the virtue to open it, although one has to be brave enough to stand the sight of the dead man who appears on the door sill.

Many beliefs treat of hidden treasures. In one of these it is said that when a person wants to bury money to keep it secure, he kills a man or has one killed by somebody else and buries the dead man with his money. The dead man keeps the money, and frightens anybody who comes along. Only a very brave man could take the money out.

In the case of the soul's cross, the dead man's finger, or the dead man buried with money, it seems clear that we deal with the dead which do not reach their abode and are put to service by someone. In our material, however, this concept is not explicitly given. When asked about the nature of these dead persons, informants

775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.

Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

183 havior against the interests of a certain class or institution.

(*a*) Among the behavior which is considered bad, we find activities which are harmful to the social body in general without regard to special group interests. Thus, drunkenness is incited by the Devil. He leads drunkards to disregard friends and family and to quarrel. The dead as a [775] consequence of drunkenness go to hell. In the same way, fighting is incited by the Devil and both the killed and the killer are doomed.

Behavior against the family and disapproved sex relations loom large under this heading. Rebelliousness against the [773] father (God, in this case) in the creation myths caused the Devil's damnation. Killing the father equally dooms the murderer in one story; and one of the causes for the outbreak of the volcano in Paricutin is said to have been punishment for a patricide which had happened there. Disobedience toward parental authority is also condemned in a prodigal son type of tale.

Deserting one's wife and living with another woman bar entrance into heaven. In a story where a man agrees to lend his wife to a friend, they are taken away by the Devil. Marriage between brother and sister among the mountain spirits occurs in one story, and their son is half snake, proof of his devilish nature. When blessed, they disappear amidst thunder and whirlwinds.

Cain, by killing his brother Abel, caused [773] the flood in one creation story. The *llorona* is the spirit of a woman who killed her son; she is condemned to wander on earth crying for her baby.

Failure to become godparents (*compadres*) according to proper custom is punishable by having to look for the other person after death in order to perform the ceremony. Similar punishment awaits the woman who does not take proper care of her children; she will have to do so after death.

Sex is a powerful bait the Devil uses to trap his victims, although not quite bad in itself. Thus the Devil appears as a seducing woman to draw men into the woods; or when a boy goes to see his sweetheart in the night, the Devil takes her form to catch him. A boy who used love magic powder loses his heart (*i. e.*, soul) to the Devil.

Disobedience to the father, killing the father, deserting the wife and living with

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Paricutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the 183 wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

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105 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 412 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 388 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing woolens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering 222 237 wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* [776] of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *baya* (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[104]

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438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
796 tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

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796 and ceremonies. The ceremonies of the saints
776 are sometimes called *mayordomías* as they are elsewhere in Mexico, although the term *cargo* is more common in Cherán. The elaborateness and expense of the ceremonies vary considerably. Some are virtually community functions or minor fiestas but held at the expense of the *carguero* or *mayordomo*. Others have very little expense attached to them. In many cases dance groups are associated with the *mayordomía*.

So far as could be learned, six of the saints and accompanying *mayordomías* "belong" to the *cabildo*. Four others are associated with particular professions (this is also true of some of the saints of the *cabildo*) and are "managed" by principals (*principales*). Another is managed by a group of principals but is not associated with a profession, while the final saint identified is owned by a private family. The saints belonging to the *cabildo* are San Isidro (of the farmers), San José (of the forest workers), Santa Inéz (of the cattle raisers), Santa Nieves or the Virgin of Snows, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the Santo Niño or the Child Christ. Saints belonging to professions are San Antonio (of the *arrieros* or muleteers), San Rafael (of the merchants), San Anselmo (of the honey gatherers, with two separate images and ceremonies), and Santa Cecilia (of the musicians). Independent of any profession is the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings or Tres Reyes. The privately owned saint has no *mayordomía* properly speaking and is usually spoken of simply as the Miraculous Saint.

The *cabildo* is also known as the "ačes,"
796 meaning principal persons or things. In
794 Spanish the *cabildo* is also known as the *principales*. The group consists of men who have occupied the offices of *colector* and *prioste* associated with the church. In the past the *cabildo* looked after many things connected with the church, including the collection and care of the tithes or gifts to the priest, cared for the saints in the church and the ornaments and decorations of the church, and brought the priests to Cherán during the period when religious functions were prohibited. Members also had charge of the *mayordomías* mentioned above, and considered the saints their property.

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796 item of expense also. A midnight Mass and candles are paid for, as well as the dance instructor. Special foods are also prepared at this time, for example, *mole de pepita de calabaza molida*, mole of ground squash seeds, a very rich food prepared only on this occasion (see recipes, p. 53).

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA NIEVES

[776] Santa Nieves, or the Virgin de las Nieves (Virgin of the Snows), was evidently once the Virgin associated with the hospital. The *carguero* in 1940, as was the case with the *carguero* of the Child Christ, had taken the post "for pleasure."

The *carguero* receives the saint August 5. He takes it to his home and places it in a specially prepared place. On the day of the saint, August 5, he is supposed to arrange a dance, the caballita uarárica, dance of the little horses, and to provide a band. This was not done in 1940 because of the quarrel over the *cabildo*. The dancers perform on this one day only, visiting the houses of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass in church to which he takes the image of the saint. The image is left in church for the new *carguero*.

MAYORDOMÍA OF GUADALUPE

The *mayordomía* of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12 is also a fiesta of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* gives food to his relatives in his house and they help him to decorate the church. The image of the Virgin is taken to church for the Mass and is left there for the new *carguero*. A long Mass is held. In 1940 there were three priests and the cost was $60. Eighteen large candles were provided, each with bows of red, green, and white made out of tin (because of a shortage, four candles had paper ornaments). The candles are carried to church in procession by the helpers (relatives) of the *carguero*. Behind is carried the Virgin's image, followed by the *carguero* and his wife. A dance is supposed to be held, but it was omitted in 1940.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ISIDRO

The *mayordomía* of San Isidro is also connected with the *cabildo*. The date of the *mayordomía* is May 15. Information of this *mayordomía* was obtained from the *carguero's*

796 wife, who was very suspicious and possibly ignorant. Consequently it is not wholly satisfactory.

[776] The saint is the patron of those who cultivate the ground with oxen, but there is no evidence that only cultivators assume this *mayordomía*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass and probably for candles. Usually the relatives of the *carguero* and his wife are invited to eat at the house, but this is not obligatory and may be omitted if the *carguero* cannot afford it (the *carguero* in 1940 was obviously very poor). If the relatives are invited, the wife's female relatives aid in preparing the food. The saint's image is taken to church before the Mass and remains in church until the fiesta of Corpus, when it is removed by the new *carguero*. The *carguero* in 1940 had taken the saint because of a vow, but the wife said she did not know what the vow was. [i.e., San Isidro.—Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN JOSÉ

[776] San José is a patron of the shake makers and the plank makers. The *carguero* is usually of one of these occupations. He begins his service on the saint's day, March 19. At the fiesta of Corpus he takes the image to church and pays for candles. He also provides meals for the commissioners and musicians of the woodworkers at the fiesta (for the entire fiesta according to one informant, but this contradicts other information given in connection with the Corpus fiesta). In the following year on March 19 the *carguero* pays for a Mass, candles, and *cohetes*, taking the saint's image to the church where it is left for the new *carguero*. On the 19th, if the *carguero* wishes, he may invite his relatives to the house for food and have music, but this it not obligatory.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA INÉZ

[776] Santa Inéz, also a saint of the *cabildo*, is regarded as one of the virgins. She is patron of cattle and pigs. Formerly there were cows belonging to this saint, but they were lost. About 15 years ago a cow was presented to the saint. Now she possesses two cows, two bulls, and two young steers. The *carguero* looks after these animals. He may use the milk from the cows, but he is not supposed to sell any of the cattle.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
(p.139b)

796 The saint's image in this case was kept with
778 special elegance in a large case with glass on the front and sides. Inside the box were small images of a cow, a steer, and a pig on the left side. The box stood on a table decorated with paper flowers and supporting an incense burner, a basket of copal gum, and a candle. The table in turn rested on a mat on the floor. The wall behind the box was decorated with colored papers and chains and paper cut-outs.

796 The new *carguero* receives the image of the saint on April 21. On Corpus the image is taken to church (and probably candles are burned). At the end of the year, on the following April 21, the relatives of the *carguero* visit him. He has musicians and food for them. The saint's image is taken to church for a Mass paid for by the *carguero* (probably with candles). Some *carguerôs*, when they receive the image, give it a new outfit of clothing. The image is large and one of the best-
[778] dressed in Cherán. The dress is white with a blue cape. A gilt crown is on the head and a necklace of the red glass beads prized by Tarascan women is about the neck. The altar is decorated with many flowers and aromatic herbs. [i.e., Santa Inés - Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN RAFAEL

The *mayordomía* of San Rafael is not connected with the *cabildo*. The saint is patron of the merchants, and apparently the *mayordomía* is administered by a principal or principals selected by the merchants. The principals decide who shall receive the *mayordomía* and pay an occasional visit to the *carguero's* house to see that all is kept in proper order. This seems to be the regular arrangement for all the independent saints connected with *mayordomías*, although specific information is lacking for some of them.

[778] As patron of the merchants, the image of San Rafael carries a fish under the left arm
[776] and in his right hand bears a staff (actually a shepherd's crook). About his neck is a necklace of sea sheels. In front of the altar are hung other sea shells and miniature fire fans, clay fruits, etc. The house and altar are well decorated with paper flowers and colored papers. Before the altar are candles and an incense burner. The merchants visit the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 saint's image and burn a candle before setting out on a journey.

The new *carguero* takes charge of the image the day before Corpus. He goes to the house of the old *carguero*, secures the image, and takes it to church. There it remains in a "box" during the week-long festivities of Corpus. On Monday afternoon of Corpus the musicians of the merchants come to the house of the *carguero* and make it their headquarters during the fiesta until Saturday noon. The musicians, the commissioners, and whatever people attach themselves to the group, breakfast and dine at the house of the *carguero* during the fiesta. If he cannot afford this, the commissioners provide the meals, three or four cooperating in providing each meal. The musicians of this group also greet the honey gatherers when they return from their stay in the woods collecting honeycombs for the fiesta (on Friday, according to the *carguero;* Tuesday, according to all others).

The day of the saint is October 24. The *carguero* pays for a Mass (and presumably candles). In 1940 the Mass was delayed because the priest was too busy and was out of town frequently.

The *carguero* ordinarily is a merchant, but in 1940 he was a fireworks maker. Because he traveled from town to town, the principals had decided he could qualify as *carguero* when he asked for the *mayordomía*. The *carguero* sought the responsibility "for pleasure" and not because of any vow. Incidentally, he is a [191] native of Pichataro and speaks very little Spanish. His wife speaks even less. Perhaps because of this origin they were much the most open and cordial of the *cargueros*.[37]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ANTONIO

[776] San Antonio is patron of the muleteers, the *arrieros*. The new *carguero* receives the image on June 13, the day of the saint, and takes it to

[37] Those desiring the *mayordomía* of San Rafael apply to the principal. The holder of this office in 1940 had occupied it for 18 years, although he had several times tried to resign. Occasionally he calls meetings of the merchants to discuss some expense relative to the saint, such as new garments or altar table. Sometimes money is collected in the meeting in advance for such expenditures. On other occasions the principal spends money out of his pocket and takes up a collection at the meeting to reimburse himself. According to this principal, the new *carguero* goes to the priest during Corpus for benediction. Probably this is true of the other *mayordomías* but the point was not investigated.

796 shortly before the close of the study. (It is quite probable that two or three *mayordomías* exist in Cherán which were not discovered at all; no one in the town appears to know all of them.) Santa Cecilia is patroness of the [776] musicians, and the *carguero* is always a musician. In 1940 no one wished to "take the saint," so the image remained in the same house, a nephew of the former *carguero* who lived in the house taking the responsibility. The musicians all gather at the house of the *carguero* and play all day. (This is how the *mayordomía* was discovered; however, no outsiders were invited in, despite the most obvious hints.)

THE MIRACULOUS HOLY CHILD

776 This saint, El Milagroso Santo Niño, is not
796 properly to be included among the *mayordomías*, as it is the property of a single family and does not circulate among other households. According to the story told by the owners, the saint was found by the man of the family some 18 years before, while he was cutting wheat below the town. Tiring, he sat down, and while picking idly at the dirt with his sickle he uncovered the image. He had the image fixed up (at present it looks entirely like the other saint's images with respect to the technique and painting). With the aid of others, a chapel was then built for the saint in the yard of the house. When the image was found it was only about 30 cm. high. It is claimed that it has grown steadily until it is now bet[illegible]0 and 80 cm.

The saint first became known as a miraculous saint when a man from the ranchos (a group of small Mestizo settlements on the boundaries of Cherán in the mountains) cut his foot while alone in the woods. As he was bleeding to death, he recalled the saint, of which he had heard, and vowed to take it to his rancho accompanied by dancers. The bleeding stopped and he recovered.

Keeping his vow, the Mestizo brought dancers to Cherán and took the saint to the rancho. There other miracles occurred. For example, a child who could not walk and who was dumb had the crown of the saint put on him; he now walks and talks very well.

As a result of these experiences, the people

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.143a]

796 from the ranchos came every year with dancers.
796 They spent 3 days in Cherán, dancing in the church and in the municipal building. Then they took the saint to the ranchos and it often was kept there many months. In 1940 the owners decided not to let the saint go any more because they wished to have it with them "as we have lost much time with it."

COMPARATIVE NOTES

796 Material collected from other towns suggests
794 that other types of *mayordomía* organization exist. In Angáhuan, Rendón found an elaborate hierarchy of officials, evidently corresponding to the *cabildo* and the associated organization at Cherán. In Angáhuan, according to Rendón, the officials are ranked as follows: *Alcalde, regidor,* kámbiti, petájpe and biskál, *mayores,* kiéŋi, anyítakua.

In addition, there is a group of elderly men, corresponding to the Cherán *cabildo,* who are known as *tarénpenya.* These are men who have served the above offices or part of them.

The *alcalde* and *regidor* correspond to the *prioste-colector* positions in Cherán apparently. The *alcalde* is in charge of the church for 1 year. During this time he has to hold six fiestas. The first is at New Year's, when he receives his post and when he must provide food and *aguardiente.* The second is carnival, when he is aided in the expenses by the *"cabildo"* (it is not clear from Rendón's notes whether this means the same as it does in Cherán). The third is the day of the Holy Cross when he must pay for two bands and there is the dance of the moors and soldiers. The *alcalde* provides food for the dancers. The latter dance in the houses of various functionaries. The fourth fiesta is Corpus, at which time all the members of the different occupations take miniatures of their products and dance with them before the church and also perform their offices. The fifth fiesta is that of Santiago (the patron saint), when there is music, dancers, and also bull riding. For this fiesta the *alcalde* pays for the Masses and gives food to the dancers. The final fiesta is the day on which the *alcalde* is chosen by the elders.

The *regidor* is the helper of the *alcalde* and aids him in every way possible. The relatives of the *alcalde* also assist him with food.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

754 refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft. Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too [831] scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches [763] disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

776 Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural outside of the various aspects, 151 of Christianity and witchcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the miríŋgua, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the miríŋgua. The most common place about town for the miríŋgua to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

776 without his being able to see who it was. Then
151 he became frightened and ran toward his house (as he thought), but instead he ran faster and faster in the opposite direction. Eventually he became terrorized and ran, falling and bumping into things, for it was getting increasingly darker, until he arrived at a place he did not recognize. He ran through many nettles which struck him like pack straps, drawing blood all over his body. Finally he found a cave and took refuge in it, where he struggled all night with something that tried to strangle him. He was found in the morning by a search party which had been hunting him all night. He was 17 when this occurred.

On another occasion a woman was found dead in a sand cave without any tracks except her own footprints. She showed all the signs of strangulation. Before her death this woman had told her relatives and friends that frequently she would think she was on her way home and would find herself in the *barranca*. She would sit down awhile and make the sign of the cross and pray. With this, things would become clear to her and she could retrace her road.

A youth returning from his field to his house, felt something pull him strongly toward the *barranca* as he crossed the bridge. He resisted, and then it seemed to him he was going toward home when suddenly he lost his footing and began to fall in space. As he fell he had the impression he was entering his house. He was found next day in the *barranca*, half dead, and was unable to speak for 8 days. He stammers still as the result of his fright.

Another story tells of a man who had attended a wedding in Paricutin. After the wedding the group went through the streets with the music, dancing and drinking. As they crossed the bridge to Paricutin the man said something was pulling at him. He began to gesticulate as if he was fighting something, but his friends, having drunk a greal deal, paid no attention. He began to run but fell from the bridge. His body was found down the *barranca* (as the water evidently was high) after considerable search.

776 This spirit is known at Capacuaro as mirinyin, mirinchin, or miringin. The spirit appears

776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 356 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, 821 has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people. 825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 443-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 36-38.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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779 Changes in this folk Catholicism are traceable to the influence of the economic and social changes previously discussed. In this chapter the cult, its organization, financing and relation to the government and to political conflict will be discussed, while religious ideology will be dealt with in the following chapter.

The most profound changes in the folk religion affect mainly the cult organization. The basic traits of the folk cult itself have not been greatly modified during the period covered in this paper, and are similar to those generally found in all Middle America. A description of them will provide a background on which to discuss them.

Main Traits of Tarascan Folk Religion and Cult[1]

776 Tarascan folk Catholicism, although accepting the Christian God (Tarascan, *Kuerájpiri*, Creator; Spanish, *Padre Eterno*, Eternal Father) as the supreme creator, revolves primarily around the saints. The saints are sons of God, also those who followed Christ when he came to earth, and in general people who lived sometime in the past and 'won sanctity'. A male saint is called in Tarascan *tata diósa*, literally 'father or lord god', a term which also can be applied to the Creator. Female saints are called *nana iuísa*, 'mother or lady virgin', which means both the Virgin or any female saint. The mystery of the Trinity is not well known to the Tarascans. Christ is only the most important tata diósa. Sometimes he can be considered the same as God, but most often he is only his son. In some myths he is the brother of other saints like Saint James or even a brother of the Devil. Also it is not clear whether the various Christs venerated in different places are really the same God. The Christs of San Juan, Tingambato, Sopoco and Santa Fe, for instance, are said to be four brothers. Similarly the different local Virgins are to be considered as many different supernaturals.

776 As important as the supernatural being, is its image kept in a church or chapel. It

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1. Most information comes from the late nineteenth century and the present time. Information for the eighteenth century is scantier, but so far as available it shows great similarity with later times, so the following description, although written in the present tense, can be taken to apply in its basic traits to that period also.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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776 is considered sometimes as the residence of the saint, his abode being also in heaven, 778 but in many cases the image seems to take over all concepts of the supernatural and instead of a symbol it becomes the saint itself. Folklore is rich in tales about the apparition of images as synonymous with the saint. The images often appear to behave like a person. In different accounts they are believed to move, weep, or speak. If the saint leaves the church to wander, traces of its journey are seen on the image. People also treat the image as a person. Presents taken to it are often dresses. The image can be taken out when there has been no rain so that he (she) can see for himself the need for it, or, in cases of witchcraft, he may be imprisoned in a little jail until help is received.

776 Most saints are related to the social groups of which they are patrons. Thus the Virgin of Guadalupe stands for Mexico. All towns and their wards *(barrios)* and also the trades have a patrón and the cult of one such group is specially concerned with its patron who is its supernatural protector and representative.

In legends, saints can appear as those who give the villages their characteristic trades. There can be said to be a division of labor among the saints, each one attending to different localities or human activities or personifying natural elements.

Supernatural help is asked from the patron of one's own group or from the saint which deals particularly with what one wants to obtain. For instance, the Virgen de la Salud of Pátzcuaro is helpful in case of sickness; Saint Anthony is good to ask for offspring. In addition, most popular saints are petitioned for all kinds of things. The reputation of the saint and personal devotion decide which should be asked. Most famous in the Tarascan region are the Christs of San Juan, Carácuaro and Araró, the Virgin of Guadalupe, Virgen de la Salud of Pátzcuaro, the Señor del Resgate (an Ecce Homo) of Tzintzuntzan, Saint Anthony of Morelia, and many others.

Sometimes new saints appear, which in a short time become very popular, while some others decline in importance. For this reason the most important saint of a town is in some cases not its patron saint. For instance the Christs of Parangaricutiro, Tingambato, Zopoco, Santa Fe and the Señor del Resgate in Tzintzuntzan have all superseded in importance the patron saints of those places.

773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

• • •

776 An outline of the nature of the saints
778 and of the main features of their cult has been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

Saints occasionally wander on earth.
776 The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

Tales about the activities of the saints
776 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding
789 the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

539 'The first job you will have to do is to go fetch wood. Put these sandals on. When you wear them out you are free.' And the sandals were made of iron. He left very thoughtful and on his way he met a bearded man who asked him where he was going. The man told him the whole story. Asked the bearded one, 'Well, have you repented? Take the sandals off and go to the wood and when you come back I will give them back to you already worn out.' This bearded man must have been God; He made a miracle for him and He gave him the sandals all thin, so that man could get out very soon.

"The people in that place where they were grinding were the souls of the dead and they were as in hell or purgatory."

[776] In other miracles, God or the saints punish bad actions, mainly failure to comply promptly with the cult requirements. Nonfulfillment of a vow brings about an accident, caused by the saint as punishment. For example:

A man was going in pilgrimage to San Juan Parangaricutiro when he thought he had better go to Tingambato. He fell over a ravine with his donkeys and died shortly thereafter.

A woman was going to visit the Christ in Carácuaro when she felt tired and sat down and regretted having started the trip. She became enchanted in a nearby hill.

Another woman in a similar predicament became a stone when she complained of the trip. Dancers who perform before reaching the saint also become stone.

776 Other miracles punish sacrilegious actions of the sinners. For instance, a revolutionary colonel tried to chop off the head of the image of the Christ of Carácuaro. It bled and the colonel repented, but he became sick and suffered without being able to die until he asked for pardon.

Lack of concern for the saints is also punished. A man obtained wealth from Saint Anthony, but lost it when he forgot about the saint. Another man could not enter heaven because he found no saint to sponsor him, as he had no devotion.

* * *

In opposition to God and the saints, the Devil appears as the bad supernatural and advocate of bad behavior. The creation of the Devil has been mentioned before.

The Devil appears together with a host of demons of which he is king. These demons seem to be those given to him by God when he was created, the doomed souls. The pre-Christian people (k'uaŋári)

776 and some natural elements also are called demons. As there is only one word (*no-ambákiti*, evil one) both for the Devil and the demons, it is used sometimes as if the Devil were omnipresent, and at other times as if there were many different demons.

776 The Devil inhabits hell under the earth
778 where he rules over the doomed dead. He also attends "ugly" places—woods, caves, ravines, volcanos, the places where the
[772] pre-Christian giants were buried, etc. In these places the Devil appears. It is said that in those places "they frighten", because the appearance of the Devil causes fright. Places where the ancient people became enchanted are called *encanto* (enchanted place), and this name is used for all places where the Devil appears regularly at a given hour when music is heard or a peculiar-looking animal is seen.

776 The distribution of souls between God
775 and the Devil has been mentioned. As the Devil gets the wicked souls, that is, those who have sinned, his activities are directed
773 towards provoking bad behavior and thus winning souls for himself. The Devil goes after drunkards. Wherever there are drunkards, there is the Devil. He induces people to drink by appearing to them in human form. Or he persecutes drunkards in order to take them to hell with him, or mixes among them in order to make them fight. Similarly the Devil tries to make everyone quarrel and fight. Experiences are told of how one, while drunk, saw the Devil or how an animal (*i.e.*, the Devil) was seen leaving a place where there was a fight.

Another way of getting souls is for the Devil to take the form of a woman and go after men. Many men tell experiences of this type. Going to see a sweetheart during the night, the boy suddenly realizes she has hairy hands or goat's feet, or some other beastly attribute which makes him realize that it is the Devil he is with. Walking in the streets during the night, one sees a pretty woman and follows her, but at a certain movement sees some of her beast-like features. The Devil disguised as a woman tries to take the man out of town and take him to some ravine or cave in the woods which is the way to hell. To women, the Devil appears as a rich man (*catrín*) who marries the girl, which means taking her to hell.

In these experiences of drunkards or lovers, the victim prays when he realizes

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijeakurin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíngua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíngua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíngua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíngua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

Other than those of wealth, most pacts
754 with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witch-
776 craft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

775 The evil dead who go to hell (or at least
776 some of them) become devils or devil-like spirits. This is an important concept in Tarascan folklore. We saw, for instance, how those people drowned in lakes or wells go to hell. Places where such accidents have happened are very dangerous because the drowned "pull people in, and cause canoes to capsize so that people drown". In some cases the water spirits died long ago in the past. They are mythi-
[773] cal characters, like the three daughters of the king of Tzintzuntzan, who were hidden in order not to see the blessing of the world; or the well spirits in the mountain towns, who discovered the springs but were plunged into the water by the people in the remote past. These spirits are called devils by informants, when asked about spirits' nature, and in some stories their devil-like attributes are clearly seen.

When a man has been murdered, a heap of stones is placed on the spot where the event took place. The stone on top of the head is marked with a cross and is called *krús ánimiri* (Tarascan from Spanish, cross of the soul). Anyone can put this soul to his service by getting hold of the cross. The cross is taken home and the soul haunts the house and scares intruders away. A soul's cross can be prayed to in order to ask the soul for help in getting a relative out of prison, or finding a lost animal.

The middle finger of a very brave dead
778 man can also be used to put the soul at one's service. The finger placed in front of
775 a door has the virtue to open it, although one has to be brave enough to stand the sight of the dead man who appears on the door sill.

Many beliefs treat of hidden treasures. In one of these it is said that when a person wants to bury money to keep it secure, he kills a man or has one killed by somebody else and buries the dead man with his money. The dead man keeps the money, and frightens anybody who comes along. Only a very brave man could take the money out.

In the case of the soul's cross, the dead man's finger, or the dead man buried with money, it seems clear that we deal with the dead which do not reach their abode and are put to service by someone. In our material, however, this concept is not explicitly given. When asked about the nature of these dead persons, informants

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775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.
Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Parícutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about.

(2) Much material deals with the 183 wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized religion, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

The priest is considered the representa- [793] tive of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

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183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People
[773] who lived before the blessing of the world
[172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and
183 folklore primarily sanction the values of the folk culture. They support the family
771 (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The
[776] Devil giving money always appears as a

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[776] well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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798 In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

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668 against the traditional cargo system is
798 again discernible, although this time under the cloak of a more orthodox Catholicism. Thus people are divided according to their appreciation of some cultural institution: for cargos (traditionalist) or against them (agraristas and some militant Catholics); for the Church (traditionalists and militant Catholics) or aganist it (agraristas).

Since the ethical religious ideology sanctions those institutions thus in conflict, let us see how supernatural sanction of political groups is evidenced in folk narratives.

Corresponding to the general anti-agra-
183 rista trend, we find in the tales use of the good and evil theme in order to prove the
668 wickedness of the agraristas. A number of experiences in which people see the Devil take place in towns where the agraristas dominate, doubtless a reflection of the connection between the two evils.

At the time of our stay in Jarácuaro, the level of the lake was falling, leaving considerable extensions of land dry. At that time in Ihuatzio, which is strongly Catholic, an agrarista group was formed to get this land for themselves instead of sharing it with the whole town. News soon reached Jarácuaro that the Devil had been seen in Ihuatzio. The following market day in Pátzcuaro brought more complete news:

[539] "In Ihuatzio they saw the Devil. He came out of the mountains and he crossed the town
[776] through the center. He looked like a human, but had feet like those of donkeys. The people wanted to hit him, but they were not able to reach him. They say he came out because many have now become agraristas. In order to get the land at the lakeshore the town has split."

A similar story is told of another town:

539 "This is what happened to a man from Tócuaro when agrarismo was so powerful. This man remembered an errand he had to do at Pichátaro and he left; this was about eleven o'clock at night. He went down right to the road and there he saw a man on horseback. They greeted each other: 'Good evening.' 'Good evening.' 'Where are you going?' 'To Pichátaro.' 'I am going to Puácuaro. Shall we travel together?' 'All right. Let's go.'

"'Where do you come from?' the stranger asked. 'I come from Tócuaro, and you?' 'Well, I am here and there, sometimes in Tzurumútaro, sometimes in San Pedro, San Bartolo or Puácuaro; those are the towns where they like me best.' 'And what about Tócuaro?' 'No, you don't like me at all; you have there an old

539 man who does not let me in.' [This is Saint Francis.] And the man from Tócuaro did not realize whom he was talking with. So they arrived at Arócutin where their roads separated and the stranger asked: 'Don't you want a cigarette?' 'Yes.' 'Here it is.' And when he lit the cigarette the man from Tócuaro saw his eyes which seemed to be burning, so bright they were. He threw the cigarette away and left. He had only walked a few steps when fright caught him. His hands and feet were sweating and he left the road and spent the night in the open. He did not arrive at Pichátaro until the next day and then he told what had happened to him."

668 776 San Bartolo, San Pedro, Tzurumútaro and Puácuaro are agrarista towns on the lakeshore; the Devil is welcome there. In Tócuaro, however, they are not agraristas; they follow their patron saint (Saint Francis), and the Devil cannot get in.

Similarly, in Tzurumútaro, another agrarista town, "there appeared an old woman who used to talk to men on the street corners. When she left she went to a ravine. She was a devil."

In Huecorio 'the Enemy' (euphemism for the Devil) came out one night roaring like a bull. The dogs went after him and he became a black dog dragging something like a long skin. He appeared one night after the church had been blessed and mass had been said for the first time. This was three years ago (*i. e.*, 1942).

Agraristas are also mentioned in an experience of a man who, having come back to life after being dead for a few hours, reports having seen in hell the place prepared for burning the agraristas working the land in Copujo, Jarácuaro.

In one incantation, the spirits of the agrarista leader, Zapata, and the revolutionary bandit, Chávez García, are mentioned as bad spirits whose help is asked: "You brave spirits, which are now in the other life. Now, in this moment, come to me. You, spirits of Chávez García and Zapata."

In the following story, the supporter of the Church is miraculously saved from the agraristas:

539 "At the time when the priests were being persecuted, there was a man who defended the church very much. Nobody did anything to him; he was not burned nor anything. The agraristas put him in jail. He had spent three days in jail, and they wanted to convince him that if he would go on defending the Church

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[783] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", *i. e.*, compacts with the Devil.

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754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
behind the Church to make a compact with
538 the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

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● 776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to
go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
539 over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
783 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
storm destroyed the cave. They said many
people were seen leaving the mountain; they

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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nation and its princes. This account forms the principal part of the *Relación* and refers to the marvels of creation performed by their god, Curicaueri. The miracles of the creation are told in the countryside between Lake Pátzcuaro and Lake Cuitzeo as the tale of the birth of Cueróhperi.

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The Legend

In the beginning of time there was no light. The silent dwelling place of Curicaueri, the only god at that time, was full of minute (atómica) material which slowly moved around without any order or harmony. Curicaueri realized that his enormous circular eyes could not penetrate the darkness nor contemplate infinity; therefore he created four orbs of light, each burning in one of the cardinal points of the universe, and light existed.

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Great shapeless masses from the depths now were reflected in the eyes of the powerful god. From some of the mass, Curicaueri created Huriata, the sun god, naming him father and overseer of the universe. Then Huriata formed the heavenly bodies, ordering that they light the heavens in their own manner.

Thus day and night came into the world.

Through his golden mask Curicaueri smiled upon seeing the light of the four orbs, and, viewing the orderliness which Huriata had given to the universe, he desired to reward Huriata. Thus he created the moon goddess, Cutzi, and presented her to Huriata to take as his wife.

The contact of the two – Father Sun and the Mother Moon – brought darkness to the cosmos. From the two joined bodies, three rays of light broke forth upon the firmament to form three concentric circles around the dusky body of Cutzi.

From the three circles was born Cueróhperi (the creative principle or Mother Nature), the daughter whom Father Sun endowed with beauty and wisdom.

The three rays of light were extended through space, and they caused colors to be reflected from the heavenly bodies and the organized atoms.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan king-
642 dom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and
643 Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion.
[539] King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of
[776] Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest
political authority but also as the representative and incarnation
[994] of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
539 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men
of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
[782] be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
539 that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to
644 generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of
648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique
644 of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival
173 in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

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245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and
[252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

If the rains do not come at the proper time
789 near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote*." Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

556 Other types of incorporeal property possibly
424 are the knowledge of the herb gatherers, mid-
wives, and witches. However, there is no sense of property in Cherán concerning this knowledge, and the idea of buying or selling it was not encountered. Such knowledge seems not to be differently regarded from the knowledge of how to farm or to care for animals or make bread.

A unique type of property right is the owner-
421 ship of certain images of saints and of *mayor-*
778 *domías*. Two cases were encountered. One is
556 the ownership of the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings (*Los Tres Reyes*), January 6. Several men were instrumental in starting this *mayordomía*, formerly celebrated only by the dance of the Europeans (*danza de los Europeos*). Not only did these men put on the first *mayordomía*, they put up funds, aided by contributions, to secure a fine set of images for the *mayordomía*. In subsequent years they decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year. As one of them said to me, "It looks like this *mayordomía* is going to be a good business." However, he spoke in figurative terms, for, so far as could be learned, the "owners" of the *mayordomía* expected to receive only spiritual rewards and perhaps community approbation.

The second case is the ownership of a miraculous saint. The owners found the saint, erected a chapel, and receive contributions from worshippers. The owners claim that all gifts go to clothe the saint properly and care for the chapel, a statement that is open to doubt although there is no evidence to the contrary.

The distribution of wealth in Cherán appears
556 to be relatively equitable. Certainly there are no really wealthy men in Cherán and there are relatively few impoverished individuals. So long as wealth is measured in land and most families in Cherán have a reasonable amount of land, this condition will continue. It is true that people in Cherán talk a great deal about *los ricos* (the rich men). In practice, almost no one can readily identify the rich men. Partly, of course, this is because rich men, in order to avoid envy, are careful not to flaunt their wealth. But it also is an indication that really wealthy men are probably scarce, if not absent. One of the regular assistants, Pedro Chávez, talked constantly about

796 The saint's image in this case was kept with
778 special elegance in a large case with glass on the front and sides. Inside the box were small images of a cow, a steer, and a pig on the left side. The box stood on a table decorated with paper flowers and supporting an incense burner, a basket of copal gum, and a candle. The table in turn rested on a mat on the floor. The wall behind the box was decorated with colored papers and chains and paper cut-outs.

The new *carguero* receives the image of the
796 saint on April 21. On Corpus the image is taken to church (and probably candles are burned). At the end of the year, on the following April 21, the relatives of the *carguero* visit him. He has musicians and food for them. The saint's image is taken to church for a Mass paid for by the *carguero* (probably with candles). Some *carguero*, when they receive the image, give it a new outfit of clothing. The image is large and one of the best-
[778] dressed in Cherán. The dress is white with a blue cape. A gilt crown is on the head and a necklace of the red glass beads prized by Tarascan women is about the neck. The altar is decorated with many flowers and aromatic herbs. [i.e., Santa Inés - Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN RAFAEL

The *mayordomía* of San Rafael is not connected with the *cabildo*. The saint is patron of the merchants, and apparently the *mayordomía* is administered by a principal or principals selected by the merchants. The principals decide who shall receive the *mayordomía* and pay an occasional visit to the *carguero's* house to see that all is kept in proper order. This seems to be the regular arrangement for all the independent saints connected with *mayordomías*, although specific information is lacking for some of them.

As patron of the merchants, the image of
[778] San Rafael carries a fish under the left arm
[776] and in his right hand bears a staff (actually a shepherd's crook). About his neck is a necklace of sea sheels. In front of the altar are hung other sea shells and miniature fire fans, clay fruits, etc. The house and altar are well decorated with paper flowers and colored papers. Before the altar are candles and an incense burner. The merchants visit the

779 Changes in this folk Catholicism are traceable to the influence of the economic and social changes previously discussed. In this chapter the cult, its organization, financing and relation to the government and to political conflict will be discussed, while religious ideology will be dealt with in the following chapter.

The most profound changes in the folk religion affect mainly the cult organization. The basic traits of the folk cult itself have not been greatly modified during the period covered in this paper, and are similar to those generally found in all Middle America. A description of them will provide a background on which to discuss them.

Main Traits of Tarascan Folk Religion and Cult[1]

776 Tarascan folk Catholicism, although accepting the Christian God (Tarascan, *Kuerájpiri*, Creator; Spanish, *Padre Eterno*, Eternal Father) as the supreme creator, revolves primarily around the saints. The saints are sons of God, also those who followed Christ when he came to earth, and in general people who lived sometime in the past and 'won sanctity'. A male saint is called in Tarascan *tata diósa*, literally 'father or lord god', a term which also can be applied to the Creator. Female saints are called *nana iuísa*, 'mother or lady virgin', which means both the Virgin or any female saint. The mystery of the Trinity is not well known to the Tarascans. Christ is only the most important tata diósa. Sometimes he can be considered the same as God, but most often he is only his son. In some myths he is the brother of other saints like Saint James or even a brother of the Devil. Also it is not clear whether the various Christs venerated in different places are really the same God. The Christs of San Juan, Tingambato, Sopoco and Santa Fe, for instance, are said to be four brothers. Similarly the different local Virgins are to be considered as many different supernaturals.

776 778 As important as the supernatural being, is its image kept in a church or chapel. It

1. Most information comes from the late nineteenth century and the present time. Information for the eighteenth century is scantier, but so far as available it shows great similarity with later times, so the following description, although written in the present tense, can be taken to apply in its basic traits to that period also.

776 is considered sometimes as the residence of the saint, his abode being also in heaven,
778 but in many cases the image seems to take over all concepts of the supernatural and instead of a symbol it becomes the saint itself. Folklore is rich in tales about the apparition of images as synonymous with the saint. The images often appear to behave like a person. In different accounts they are believed to move, weep, or speak. If the saint leaves the church to wander, traces of its journey are seen on the image. People also treat the image as a person. Presents taken to it are often dresses. The image can be taken out when there has been no rain so that he (she) can see for himself the need for it, or, in cases of witchcraft, he may be imprisoned in a little jail until help is received.

776 Most saints are related to the social groups of which they are patrons. Thus the Virgin of Guadalupe stands for Mexico. All towns and their wards *(barrios)* and also the trades have a patron and the cult of one such group is specially concerned with its patron who is its supernatural protector and representative.

In legends, saints can appear as those who give the villages their characteristic trades. There can be said to be a division of labor among the saints, each one attending to different localities or human activities or personifying natural elements.

Supernatural help is asked from the patron of one's own group or from the saint which deals particularly with what one wants to obtain. For instance, the Virgen de la Salud of Pátzcuaro is helpful in case of sickness; Saint Anthony is good to ask for offspring. In addition, most popular saints are petitioned for all kinds of things. The reputation of the saint and personal devotion decide which should be asked. Most famous in the Tarascan region are the Christs of San Juan, Carácuaro and Araró, the Virgin of Guadalupe, Virgen de la Salud of Pátzcuaro, the Señor del Resgate (an Ecce Homo) of Tzintzuntzan, Saint Anthony of Morelia, and many others.

Sometimes new saints appear, which in a short time become very popular, while some others decline in importance. For this reason the most important saint of a town is in some cases not its patron saint. For instance the Christs of Parangaricutiro, Tingambato, Zopoco, Santa Fe and the Señor del Resgate in Tzintzuntzan have all superseded in importance the patron saints of those places.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
624 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéṇi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young girls, other times older women; they were
624 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages for which there is information.[30] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival
796 each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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30. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 423), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

773
775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand, if one gives alms to beggars, they will
[735] speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized, to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform
[788] a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

* * *

776 An outline of the nature of the saints
778 and of the main features of their cult has been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

Saints occasionally wander on earth.
776 The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

Tales about the activities of the saints
776 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding
789 the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

776 and some natural elements also are called demons. As there is only one word (*noambákiti*, evil one) both for the Devil and the demons, it is used sometimes as if the Devil were omnipresent, and at other times as if there were many different demons.

776 The Devil inhabits hell under the earth where he rules over the doomed dead. He
● 778 also attends "ugly" places—woods, caves, ravines, volcanos, the places where the
[772] pre-Christian giants were buried, etc. In these places the Devil appears. It is said that in those places "they frighten", because the appearance of the Devil causes fright. Places where the ancient people became enchanted are called *encanto* (enchanted place), and this name is used for all places where the Devil appears regularly at a given hour when music is heard or a peculiar-looking animal is seen.

776 The distribution of souls between God and the Devil has been mentioned. As the
775 Devil gets the wicked souls, that is, those who have sinned, his activities are directed
773 towards provoking bad behavior and thus winning souls for himself. The Devil goes after drunkards. Wherever there are drunkards, there is the Devil. He induces people to drink by appearing to them in human form. Or he persecutes drunkards in order to take them to hell with him, or mixes among them in order to make them fight. Similarly the Devil tries to make everyone quarrel and fight. Experiences are told of how one, while drunk, saw the Devil or how an animal (i.e., the Devil) was seen leaving a place where there was a fight.

Another way of getting souls is for the Devil to take the form of a woman and go after men. Many men tell experiences of this type. Going to see a sweetheart during the night, the boy suddenly realizes she has hairy hands or goat's feet, or some other beastly attribute which makes him realize that it is the Devil he is with. Walking in the streets during the night, one sees a pretty woman and follows her, but at a certain movement sees some of her beast-like features. The Devil disguised as a woman tries to take the man out of town and take him to some ravine or cave in the woods which is the way to hell. To women, the Devil appears as a rich man (*catrín*) who marries the girl, which means taking her to hell.

In these experiences of drunkards or lovers, the victim prays when he realizes

775 The evil dead who go to hell (or at least
776 some of them) become devils or devil-like spirits. This is an important concept in Tarascan folklore. We saw, for instance, how those people drowned in lakes or wells go to hell. Places where such accidents have happened are very dangerous because the drowned "pull people in, and cause canoes to capsize so that people drown". In some cases the water spirits died long ago in the past. They are mythi-
[773] cal characters, like the three daughters of the king of Tzintzuntzan, who were hidden in order not to see the blessing of the world; or the well spirits in the mountain towns, who discovered the springs but were plunged into the water by the people in the remote past. These spirits are called devils by informants, when asked about spirits' nature, and in some stories their devil-like attributes are clearly seen.

When a man has been murdered, a heap of stones is placed on the spot where the event took place. The stone on top of the head is marked with a cross and is called *krús ánimiri* (Tarascan from Spanish, cross of the soul). Anyone can put this soul to his service by getting hold of the cross. The cross is taken home and the soul haunts the house and scares intruders away. A soul's cross can be prayed to in order to ask the soul for help in getting a relative out of prison, or finding a lost animal.

● 778 The middle finger of a very brave dead
775 man can also be used to put the soul at one's service. The finger placed in front of a door has the virtue to open it, although one has to be brave enough to stand the sight of the dead man who appears on the door sill.

Many beliefs treat of hidden treasures. In one of these it is said that when a person wants to bury money to keep it secure, he kills a man or has one killed by somebody else and buries the dead man with his money. The dead man keeps the money, and frightens anybody who comes along. Only a very brave man could take the money out.

In the case of the soul's cross, the dead man's finger, or the dead man buried with money, it seems clear that we deal with the dead which do not reach their abode and are put to service by someone. In our material, however, this concept is not explicitly given. When asked about the nature of these dead persons, informants

775 tend to identify them with devils or to say that the Devil is behind all that.
778 Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Paricutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

The same theme occurs in myths. People
[773] who lived before the blessing of the world
[172] are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and
183 folklore primarily sanction the values of
771 the folk culture. They support the family (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The
[776] Devil giving money always appears as a

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
668 in the fact that their ideas about cargos are changing. Whereas for the traditionalist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics oppose this idea. They say it is only custom, an unnecessary expenditure of money, not required to be a good Catholic, and they are supported by the priest. When discussing this point, Manuel has a ready argument: "Do you have cargos in Mexico City? You don't have them there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the supernatural are usually believed, and sometimes even wonder stories, but the attitude of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", i. e., compacts with the Devil.

• • • •

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
778 behind the Church to make a compact with the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope condemned them together with other devils to
539 go back to hell; and they have not been seen thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunderstorm destroyed the cave. They said many
783 people were seen leaving the mountain; they

821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

HOUSE

FURNISHINGS

342 The terms "house," or "*troje*," and "*cocina*" as
343 employed in the Sierra refer to the construction
196 of the house rather than to its use. Normally, each family has a house and a kitchen. In the kitchen, the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The house serves as a storage place for all types of property. In it also is kept the image of the family saint. Sometimes in place of a "*troje*," a "*cocina de torito*" is floored and used for storage. Despite this shift in use, the structure is still called a "*cocina*," or kitchen.

343 The "*troje*" contains a minimum of furnishings.
353 The loft is used purely for crop storage and usually
374 has no furnishings whatever. The lower floor

HOUSE
FURNISHINGS

343
352
178 generally has a table against the wall opposite the door upon which is placed the image of a saint, if the family owns or is carring for one. If not, a picture of a saint will be found behind the table on the wall. Usually, a variety of religious
[353] pictures are tacked or pasted behind or around
[373] the picture or image of the saint. Often candles and a pottery incense burner are on the table; in addition, the table may have a varying number of miscellaneous objects placed there temporarily for safekeeping. The ceiling, especially over the
[353] altar table, may be decorated in colored tissue paper and strings of miniature household objects. Several wooden chairs with arms are kept in the

[p.21d]

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 177 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater acculturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the [241] moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are lighted to them. There are also a number of [821] [824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and [754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although [177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 23C] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

779 Changes in this folk Catholicism are traceable to the influence of the economic and social changes previously discussed. In this chapter the cult, its organization, financing and relation to the government and to political conflict will be discussed, while religious ideology will be dealt with in the following chapter.

The most profound changes in the folk religion affect mainly the cult organization. The basic traits of the folk cult itself have not been greatly modified during the period covered in this paper, and are similar to those generally found in all Middle America. A description of them will provide a background on which to discuss them.

Main Traits of Tarascan Folk Religion and Cult[1]

776 Tarascan folk Catholicism, although accepting the Christian God (Tarascan, *Kuerájpiri*, Creator; Spanish, *Padre Eterno*, Eternal Father) as the supreme creator, revolves primarily around the saints. The saints are sons of God, also those who followed Christ when he came to earth, and in general people who lived sometime in the past and 'won sanctity'. A male saint is called in Tarascan *tata diósa*, literally 'father or lord god', a term which also can be applied to the Creator. Female saints are called *nana iuísa*, 'mother or lady virgin', which means both the Virgin or any female saint. The mystery of the Trinity is not well known to the Tarascans. Christ is only the most important tata diósa. Sometimes he can be considered the same as God, but most often he is only his son. In some myths he is the brother of other saints like Saint James or even a brother of the Devil. Also it is not clear whether the various Christs venerated in different places are really the same God. The Christs of San Juan, Tingambato, Sopoco and Santa Fe, for instance, are said to be four brothers. Similarly the different local Virgins are to be considered as many different supernaturals.

776 As important as the supernatural being, is its image kept in a church or chapel. It

778 1. Most information comes from the late nineteenth century and the present time. Information for the eighteenth century is scantier, but so far as available it shows great similarity with later times, so the following description, although written in the present tense, can be taken to apply in its basic traits to that period also.

538 greater magical knowledge and were stronger, braver, and cleverer than the modern people.

These are the main types of narratives. Animal stories are another common type, similar to the Æsopian fable. They are considered fictitious and are told for their entertainment value. Usually they are funny and meant to make people laugh. When asked for tales (meaning fiction) many informants think most readily of this kind of story. Other types of tales, such as jokes, sexy stories, etc., are less common and are not used in this work as they do not reflect religious concepts.

771 Religious ideas are also expressed in
538 what in Spanish are called beliefs (*creencias*): items of lore giving bits of knowledge of the supernatural, as, for instance, omens or the wondrous qualities of certain animals. Sometimes these beliefs treat of a special behavior; for example, the rules about what a pregnant woman should or should not do, or the magical procedures to follow in a technological activity. These beliefs are to some people rules which have to be followed. For many people, however, they are just sayings one does not have to care about. They say, "This is just a belief," meaning "Some people say that, but it is not true."

538 Thus, folk narratives, an expression of the religious ideas of the people, can mean different things to different people. To those to whom a given tale is a true happening, it has a moral meaning and may sanction a certain kind of behavior. The same happening or tale may be to others an example of how superstitious people are. It will have no moral meaning, sanction, or behavior, although it may be told as an entertaining tale or piece of information.

538 The religious ideology expressed through such narratives will now be examined at
779 its face value, while the different attitudes of belief will later be discussed.

* * *

The general concepts of Tarascan folklore and religion are those of Catholicism. The Christian God created the world and the supernaturals, including the Devil and the saints. The fundamental Christian concept of good and evil is also paramount in Tarascan folklore and religion. This opposition of good and evil appears in a number of contrasts. Everything is classified as one or the other: God and the saints, the good supernaturals who inhabit

538 heaven, are opposed to the bad super-
779 naturals, the Devil and the demons in hell; the right Religion and the Church are set against superstition and lack of religion; good behavior against bad (sin); the idea of the good going to heaven at death against that of the sinful being punished in hell.

577 Ethical values are apparent in the rea-
538 sons given for the destruction of the world and the creation of the Devil, in the actions
[779] of the saints in rewarding good behavior and punishing evil, in the acts of the Devil in sponsoring bad behavior, and in the destiny of the dead.

Taking this concept of good and evil as the main theme, we can give an outline of practically the whole, and certainly the most important part, of Tarascan religious ideas. Nonethical concepts are few and of secondary importance. They are mainly miscellaneous beliefs or tales (in which some natural elements are personified), omens, and so on.

773 Creation stories are not common among the Tarascans. In those collected, the con-
538 cept of good and evil is apparent. The duality of the supernatural—God and the
577 saints against the Devil—is explained as the consequence of the bad behavior of one of the sons of God who revolted against his Father and was punished by being made into the Devil. Insubordination and lack of respect for paternal authority are the causes of this punishment.

In several myths about the creation of animals, the good animals are created by God while the bad ones are related to the Devil. Thus, when Jesus and the children of the Devil play making mud figures,
[825] those of Jesus become birds while those of the Devil become "snakes and lizards, and scorpions and all sorts of bad animals". The coyote was a dog which deserted his master, the Devil.

773 Most important are the myths regarding the destruction of the world. In these we
538 have a blend of Spanish and Indian elements in which the Indian motives, nonethical in origin, are reinterpreted and subordinated to the Catholic concept of Good and Evil. A number of stories give two destructions of the world. A first one by water is identified with the Christian flood, although it keeps also some traits of the Mesoamerican flood myth; and a second by fire embodies Indian traits but is identified with the advent of Christianity and the Spanish conquest. Some ver-

771 the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an
[539] easy life, that of a sorcerer.'

This basic trend of change is found in
771 both convinced agraristas and militant Catholics, but there are also differences
178 which warrant a discussion.

The disbelief attitude is sometimes push-
668 ed to an extreme, including doubt as to religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

178 These people scorn the others as super-
771 stitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experiences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

> ". . . And as in this town there are a lot
> [539] of superstitious people, the following day . . .
> [781] the woman praying the rosary began shouting and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of blood because Saint Peter had left . . . And what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

For the militant Catholics, agraristas
771 are nothing but atheists. They describe them as people who have no religion, as is
668 proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and
[252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

If the rains do not come at the proper time
789 near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote*." Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

184 261 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

●782 532 A special "bread" of maize is used as an offering at the house altar. This is made of maize toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 262 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted. Most people eat atole flavored with nurite, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas.*"

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque, [273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.785]

441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery (*"posición"*) is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

608 of the bride and groom together with all their brothers,
585 sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the
[516] bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre.*" One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari ka auándaɹu anápueskari ka uéke diósa éskakɹa no méni ambé arijperoka. Na čúskuskiá kumba." Meantime the t'aɹépiti is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

608 To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished,
[782] she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.[21]

In some parts of Mexico—for example,
[171] among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

[21] In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Cherán.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.137a]

MAYORDOMÍAS

786 *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

782 For the most part the *mayordomías* are undertaken to secure some future good or to 786 give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. 788 Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 his house. On Corpus he carries the image to church and spends money for candles. If he wishes he may have a fiesta with music and food at his house, but this is not obligatory.

A few notes on the history of San Antonio, obtained from one of the principals, are of interest. The original image was burned at the time the town was destroyed during the revolution. For a number of years the *mayordomía* was in abeyance. About a dozen years before the study, a young man in the house, a traveler, expressed an interest in having the saint. The principal borrowed a saint from somewhere, and they kept it in the house. The muleteers talked a good deal about the matter, but did nothing. Finally the principal placed an order for a new image. A principal of the old image of the saint, which had been destroyed, assisted, as he knew about such things, and solicited alms from the muleteers. In about 2 years they got the new image of the saint and then informed the priest. He came to the house to see it and commended them. Then he said they should seek godfathers for the image and have it blessed. This was done, and thus the *mayordomía* was revived. The old principal, the informant, and one other who had recently died had been the principals ever since. Persons wishing the *mayordomía* had to ask them for it. If more than one person asked, they were given it in order.

Although San Antonio is the patron of the muleteers, they do not visit the image before going on journeys. Persons not muleteers may also receive this *mayordomía*. In fact, the principal who served as informant is a mason who interested himself in the saint because of the youth living in his house (possibly his son, although he carefully avoided any suggestion of relationship).

[782] Some persons not muleteers also make vows to the saint. The same informant cited the case of a man named Antonio who made a vow to take the *mayordomía* when there was an epidemic killing many pigs in Cherán. None of Don Antonio's pigs died. He sought the *mayordomía* and received it. Ever since, he fattens and kills a pig every year, sells the lard, and buys something for the saint with the proceeds.

776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 356 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

821 When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.

825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

844 her; "but God gave me the power to know
[578] medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from $1.50 to $2.50. One midwife charges $2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being $1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the $1.50, according to the
[578] midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

According to some midwives, if there is time,
844 the midwife goes to church before the delivery,
782 saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a
844 prayer to her just before the delivery. Mid-
[751] wives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino*, considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed,
[782] a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

769 The night of November 1, a Mass is celebrated in church. In 1941 the priest spoke to the people against taking candles or food to the graveyard, telling them instead to bring candles to the church. Another Mass is held the morning of the 2d, after which people go to the graveyard. There is no organized procession, nor does everyone arrive at the same time. In many cases only the women and children attend, although usually the men drop in for a short time and some stay for several hours. Indeed, the function is said to be a woman's affair and men may not carry candles or even take part if they have no women folk.

Generally, the first thing the visitors do is to more thoroughly clean the graves of their dead. Often the ground is dug up and the mounds are built up and shaped. The graves of the more recent dead (children, parents, and siblings) are then decorated with flowers and pine boughs. Often pine boughs are set up at each corner of a grave or group of graves. Each grave mound has flowers sprinkled over it, mostly yellow marigolds and purple orchids. In some cases part of the flowers are finely shredded and sprinkled over the grave and crosses are sometimes marked out in flowers. Pine needles are also sprinkled over some graves and sometimes baskets of food placed on the graves. Food is placed at the foot of the grave in all cases and candles are burned, despite the admonitions of the priest.

After the grave is decorated, the family sits around and chats. There are few evidences of sorrow; one or two people remark that the day is "very sad," but most people seem cheerful in a quiet way and there is even some subdued laughter. the *rezadores* or "prayers" go around from group to group and say lengthy prayers using a rosary. Everyone in the group kneels while the prayers are said. Fruit, bread, and tamales are given the *rezador* for his prayers.

[767] [782]

In 1941 the priest came and said prayers. He charged a *real*, 12½ centavos for each prayer. His prayers were shorter than those of the *rezador* and he and those with him remained standing, but he sprinkled the grave with holy water. He also scolded people for having candles and food offerings, so most

769 782

769 people hid them when the priest approached,
782 placing them out again when he moved on. The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of nákatamales, bread, and
[574] fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the
[text continues on top of p. 210b]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

Of immediate concern in dealing with a group
121 as large as the Tarascans is the question
184 whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

Final resolution of the question raised seems
121 to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a
[text continues on middle of p. 210b]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

796 The cult ceremonies are arranged after the Catholic yearly cycle of ceremonials. Every ceremonial has the rituals prescribed by the Catholic Church, but the popular form of the cult also includes elements of ritual-like dances, which are peculiar to the folk culture. Many other activities of a non-religious character, such as social gatherings, entertainment and trade, are also associated with religious celebrations.

There is also a folk organization of festivals based on the individual sponsorship of the ceremony or part of it. Sponsors are called *cargueros* and sponsorship *cargo* (literally, office). These cargos are related to the town government and economics, and are the main sphere where changes discussed in this chapter take place.

796 782 The people participate in ceremonials as members of the group (town, trade, etc.) which is having the celebration. Personal participation also is determined by a personal life crisis. A person in need of help will ask a given saint for recovery from sickness, or success in travel or any other enterprise. He will invoke the saint when in danger in an accident or will beg for offspring or for finding a lost animal. A vow (Spanish, *manda*) is usually made in exchange for the saint's giving the supernatural help demanded. This vow is often a promise to sponsor a festival or participate in it as a dancer. Even if the vow is of a different nature, attendance at the saint's festival is generally the rule. The devotee will usually go in pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. Often an ex-voto is taken which records the miracle performed by the saint; these are little figures of silver, usually representing the part of the body healed (Spanish, *milagro*, miracle); or, (although this is more common among the mestizos than among the Tarascans) a picture is [532] made to depict the miracle and an explanation written (*retablo*). Votive offerings are kept by the image as proof of its miraculousness. Another common vow is to take an ornament for the image, usually clothes. Thus, personal drive toward religion resolves into sponsorship or attendance at a festival.

796 Folk religious festivals (*fiestas*) and related activities of the cult form the main part of Tarascan folk religion. The description of these festivals and their organization take most of the space devoted to religion in the published community studies.[2]

2. For example, Beals, 1946, 36 out of 47 pp.; in Foster, 1948, 25 out of 36.

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in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", i. *e.*, compacts with the Devil.

• • • •

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
behind the Church to make a compact with
538 the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Form-
erly there were witches because God allowed
it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are
some magicians who learn in books, but God
does not allow many of them. Otherwise with
so many books as there are, there would be
many magicians and all of them would be
causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
condemned them together with other devils to
539 go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocúcho there were many thunderstorms
over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
storm destroyed the cave. They said many
783 people were seen leaving the mountain; they

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan king-
642 dom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and
643 Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion.
[539] King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of
[776] Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation
[794] of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
589 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
[782] be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
539 that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to
644 generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of
648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique
644 of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival
173 in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

11: Boyd H-4,5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

Another activity, about which little is known, 575 is in connection with the various societies. As 794 indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

There can be little doubt that Cherán is a 794 strongly Catholic community. During the 578 height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden 798 to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 who were opposed to Church domination in 578 political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

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money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", i. e., compacts with the Devil.

• • • •

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
778 behind the Church to make a compact with
the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Form-
erly there were witches because God allowed
it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are
some magicians who learn in books, but God
does not allow many of them. Otherwise with
so many books as there are, there would be
many magicians and all of them would be
causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
condemned them together with other devils to
539 go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
storm destroyed the cave. They said many
783 people were seen leaving the mountain; they

821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the [439] occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 756 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

821 When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and 825 howls, some misfortune may befall the people. The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

A very clever man once went up on San
823 Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
821 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
263 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the
789 fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

In the preceding sections the culture of
128 Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of [631] the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, [645] Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 648 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2). The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *eú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

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(Pirindas), and the Tarascan Emperor Calzonzin were at peace with their powerful armies. Camachuén's preoccupation on this day was with something greater and more profound. Camachuén was thinking about the divine Inchátiro, Queen of Xicalán (which means "the grace of the gods").

He was terribly disturbed because the hour had come when the villages of his people would be destroyed and his gods thrown from the temples. His race, the race of the Purépecha—descendants of King Tariácuri—had defied time and distance, sea and enemies, to place their homes on the edge of the deep blue waters of Tzirahuén, where they had erected a monument in memory of King Tziragu. But now the time had arrived when his people would wander alone among the mountains like driven beasts, because the children of the Sun would come from the east to conquer his people, take away their lands, destroy their homes, and smash their gods.

What would happen to his divine Inchátiro? In vain he had visited the sanctuary of Tazcapu [Zacapu] and made offerings to the god Curicaueri. Many mornings at daybreak he had prostrated himself in the midst of the forest and begged for the protection of the god of the sky, but without results. Camachuén remained grief-stricken.

Three moons passed. The dry leaves fell from the tall pines and all of nature was entering into a sad sleep. At last the prophecy of Guiapara, the high priest of Tzintzuntzan, was to occur. At first Camachuén thought it would be better to order his people to take arms and defend themselves until death released them. But he relented and decided to comply with the will of the gods. In tearful anguish he thought of the misery, hunger, and slavery which the future generations of his people would have to undergo. Only the Father of the Indians could know how tormented he was.

Another gloomy day arrived and Camachuén had not seen his beloved Inchatiro. He took the road to Xicalán and arrived at the palace still sad and pensive, thinking of the destiny which the gods had reserved for his people.

"Why are you sad?" asked Inchátiro wonderingly. "What sin-

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ister grief afflicts you?"

The unhappy Camachuén replied, explaining to her that the gods had become angry with the people and were going to punish them. Above all, he feared for her. Then, unburdening his heart to her, he related the following dream which Curicaueri had revealed to him:

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> I saw you reigning in your palace, divinely beautiful as always. Your gardens were covered with multi-colored flowers. All the people of Xicalán were paying tribute to you. The aroma of the fresh flowers and breezes from the fields passed through your balcony, caressing you. The gods, envious of your virtues, were watching your virginal heart, and they learned that you always thought of me ... and after that ... a shadow, black as night, covered my dream, and everything was horrible.
>
> The white men had arrived and invaded our villages and your palace. There, in your quarters, a stranger was living and you were caressing him, giving him your love and, finally, your heart. You had forgotten the oath taken before the altar of our gods. You had forgotten the hatred existing between our race and theirs. I did not raise my knife to kill the stranger, because the gods detained my hand, saying that such an act was not mine by right to do.
>
> And then my soul, wandering among the dark shadows of the night, wrote in letters of light upon your heart the phrase LOVE AND HOPE. Love and hope, that is the pathway of life which enables us to reach the abode of our gods. Love those who suffer, for they are our brothers; hope is their redemption. On the road of life must be planted our deepest sorrow in future hope.
>
> Remember that all have the right to live, and that a tenth of our good fortune must be shared with those who are hungry and needy.
>
> Remember that if you have bread, the poor do not have bread; that if you have good fortune, the

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173 539 787 poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

175 13 642 [361] [133] All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it [648] was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

175 648 [643] The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

175 73 164 648 539 [631] Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the ačes. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The ačes are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the ačes. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the ačes have any real control.

THE CHURCH

The physical aspect of the Church is repre-
346 sented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is reverenced
[788] to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

Maintenance of the structures still used by
794 the church organization and the priest depends
358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the kéŋi, an official of the *cabildo* or ačes, as a residence.

The church building has obviously undergone
346 a number of major alterations in its history.
358 Originally the church did not front on the

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the [439] occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

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MAYORDOMÍAS

796 *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

For the most part the *mayordomías* are 782 undertaken to secure some future good or to 796 give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. 788 Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

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● 788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. [594] More than any other it may be undertaken for motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto.*"

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*troje.*" Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble 796 dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* 535 (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assist- 796 ants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

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775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand, if one gives alms to beggars, they will
[735] speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized,
[788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

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245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and
[252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

[755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[782] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

● 789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote*." Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

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776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 356 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, the image of one of the saints is taken to the 789 top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, 821 has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.
825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

823 A very clever man once went up on San Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

821 Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
263 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
789 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

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789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

843 sidered frequent symptoms also. Sometimes in the early months women are sick at their stomachs and vomit in the mornings.

Usually a midwife is sought early in pregnancy and pays frequent visits to the enceinte woman. The midwife massages the woman with lard or cooking oil "to make sure the foetus is in the right position" and generally keeps an eye on the patient's health. Sometimes the midwife locates the head of the child during the massage. A fee of 10 centavos is charged for each visit.

A pregnant woman should not do much work, should not lift heavy things, and should take frequent baths in cold water in the house. She continues to grind corn and carry water; young mothers, indeed, are encouraged to keep active by older women, who believe some exercise helps the mother. She does not cook tortillas if she can avoid it, because the fire might "cook" the foetus. Toward the end of pregnancy some women are "delicate" and eat very little. At Capacuaro this is customary in the last days of pregnancy. Otherwise there are no prenatal food taboos.

843 An eclipse during pregnancy may cause
821 something bad to happen to the child. To
[789] prevent the effects, a red belt is worn underneath the several belts worn by women who dress in traditional costume. If Mestizo costume is worn, red underwear is used. Women should do nothing during an eclipse. The
[144] occurrence of Mongoloid spot is reported. It is believed that this is caused by the woman carrying her coins in the customary fashion in her belt during pregnancy.

843 Women should not tie any animals during pregnancy, as this may cause the child to be strangled by the umbilical cord during birth. If the mother urinates where some animal has urinated, the child may be born with some part of the animal. Reports were given by midwives of children having been born with a pig face or a goat face and tail because the mother urinated where these animals had urinated. In the latter part of pregnancy a woman should always remove the lid from a vessel before lifting it from the fire; if she fails to observe this rule, the child may be born dumb. Clubfoot is caused by the mother not taking proper care of herself.

845 Wrong positions, especially breech presentations, may result from several causes. The mother may have moved around too much and worked too hard, hit a dog with her foot, put the "foot" of a stick of wood in the fire first, failed to remove the *comal* from the fire immediately after finishing the cooking of tortillas, eaten toasted tortillas, or eaten off the metate (the latter taboo was explained on the basis that the metate has only three legs). Children are born blind only because "God wills it."

Witches may interfere with pregnancy and make the child arrive dead. The preventive [789] remedy is to cook tomato peeling and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware together and drink the liquid.

843 Fathers are also under some restrictions during the period of pregnancy. Whenever a load of wood is brought to the house it must be untied immediately or the child may be strangled by the umbilical cord. Also, the father must not kill lizards or snakes during the pregnancy, or touch resin or turpentine, or they will enter into the child. Some say the father should not kill any kind of an animal, from a snail to an ox. If he does so, the animal will enter into the child through the mouth or nose and the child will be born dead. One midwife thought the father should not have relations with his wife after the third or fourth month of pregnancy for reasons of cleanliness, but some say difficult birth or wrong positions may result from continued intercourse. The father should not work on the day of birth.

844 No distinction is made between first and subsequent births. Midwives varied in their ideas as to the frequency of births. Some believed that women had children from 1 to 1½ years [842] apart, others said from 8 months to 3 years. One midwife explained that the number of children and the frequency of births were determined by something resembling links in the uterus. These could be counted by the midwife, who could tell how many children the woman would have and, by the spacing, what the interval between births would be. Some women might be capable of as many as 25 pregnancies.

All births are attended by midwives, who form a professional group, although without

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796 On Palm Sunday palms brought from the hot country are taken to the church to be blessed. Formerly a more elaborate observance was held. An image representing Christ was mounted on the image of a burro called San Ramos. The images were carried on a stretcher to the spring supplying water and were put in a little shrine made of flowers. To this spot came youths who had left 2 weeks earlier to secure palms. The youths came down to the spring from a place called La Mesa, wearing carnations and little gourds about their necks and cracking their whips. The girls brought music for dancing and also provided čurípo and kurúndas. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon all went with the palms to the church.

On Holy Thursday there formerly was a market at which the principal goods sold were clothing and fruit from the hot country. People purchased the latter to make offerings to the church for the decoration of the altar.

Holy Saturday the girls carried small, highly [755] decorated jars of water to be blessed. These were used later to cure the sick and to protect from "fright" (*espanto*). When the church [789] bells ring, children and fruit trees are shaken so that they will grow more rapidly. Images of Judas are burned on the street corners at this moment also. They are provided by anyone who feels like doing so.

In April the *regidor* notifies the youths to clean the spring. The boys provide music and the girls bring them čurípo and kurúndas.

The day of the Assumption, most people go to the fiesta at the town of Huáncito. On their return, the wild honey collectors go through the streets announcing the fiesta of Corpus. They play the *chirimía* and make a special cry called pitakuri.

Two days before the fiesta of Corpus, bread is made in all the houses. The night before Corpus, each *barrio* hires musicians to play. On the day of Corpus the girls bathe at the spring. On their return they dress for church. In the afternoon, boys and girls gather and present each other with fruit and trinkets.

The following day there is a large fiesta in the plaza. The ox drivers bring out their oxen with the yokes decorated with silk kerchiefs, ribbons, and flowers. The drivers also decorate their hats with flowers and their goads with

773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

* * *

776 An outline of the nature of the saints
778 and of the main features of their cult has been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

Saints occasionally wander on earth.
776 The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

Tales about the activities of the saints
776 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding
789 the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

754 magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

754 Data are too scanty to form any reliable
157 hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in
621 Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

754 Two other items should be added to this discussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

791 Although not considered witches, there are women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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668 agrarista groups to identify the cult and the festivals with the land order against 794 which they were revolting. Thus the local 798 situation tied itself up with the national anticlerical policy of the government.

The agraristas kept the priest out of town and closed the church. If it had been burned during the Revolution they did not rebuild it,[52] or they used the church and the priest's house for other functions such as social centers or schools.[53] Cargos and fiestas were forbidden as they were seen to be the causes of excessive expenditures and drunkenness.[54]

We have already presented the causes for the failure of the agraristas to maintain their power in villages where small landowners prevailed. The agraristas became [565] an exclusive privileged minority, opposed to the interest of most of the villagers. Their anticlerical policies also led them to reforms in an aspect of culture—religion and festivals—which were deeply ingrained in the traditional culture. Resistance to their economic policies thus became associated with resistance to culture change. In such conservative villages, reaction against the agraristas was always prevalent,[55] and it had a militant Catholic ideology. Even during the period of the most strongly antichurch policy of the government, some villagers managed to hide a priest,[56] and others, like Cherán, smuggled one in to say mass in private houses without the anticlerical minority's being strong enough to dare speak.[57]

Still in other more conservative villages 791 the lack of a priest led not to obsolescence of religion, but to manifestations of folk religion which the priests would not have allowed. In Ocumicho, a woman called María Doncella (Mary the Maiden) claimed to have heard the voice of God in a slit stone in a ravine near the village. The news spread throughout the region and many people began to come to Ocumicho in pilgrimage. María Doncella baptized the children herself and songs were made to her in which she was called the daughter of God. Once she said that the Virgin of Cocucho had come to Ocumicho and taken the patron San Pedro with her, and she organized a procession of people to go to Cocucho and pray to have San Pedro come back. According to skeptical informants

52. Urapicho: Beals, 1946, 131.
53. Tzurumútaro, Puácuaro.
54. Sáenz, 1936, 96; Simpson, 1937, 487.
55. Sáenz, 1936, passim; Foster, 1948, 175.
56. Tzintzuntzan: Foster, 1948, 175, 234.
57. Beals, 1946, 119.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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791 from Cocucho, her reputation and activities evaporated when in spite of her name she became pregnant.

668 Also, during this time of the government's limitation of priests, groups of
794 *cristeros*, in revolt against the government, operated in Michoacan.[58]

178 From about 1940, the agraristas lost control of many villages. They were able to stay in power only where they had been the majority. No study has been made of towns where the agraristas predominated. The communities studied are conservative and the agraristas were a minority. The study of Cherán[59] was made shortly after the agrarista group had been expelled. The author's field work was concentrated in a village where the anti-agrarista reaction was in power and had become affiliated with sinarquismo.

In describing the present economic situation we mentioned how the economic decline of the Indian communities is continuing in modern times. Since this economic decline was the cause for conflict in the sphere of the cult, the question naturally arises about the policy of this strongly religious reaction in regard to the old cargo system.

Following the success of the anti-agrarista reaction, the cult has again been allowed in villages where it had been forbidden, and fiestas are celebrated again, but there is no blooming again of the traditional cabildo; the decay of the old cargo system continues. Within the Catholic reaction to the agraristas we can see differences arising between more traditional and more modern elements; these differences are manifest in connection with religion and cargos.

Through the changes taking place in the political-religious organization, the cabildo became independent of the village civil administration, and, although connected with the priest, it arranged the festivals and the concession of sponsorships independently. As the organizer of the folk cult activities, it can be taken as the organization most purely representing the folk aspects of the local culture. It is in a position to resist national inroads on the folk culture either from the priest, who wants to change the festivals, or from the government, which wants to suppress the religious cult. As long as the elders have any political power within the community,

58. Foster, 1948, 173.
59. Beals, 1946.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p1118a]

454 accumulated a substantial contribution without
358 feeling the drain on their finances. In this way the priest accumulated enough money to rebuild the altar and the choir loft as well as make other improvements.

454 This procedure would have amounted to little more than a clever money-making scheme had not the priest projected it much more deeply into Cherán life. At the same time he gave the pig banks to the adults, he gave smaller banks to all the children. The children he instructed, not to save money for the church, as one might expect, but to accumulate their centavos so that when a fiesta came along they would have money to buy what they wanted and have a good time. The result of this procedure was that today the majority of Cherán residents, both adults and children, each has his bank, in which he accumulates small change, and the habit of saving, usually for some specific end, has become quite common in the town. A
[323] regular part of the pottery stocks brought to
[532] Cherán at fiestas are pottery banks, now made not only in the shape of pigs but in the shape of many other animals, with a frequent touch of the fantasy and caricature which characterize Tarascan modeled pottery.[22]

THE PRIEST AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION

793 The priest, of course, is appointed by the Bishop in Zamora. At the time the study began, the resident priest had been some years in Cherán and evidently was popular and well-liked. Shortly afterward he was transferred to another parish, and considerable efforts were made to persuade the Bishop to change his mind about the appointment. A petition was also circulated and taken to the Bishop. Considerable feeling was generated by the Bishop's adamant stand on the matter, and for several weeks no request was made for a new priest in hopes of getting a return of the former priest. When the old priest returned for a visit and to settle some business affairs, the entrance to the residence was ornamented with flowers and pine

[177] [22] The pig bank, as is well known, was introduced to Mexico by the wife of the late Ambassador Morrow. Those interested in making anthropology a predictive science might well be somewhat concerned by the devious, even fantastic, ways by which the pig bank and the savings idea were transmitted to Cherán and became a part of Cherán culture.

793 branches, and large numbers came to visit him. Despite these efforts, a new priest arrived some 2 weeks after the departure of the old priest.

The household and assistants of the priest vary somewhat. The mother of the old priest served as his housekeeper, and there were several servants. The old priest relied primarily on the *cabildo* or ačes for his aides in church. The new priest brought a household whose exact composition I did not learn. In addition, he brought a sacristan and one or two other assistants, who took over several of the functions of the *cabildo*. In general, the new
793 priest adopted a much more aggressive atti-
578 tude. Not only did he immediately get into a bitter quarrel with the *cabildo* (to be described later), but he interfered with customs on every hand, wore his priestly dress in public and permitted people to kneel in public and kiss his hand, and mixed in political matters. Considerable numbers of Cherán residents resented his attitude bitterly, including many of the devout members of the community.

The support of the priest is based on volun-
793 tary contributions, but in Cherán the priest is aggressive. Formerly, the *cabildo* kept the priest informed as to the amounts of harvest, and the priest, often personally, at other times through one of his assistants, directly asked for "alms." The amount suggested is the traditional tenth; in some cases people give him this amount, but many give less. The payments are mostly in kind, usually wheat or corn, which is brought to the priest's residence and placed by him in a storehouse in charge of the *kóɲi*. It was reported that the priest normally sells corn and wheat to needy local residents at about 1 peso a bushel below the market price. The facts in the case at the time of inquiry were somewhat obscured by the quarrel with the *cabildo*.

The functions of the priest in Cherán are numerous. Not only does he say the obligatory Masses, but he also celebrates special Masses in connection with every fiesta and *mayordomía*. All weddings are also celebrated with special Masses. He also arranges for such special events as visits of the Bishop for confirmation.

The Bishop paid one visit to Cherán during the time of the study. The priest appointed four *comisionados* in each *barrio* to gather con-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.119a]

793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

Another activity, about which little is known, 575 is in connection with the various societies. As 794 indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

There can be little doubt that Cherán is a 794 strongly Catholic community. During the 578 height of the conflict between the Church and 798 the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 who were opposed to Church domination in 578 political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

794 578 these men illustrates the situation clearly, particularly as it came to a head in 1940. That the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

793 578 794 The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is entering into political matters and speaks from the pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended, he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.

This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.

I believe that this priest is very disruptive (muy divisionista) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

578 177 793 Some of the minority faction in the town who are inclined to be anticlerical are undoubtedly affected by their experiences in the United States. A former mayor was very outspoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Charanástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when carguseros have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the
796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a.m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
[443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the commissioners and their assistants went to the
533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very [793] drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities [272] of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The 438 principal item in the market is pottery, and it 323 is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 794 [535] kéŋi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[36]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuŋánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 794 ●793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[36] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

578 other group, although he was one of the few
793 active supporters of Almazán in the previous presidential election. In the opinion of the best
794 informants there had existed no movement against the *cabildo* until Guerrero undertook his campaign, although obviously the roots of the charges and bad feeling were already present.

At the *junta* between 75 and 100 persons were present. Guerrero spoke, charging the *cabildo* with demanding gifts from the *cargueros*, stealing from the church, driving out the previous priest, and being very drunken. The last charge was what many believed to have convinced the new priest so that he turned against the *cabildo*. An arrangement was reached in which the assignment of *mayordomías* would be taken from the *cabildo* and persons wishing to "take a saint" would ask it of the priest.

At the first *junta* everyone agreed with the charges. A second *junta* was called. In the meantime the *prioste*, one Magdaleno Guerrero (no relation to David) went to the Bishop in Zamora and secured a letter (which I saw) categorically stating that neither he nor anyone else had attempted to have the former priest removed. This letter was presented at the second *junta* by the *representante del pueblo*, who defended the *cabildo*. (The *cabildo* did not attend. Magdaleno Guerrero said for a while they were afraid they might be killed.) This made the people less bitter, but they still agreed to abolish the *cabildo*.

With regard to the other charges, the *prioste* asserted that all the work of the *cabildo* was voluntary, while his own expenses as *prioste* amounted to between $100 and $200 for the year. Among his duties was to pay for Masses on December 8 and December 25. Following the latter Mass, the *cabildo* met at the house of the *prioste* who served food. To this assembly came people who wished to ask for a saint. They brought presents of cigarettes, while the wives brought bread. These presents, the *prioste* asserted, were voluntary and were not demanded. The names of the persons were put down on lists in the order applications were received and each *mayordomía* was awarded to the person whose name headed the list.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

578 794 793 With regard to the charge of drunkeness, the *prioste* asserted that this had been true "in the time of our grandfathers" but it was not true today. What gave color to the charge, he said, was that people brought them many bottles of *charanda*. These the *cabildo* sold in the stores and returned the empty bottles to the donors.

It was quite evident that the *prioste* was filled with bitterness over the situation. The dance of the *pastorela*, he felt, was especially the dance of the *cabildo* and the *prioste* and one which gave much pleasure to the people, and now they would lose it. (Even our most anti-Church informants agreed that the dance was the best given in Cherán, partly because it was unaccompanied by the drunkenness and rowdiness associated with other dances.) The *prioste* also said that the *cabildo* was accepting the will of the people and was neither speaking nor making propaganda with anyone. After all, he pointed out, the *cabildo* gained, and especially the *prioste* and *colector* gained because they now did not have to spend their money. However, he had gone to the church and taken out the large candles and some small ones left by his wife. This, he said, was custom, for the old *prioste* always took the remains of the candles and the new *prioste* provided others. The priest had asked why he removed the candles and the *prioste* had explained the situation. The priest then asked if he was not disposed to leave the candles, but he refused. After this the *prioste* scarcely left the house, and never went either to the plaza or the church, partly because of fear, partly because in church he would have to see those who had thrown him out of office and this "caused him anger which it is better not to have before the Lord."

The *prioste* suggested that the leader of the opposition was an ambitious man who was furthering some devious and as yet undisclosed project to further his own interests. He also said the *cabildo* had made no move to seek a new *prioste* or kéɲi, which they ordinarily did by August. He also said he had no idea whether the priest would appoint new officials to take the place of the *cabildo* or go on naming people to perform their duties from day to day as he was doing. Incidentally, he pointed out

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that never before had the church been closed when the priest left town.

In addition to the above accounts, which seem reasonably correct as far as they go, there were floods of rumors and stories. At one time I was told authoritatively by several people that my landlord had been named the new chief of the *cabildo*. When I asked him about it, he was completely surprised and it finally appeared that no new *cabildo* was to be named.

With regard to the story told by the *prioste* of taking his candles from the church, a much more lurid version was circulated. One woman's account of the quarrel was as follows:

> When the new priest came he asked one of the *cabildo* to bring him maize from the storehouse. The *cabildo* had taken all the maize from the storehouse but the man pretended not to know this. He went to the storehouse and returned, saying, "Father, there is no maize." "What has happened to it? There is supposed to be maize." The priest gave the man money to buy maize for that day. Next day the priest made inquiries. People told him the *cabildo* had stolen the maize. He called the *cabildo* together and accused them. They denied the theft. The priest said, "Do you want me to bring witnesses?" They conferred and said, "No. We took the maize." The father began to scold them, and they said, "What right have you to scold us? We collected the maize and we have a right to live." The priest became angry and told them they could no longer serve in the church. They went away. For 2 or 3 days they did nothing. Then they came in a body and began stripping the church of all the altar cloths, vases, and decorations. The priest interrupted them. They said, "These things are ours; we bought them. If we cannot serve here, we will take these away." They argued. The priest said, "These things belong to the community." But he realized it was not becoming for him to argue in this way and kept still. When they finished, he said, "Now have you everything belonging to you?" They thought and said, "Everything but the saints." At this the priest flew into a rage and said, "The saints belong to the community. Now take the other things and leave the church and do not let me ever see your faces again."

This is a very interesting tale, but it contains very little truth. The major fact which seems correct as compared with the *prioste's* tale is that the *cabildo* did actually remove all the vases, altar cloths, and other things they had bought.

One man, regarded as a fairly reliable source of information, stated that the *cabildo* had received the alms given at church but had

578 794 793 formerly given them all to the priest. In recent years, he stated, the *cabildo* members began taking half for themselves. When the new priest came, people decided they no longer wished the *cabildo* and spoke to the priest. He abolished the *cabildo* and barred the members from the church so that alms would now be given directly to the priest.

Still another man, one who probably gave the best-informed statement, which gained weight because he was both an anti-Church and anti-*cabildo* man on general principles, pointed out some of the history of the affair. According to this informant, when the priests were forbidden to function in the church, the *cabildo* was responsible for bringing priests to town secretly and helping them to hold services in private houses. This involved very considerable expenses. (There seems little reason to doubt these statements, which were verified in other connections.) In the meantime, inasmuch as people believed it necessary to take seeds, i.e., maize and wheat, to the church, they continued their gifts, which were received and stored by the *cabildo*. This informant believed, however, that the quantities were probably less than usual inasmuch as there was no one to urge them. Out of this fact probably rose the real basis of the quarrel. When it began to appear that there was small likelihood of a resident priest returning, the *cabildo* began selling the accumulated grain, utilizing the profits to defray the considerable expenses of smuggling priests into the town. For the people it was difficult to tell whether the expenses claimed were correct or not. When a priest finally was reestablished in Cherán, the *cabildo* presented him with an account of their transactions. Many believed that this account was incorrect and that the *cabildo* had been guilty of defalcation. It was then that the idea began that the *cabildo* should be done away with. However, it is unlikely the *cabildo* received any profits after the return of the priests. The priest made an investigation of the affair and as a result the *cabildo* tried to force him to leave the town. (This last accusation seems adequately disposed of by the letter from the Bishop mentioned above.) When the new priest arrived in 1940, he announced his inten-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

578 tion of reopening the investigation and stated
793 that, as the *cabildo* would probably try to get
794 rid of him, too, he had better get rid of the *cabildo* right away.

An aspect of the situation which had not been resolved at the termination of the study was the effect of the change upon the *mayordomías* formerly in the charge of the *cabildo*. It was the belief of many, including the priest, that applicants for a *mayordomía* would simply apply to him. The priest was quoted as saying that he had no intention of interfering with the local customs. None of the *cargueros* consulted seemed ever to have thought of the possibility of the change effecting the operation of the system. The *cabildo* nevertheless has a proprietary interest in the saints and there were some indications that the *cabildo* was willing to suppress some of the customs. The *uanánčes* did not perform the *pastorela* in 1940. The *prioste* refused to put up anything for the dance, or even participate when a cousin offered to pay all the expenses. The parents of all but one of the *uanánčes* also apparently welcomed the excuse for avoiding the expenses involved. The *cabildo* also attempted to forbid the *carguero* of the Holy Child to sponsor the performance of the *negrito* dance (described below) although this was a traditional duty of the *carguero*. As he was one of those who attacked the *cabildo* and claimed to have been forced to make heavy contributions in order to get the *mayordomía*, he sought the permission of the priest and held the dance despite the *cabildo's* objections.

The progressive element in the town was of the opinion that the demotion of the *cabildo* would mean the early disappearance of the *mayordomías*. However, this overlooked the several *mayordomías* which functioned outside the *cabildo* system, and it is doubtful if the disappearance of the *mayordomías* will be particularly accelerated by this change. There is some possibility of this, of course, and one of the curious features of the situation is that a priest who apparently is conservative and who does not wish to interfere with the local customs should have been responsible for this attack upon them and for alienating the most conservative Church group from his support.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 319] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

621 officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

The traditional organization based on the 624 hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but 794 it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kenguería*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

The local priest takes care of the litur- 793 gical celebrations. For their organization and church upkeep he can rely on the tra- 794 ditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

Communal property for the cult of the 794 saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 143.
49. Foster, 1948, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 202-204.

668 178 794 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking). They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

[793] In Jarácuaro, where there was no resident priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

[656] In some cases the new civil authorities intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. *Ibid.*, 124 *ff.*
61. *Ibid.*, 143-44, 215-19.
62. *Ibid.*, 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 201-202.

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Paricutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the wrongness of anything that is against the 183 Church and organized religion, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

● [793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
[114] pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanancha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but apparently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is celebrated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoa-
443 cán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people because they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the present parish priest was in residence.

178 But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
533 holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same specialized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation.

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved.

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions.

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block.

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of pre-Conquest days.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their pre-
[128] sumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and
805 Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación*
[175] *de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 At the fiesta of *Uaxcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief
796 priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the
793 nation and its princes.
173
292

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters
578 are the church societies such as those of the Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region
668 of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about
[186] conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
578 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these
626 never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

Another case illustrates the handling of
695 minor offenses. A woman was brought before
685 the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

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RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of four types. Central to the system are those
796 church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
529 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the ačes. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The ačes are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the ačes. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the ačes have any real control.

THE CHURCH

346 The physical aspect of the Church is represented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is reverenced [788] to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

● 794 Maintenance of the structures still used by the church organization and the priest depends 358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the kéɨi, an official of the *cabildo* or ačes, as a residence.

The church building has obviously undergone 346 a number of major alterations in its history. 358 Originally the church did not front on the

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793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

Another activity, about which little is known, 575 is in connection with the various societies. As 794 indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

There can be little doubt that Cherán is a 794 strongly Catholic community. During the 578 height of the conflict between the Church and 798 the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 who were opposed to Church domination in 578 political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

794 578 these men illustrates the situation clearly, particularly as it came to a head in 1940. That the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

793 578 794 The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is entering into political matters and speaks from the pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended, he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.

This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.

I believe that this priest is very disruptive (*muy divisionista*) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

578 177 793 Some of the minority faction in the town who are inclined to be anticlerical are undoubtedly affected by their experiences in the United States. A former mayor was very outspoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

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and ceremonies. The ceremonies of the saints are sometimes called *mayordomías* as they are elsewhere in Mexico, although the term *cargo* is more common in Cherán. The elaborateness and expense of the ceremonies vary considerably. Some are virtually community functions or minor fiestas but held at the expense of the *carguero* or *mayordomo*. Others have very little expense attached to them. In many cases dance groups are associated with the *mayordomía*.

So far as could be learned, six of the saints and accompanying *mayordomías* "belong" to the *cabildo*. Four others are associated with particular professions (this is also true of some of the saints of the *cabildo*) and are "managed" by principals (*principales*). Another is managed by a group of principals but is not associated with a profession, while the final saint identified is owned by a private family. The saints belonging to the *cabildo* are San Isidro (of the farmers), San José (of the forest workers), Santa Inéz (of the cattle raisers), Santa Nieves or the Virgin of Snows, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the Santo Niño or the Child Christ. Saints belonging to professions are San Antonio (of the *arrieros* or muleteers), San Rafael (of the merchants), San Anselmo (of the honey gatherers, with two separate images and ceremonies), and Santa Cecilia (of the musicians). Independent of any profession is the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings or Tres Reyes. The privately owned saint has no *mayordomía* properly speaking and is usually spoken of simply as the Miraculous Saint.

The *cabildo* is also known as the "ačes," meaning principal persons or things. In Spanish the *cabildo* is also known as the *principales*. The group consists of men who have occupied the offices of *colector* and *prioste* associated with the church. In the past the *cabildo* looked after many things connected with the church, including the collection and care of the tithes or gifts to the priest, cared for the saints in the church and the ornaments and decorations of the church, and brought the priests to Cherán during the period when religious functions were prohibited. Members also had charge of the *mayordomías* mentioned above, and considered the saints their property.

796 They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.

794 The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about $250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, [578] however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortíz, a noted conservative. Ortíz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described, about the *cabildo*, Ortíz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

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796 794 same duties, but the *colector* is the superior of the two. Their duties are to select and supervise the kéŋi and the matters of the church. The day-to-day expenses involved they must pay out of their own pockets (despite the charges against the *cabildo* to be reviewed later, no one denied this expenditure by the *prioste* and *colector*). The two officers receive the gifts of maize and wheat made to the church and give them to the priest, who in turn entrusts them to the kéŋi.

The kéŋi is selected by the *colector*. For 1 year he lives in a house on the church grounds (probably formerly in the hospital before it fell to ruins), cares for the church property and the stores of the priest, rings the church bells every noon, runs errands for the *colector*, and does any odd jobs he may be assigned. After 1 year he does not become a member of the *cabildo* but retires to private life.

During his year of office, the *colector* has to provide the kéŋi with the maize he needs for his family and some money for minor expenses. Usually the kéŋi is a man who has a grown son or a brother to look after his affairs for the year. Among the public outside of the church group it is not regarded as a great thing to be a kéŋi. The church group, on the other hand, make a good deal of the individual. Moreover, it is believed that the service is rendered to God and will bring recompense in the future life. The offices of kéŋi, *prioste*, and *colector* change each year on December 8. The main ceremonies circle about the change of kéŋi.

At one time the kéŋi began in the month of November to visit the *cargueros* of the saints belonging to the *cabildo* every Saturday early in the morning, accompanied by musicians. The *cargueros* served *posole*. By December 8, the kéŋi had visited all the saints, saying farewell to them. On this date a large lantern was suspended from a pole outside the house of the kéŋi and remained until the ceremonies of changing the kéŋi were concluded.

For the change of office, both the old kéŋi and the new provide themselves with "old men" or *viejos*. These are men dressed in an overcoat and with a cane. They carry a little bell adorned with flowers, wear a small hat, and a [532] wooden *viejo* mask (a wooden mask carved to represent an old man with a long white beard).

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796 794 These are the speakers for the two kéŋi. Each kéŋi (in conjunction with the new and retiring *prioste*s) has a band of music. Both the old and the new *prioste* invite friends and relatives to their houses for a meal. The *cabildo* goes to both places.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon both parties go to the house occupied by the kéŋi in the church grounds, still sometimes called the hospital despite the assertion of many that the kéŋi never lived in the hospital. The new kéŋi brings with him all the things he needs to set up housekeeping: new brooms, dishes, a *carga* of maize, the head of a beef, ax, metate, mats and clothes, all carried on burros. Arriving at the house, he finds all in disorder. The house is full of trash, the fireplace has been taken down, and everything has been left in the worst condition possible. The old kéŋi carries away everything he has used. Even old brooms and broken pots are saved through the year to be carried away at this time.

The two *viejos* or old men now begin to argue. The *viejo* representing the incoming kéŋi makes a long speech, criticising the administration of the outgoing kéŋi. The other *viejo* then responds, defending the outgoing kéŋi and explaining all the good things he has done. The two argue for some time. The music then plays a tune. First one and then the other dances; they endeavor to outdo one another, both in their ridiculous manner of dancing and in making jokes. Each is accompanied by a woman dressed as an old woman in a very much embroidered blouse and wearing a hat. Then the new officials inspect all the patio of the hospital; the new kéŋi enters the kitchen and takes possession. The old kéŋi goes out through the *zaguan* or gate with his belongings. The old kéŋi goes to the house of the old *prioste* with his friends and they drink until night. The new kéŋi and his *prioste* do the same in the hospital after the celebration of Mass.

Sometime during these events the *cabildo* elects the new *colector*. This official takes office on the 1st of January when he goes to church to celebrate the Circumcision. The new *colector* and his wife receive the benediction at the Mass. The wife of the *colector* carries with her an outfit of clothing for the Christ Child. After Mass the two go to the house of the new

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[p,134a]

796 794 [535] kéŋi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[36]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuŋánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 794 793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[36] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

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[p.1346]

578 other group, although he was one of the few
793 active supporters of Almazán in the previous
presidential election. In the opinion of the best
794 informants there had existed no movement
against the *cabildo* until Guerrero undertook
his campaign, although obviously the roots of
the charges and bad feeling were already
present.

At the *junta* between 75 and 100 persons were present. Guerrero spoke, charging the *cabildo* with demanding gifts from the *cargueros*, stealing from the church, driving out the previous priest, and being very drunken. The last charge was what many believed to have convinced the new priest so that he turned against the *cabildo*. An arrangement was reached in which the assignment of *mayordomías* would be taken from the *cabildo* and persons wishing to "take a saint" would ask it of the priest.

At the first *junta* everyone agreed with the charges. A second *junta* was called. In the meantime the *prioste*, one Magdaleno Guerrero (no relation to David) went to the Bishop in Zamora and secured a letter (which I saw) categorically stating that neither he nor anyone else had attempted to have the former priest removed. This letter was presented at the second *junta* by the *representante del pueblo*, who defended the *cabildo*. (The *cabildo* did not attend. Magdaleno Guerrero said for a while they were afraid they might be killed.) This made the people less bitter, but they still agreed to abolish the *cabildo*.

With regard to the other charges, the *prioste* asserted that all the work of the *cabildo* was voluntary, while his own expenses as *prioste* amounted to between $100 and $200 for the year. Among his duties was to pay for Masses on December 8 and December 25. Following the latter Mass, the *cabildo* met at the house of the *prioste* who served food. To this assembly came people who wished to ask for a saint. They brought presents of cigarettes, while the wives brought bread. These presents, the *prioste* asserted, were voluntary and were not demanded. The names of the persons were put down on lists in the order applications were received and each *mayordomía* was awarded to the person whose name headed the list.

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[p. 135a]

578 With regard to the charge of drunkeness,
794 the *prioste* asserted that this had been true
793 "in the time of our grandfathers" but it was not true today. What gave color to the charge, he said, was that people brought them many bottles of *charanda*. These the *cabildo* sold in the stores and returned the empty bottles to the donors.

It was quite evident that the *prioste* was filled with bitterness over the situation. The dance of the *pastorela*, he felt, was especially the dance of the *cabildo* and the *prioste* and one which gave much pleasure to the people, and now they would lose it. (Even our most anti-Church informants agreed that the dance was the best given in Cherán, partly because it was unaccompanied by the drunkenness and rowdiness associated with other dances.) The *prioste* also said that the *cabildo* was accepting the will of the people and was neither speaking nor making propaganda with anyone. After all, he pointed out, the *cabildo* gained, and especially the *prioste* and *colector* gained because they now did not have to spend their money. However, he had gone to the church and taken out the large candles and some small ones left by his wife. This, he said, was custom, for the old *prioste* always took the remains of the candles and the new *prioste* provided others. The priest had asked why he removed the candles and the *prioste* had explained the situation. The priest then asked if he was not disposed to leave the candles, but he refused. After this the *prioste* scarcely left the house, and never went either to the plaza or the church, partly because of fear, partly because in church he would have to see those who had thrown him out of office and this "caused him anger which it is better not to have before the Lord."

The *prioste* suggested that the leader of the opposition was an ambitious man who was furthering some devious and as yet undisclosed project to further his own interests. He also said the *cabildo* had made no move to seek a new *prioste* or kéɨ, which they ordinarily did by August. He also said he had no idea whether the priest would appoint new officials to take the place of the *cabildo* or go on naming people to perform their duties from day to day as he was doing. Incidentally, he pointed out

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578 that never before had the church been closed
793 when the priest left town.
794 In addition to the above accounts, which seem reasonably correct as far as they go, there were floods of rumors and stories. At one time I was told authoritatively by several people that my landlord had been named the new chief of the *cabildo*. When I asked him about it, he was completely surprised and it finally appeared that no new *cabildo* was to be named.

With regard to the story told by the *prioste* of taking his candles from the church, a much more lurid version was circulated. One woman's account of the quarrel was as follows:

> When the new priest came he asked one of the *cabildo* to bring him maize from the storehouse. The *cabildo* had taken all the maize from the storehouse but the man pretended not to know this. He went to the storehouse and returned, saying, "Father, there is no maize." "What has happened to it? There is supposed to be maize." The priest gave the man money to buy maize for that day. Next day the priest made inquiries. People told him the *cabildo* had stolen the maize. He called the *cabildo* together and accused them. They denied the theft. The priest said, "Do you want me to bring witnesses?" They conferred and said, "No. We took the maize." The father began to scold them, and they said, "What right have you to scold us? We collected the maize and we have a right to live." The priest became angry and told them they could no longer serve in the church. They went away. For 2 or 3 days they did nothing. Then they came in a body and began stripping the church of all the altar cloths, vases, and decorations. The priest interrupted them. They said, "These things are ours; we bought them. If we cannot serve here, we will take these away." They argued. The priest said, "These things belong to the community." But he realized it was not becoming for him to argue in this way and kept still. When they finished, he said, "Now have you everything belonging to you?" They thought and said, "Everything but the saints." At this the priest flew into a rage and said, "The saints belong to the community. Now take the other things and leave the church and do not let me ever see your faces again."

This is a very interesting tale, but it contains very little truth. The major fact which seems correct as compared with the *prioste's* tale is that the *cabildo* did actually remove all the vases, altar cloths, and other things they had bought.

One man, regarded as a fairly reliable source of information, stated that the *cabildo* had received the alms given at church but had

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578 formerly given them all to the priest. In recent
794 years, he stated, the *cabildo* members began
793 taking half for themselves. When the new priest came, people decided they no longer wished the *cabildo* and spoke to the priest. He abolished the *cabildo* and barred the members from the church so that alms would now be given directly to the priest.

Still another man, one who probably gave the best-informed statement, which gained weight because he was both an anti-Church and anti-*cabildo* man on general principles, pointed out some of the history of the affair. According to this informant, when the priests were forbidden to function in the church, the *cabildo* was responsible for bringing priests to town secretly and helping them to hold services in private houses. This involved very considerable expenses. (There seems little reason to doubt these statements, which were verified in other connections.) In the meantime, inasmuch as people believed it necessary to take seeds, i.e., maize and wheat, to the church, they continued their gifts, which were received and stored by the *cabildo*. This informant believed, however, that the quantities were probably less than usual inasmuch as there was no one to urge them. Out of this fact probably rose the real basis of the quarrel. When it began to appear that there was small likelihood of a resident priest returning, the *cabildo* began selling the accumulated grain, utilizing the profits to defray the considerable expenses of smuggling priests into the town. For the people it was difficult to tell whether the expenses claimed were correct or not. When a priest finally was reestablished in Cherán, the *cabildo* presented him with an account of their transactions. Many believed that this account was incorrect and that the *cabildo* had been guilty of defalcation. It was then that the idea began that the *cabildo* should be done away with. However, it is unlikely the *cabildo* received any profits after the return of the priests. The priest made an investigation of the affair and as a result the *cabildo* tried to force him to leave the town. (This last accusation seems adequately disposed of by the letter from the Bishop mentioned above.) When the new priest arrived in 1940, he announced his inten-

578 tion of reopening the investigation and stated
793 that, as the *cabildo* would probably try to get
794 rid of him, too, he had better get rid of the *cabildo* right away.

An aspect of the situation which had not been resolved at the termination of the study was the effect of the change upon the *mayordomías* formerly in the charge of the *cabildo*. It was the belief of many, including the priest, that applicants for a *mayordomía* would simply apply to him. The priest was quoted as saying that he had no intention of interfering with the local customs. None of the *cargueros* consulted seemed ever to have thought of the possibility of the change effecting the operation of the system. The *cabildo* nevertheless has a proprietary interest in the saints and there were some indications that the *cabildo* was willing to suppress some of the customs. The *uanánčes* did not perform the *pastorela* in 1940. The *prioste* refused to put up anything for the dance, or even participate when a cousin offered to pay all the expenses. The parents of all but one of the *uanánčes* also apparently welcomed the excuse for avoiding the expenses involved. The *cabildo* also attempted to forbid the *carguero* of the Holy Child to sponsor the performance of the *negrito* dance (described below) although this was a traditional duty of the *carguero*. As he was one of those who attacked the *cabildo* and claimed to have been forced to make heavy contributions in order to get the *mayordomía*, he sought the permission of the priest and held the dance despite the *cabildo's* objections.

The progressive element in the town was of the opinion that the demotion of the *cabildo* would mean the early disappearance of the *mayordomías*. However, this overlooked the several *mayordomías* which functioned outside the *cabildo* system, and it is doubtful if the disappearance of the *mayordomías* will be particularly accelerated by this change. There is some possibility of this, of course, and one of the curious features of the situation is that a priest who apparently is conservative and who does not wish to interfere with the local customs should have been responsible for this attack upon them and for alienating the most conservative Church group from his support.

776 from the ranchos came every year with dancers.
776 They spent 3 days in Cherán, dancing in the church and in the municipal building. Then they took the saint to the ranchos and it often was kept there many months. In 1940 the owners decided not to let the saint go any more because they wished to have it with them "as we have lost much time with it."

COMPARATIVE NOTES

776 Material collected from other towns suggests that other types of *mayordomía* organization
794 exist. In Angáhuan, Rendón found an elaborate hierarchy of officials, evidently corresponding to the *cabildo* and the associated organization at Cherán. In Angáhuan, according to Rendón, the officials are ranked as follows: *Alcalde, regidor,* kámbiti, petájpe and biskál, *mayores,* kiéŋi, anyítakua.

In addition, there is a group of elderly men, corresponding to the Cherán *cabildo,* who are known as *tarénpenya.* These are men who have served the above offices or part of them.

The *alcalde* and *regidor* correspond to the *prioste-colector* positions in Cherán apparently. The *alcalde* is in charge of the church for 1 year. During this time he has to hold six fiestas. The first is at New Year's, when he receives his post and when he must provide food and *aguardiente.* The second is carnival, when he is aided in the expenses by the *"cabildo"* (it is not clear from Rendón's notes whether this means the same as it does in Cherán). The third is the day of the Holy Cross when he must pay for two bands and there is the dance of the moors and soldiers. The *alcalde* provides food for the dancers. The latter dance in the houses of various functionaries. The fourth fiesta is Corpus, at which time all the members of the different occupations take miniatures of their products and dance with them before the church and also perform their offices. The fifth fiesta is that of Santiago (the patron saint), when there is music, dancers, and also bull riding. For this fiesta the *alcalde* pays for the Masses and gives food to the dancers. The final fiesta is the day on which the *alcalde* is chosen by the elders.

The *regidor* is the helper of the *alcalde* and aids him in every way possible. The relatives of the *alcalde* also assist him with food.

796 The duties of the kámbiti are to pay the ex-
794 penses of the Holy Week festivities and to deco-
rate the front of the main altar with fruits from the hot country, such as bananas, watermelons, mameys, coconuts, mangoes, and sugarcane. The fruits are suspended in small nets or are perforated and hung from strings. The ceremony is called uirímutakua, which means "to adorn the front of something."

On Holy Saturday the young people of the town divide in two groups and go through the town, the girls carrying an image of Mary Magdalene, the men one of Saint Joseph. At strategic points the two groups meet and have races with the images. Certain young girls also place themselves at the door of the church during Holy Week and offer the refreshments known as čarápes to all comers. These girls must change the flowers on the altars during the ensuing year and are known as cacaki jaćirati. All these ceremonies are regulated by the kámbiti.

The petájpe gathers the young men at his house in February and feeds them *"esquite,"* of the type known as kanita takunji. At this
[312] time he announces the date for cleaning the spring from which the town gets its water. The day the spring is cleaned, the petájpe provides music and rice, beans, and pork for the helpers at his house. At the spring, many families go along and take picnic food, singing and enjoying themselves while the young men clean the spring. When the spring is cleaned, they carry *ollas* of water to their houses, using it as drinking water in preference to water from the pipes until it is gone.

There are no data on the office of biskál. Rendón's notes suggest that the offices of petajpe and biskál are the same.

To reach the office of *mayor*, one must give a fiesta to the patron saint and appear as a moro dancer. The moros dance on December 25 and 26 in the houses of the elders. On the 24th they worship in the church. *Mayores* must aid their superiors with firewood and their wives grind and carry water when the *alcalde* or kámbiti or petájpe hold a fiesta.

The kiéŋi has similar duties to the kéŋi of Cherán. He is entrusted with the care of the church and follows the orders of the *alcalde* in cleaning and adorning the structure. He

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796 has under his orders the anyítakuas or *"semaneros."*

794 The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yuríšo*. This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorela* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos*, are associated with the *pastorelas*.

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

796 The dances performed at Cherán are all associated with some religious festival. Or-
535 ganization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo*, although the moros are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the moros, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (Moors) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the moro part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[778] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
● 794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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178 and the native elements incorporated into
791 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the
423 Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the
668 application of political and economic poli-
177 cies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.
423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish con-
175 quest, the Church had become the largest
●794 landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the domi-
668 nant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

796 Different towns have reputations for
giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately,
through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds
further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
vanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater
than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection
with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans may have been influenced by Vasco de 175 Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1563, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He [943] tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held [423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hospital [794] had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has [438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 188-194.

2:Carrasco 2-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 621 the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 476 Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

175 794 The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuriso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

175 794 575 Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

175 794 575 621 743 This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to hospital, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly elected officers. The prioste was the head
624 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéṇi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young girls, other times older women; they were
624 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages for which there is information.[30] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival
796 each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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30. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1904, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

175 Besides the cargueros of the hospital
there were other religious officers. Sodali-
794 ties other than those of the hospitales with
funds for the cult were rare, and existed
575 only in very few towns. But as a rule there
were also other sponsors of festivals to
624 saints not connected with the hospital.
Common to all villages were several spon-
sors (*capitanes, fiesteros,* or other names)
who organized the festival to the patron
saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal,* Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 Financing the cult involved payment of
alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep
794 of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments,
wafers and wine, etc.) and also the ex-
651 penses involved in folk ceremonial ele-
ments such as the dancers' costumes, ban-
queting, and other entertainments like
fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees
were fixed by the Bishop and were called
arancel (book of rates). They were pri-
marily for mass and the administration of
the sacraments. In Michoacan every vil-
lage had an arancel of its own called *pinde-*
cuario (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pin-*
dékua, custom); besides those fees, the
contributions for the support of the priest
were mentioned. These were often in kind
and were periodical, frequently coinciding
with the main festivals. As long as the
union of Church and State lasted, these
aranceles had also the approval of the civil
authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 In the eighteenth century, many of the
743 hospitales had property devoted to the sup-
port of their activities. Most generally this
423 was in the form of cattle pastured on the
village commons. One of the cargueros or
575 a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and
794 received the milk as a personal reward. In
other cases, land was also owned by the
hospital and worked in common, or more
often rented. In one case the hospital

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
423 erty, this financed not only the cult and
575 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
794 hospital officers, such as caring for the sick and paying for masses of the dead. In addition, the cargueros could use this same source of income to provide food for the villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
735 the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
794 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring himself out as a muleteer servant [sirviente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very impoverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautivan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Estado, 1944, passim.
29. Ibid., 478.
30. Ibid., 480.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Estado, 1944, 477, 479.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 29a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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The effect of excessive cult expenses on Indian poverty was strong enough to lead the subdelegate (Spanish district authority) to give instructions against it. He recommended avoiding those banquets and superfluities based on the pretext of church festivals. In the case of Amatlan, he directed that no personal service should be given the priest other than that of sexton and bellman.[33]

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The civil administration conformed to general practice in colonial Mexico. Every Indian town was headed by a *gobernador*. There were also one or more *alcaldes* (mayors) and a number of *regidores* (councilmen), according to the size of the town. Minor officials seem to have been more variable: *alguaciles*, similar officers called *katápi* in Tarascan, errand boys *(topil)*, and a scribe.

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An important characteristic of this civil organization was its close connection with the cult organization. For as long as the union of State and Church lasted (until the middle of the nineteenth century), the obligations of the village toward the priest and the cult had the sanction of the civil authorities who approved the church fees *(aranceles)*. The higher civil authorities also intervened in the regulation of cult activities.[34] The village civil officers had also some religious obligations in sponsoring certain festivals or in contributing to the support of the priest.[35]

The custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder (Spanish, *principal*; Tarascan, *t'aıépiti*) seems also to have been present. Evidence for the eighteenth century is lacking. Only for the village of Cutzeo we know that the principales were those who had passed through the office of governor, and that *atole* (cornmeal) for their Saturday meetings was made by the semaneros in the hospital. Today, however, traits of the surviving religious organization suggest the former existence of this connection between civil and religious officers. The group of elders is called *cabildo*, which originally meant 'town council', although it can also mean sodality council. In Cherán, principales are those who have passed through the offices of prioste and colector. In Angahuan also, religious offices have to be held before one becomes alcalde or member of the cabildo.[36]

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33. Osbourn Ms.
34. Osbourn Ms.; Estado, 1944, *passim*.
35. The governor in Ario, Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.), Coeneo (Rivera, 1888, 332, 334), San Francisco (Ocampo, 1900, 387); the councilmen in Tancítaro (Osbourn Ms.).
36. Beals, 1946, 132, 143.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 29 b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

624 More detailed information comes from Chilchota. Here a man was first mayor-
794 domo of the hospital, then mayordomo of the patron saint, later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

175 At the end of the eighteenth century,
794 then, the heavy cult expenses were causing the impoverishment of the Indians in
735 those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 For the nineteenth century there is no
survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only
794 for the turn of the century is information again available. Since this is the period of
423 further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 215.
38. Ledo., 1906, 427.
39. Beals, 1946, 123 (for Cherán); 218 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 216, 139.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.309] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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794 duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro
423 was used until a short time ago to buy wax for the church.

Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions
794 from cargueros or the townspeople at large. Indian impoverishment caused by
735 attending to religious festivals is reported again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

624 The period of Mexican Independence up to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *municipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:308.
42. Beals, 1946, 105; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1902, 404, 414–415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:301.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 30b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 175 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the State. This undoubtedly influenced the local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is supposed that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

621 In spite of these changes, which occurred during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 216, 142.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1888.
46. León, 1906, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1938, 101-3.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.319] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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621 officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

The traditional organization based on the 624 hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but 794 it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kengueria*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

The local priest takes care of the litur- 793 gical celebrations. For their organization and church upkeep he can rely on the tra- 794 ditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

Communal property for the cult of the 794 saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 142.
49. Foster, 1948, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 202-204.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 316] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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794 by commissioners (*comisionado, encargado*) named by the priest or the town council for a given task. In this case the time required is less and also the contributions, the expenses being met by the town or ward (barrio) and the commissioner acting as collector.

794 668 798 Changes in recent years have been, on the one hand, the rise of an anticlerical movement among the agraristas, aiming at suppressing the cult. On the other hand, in the conservative communities trying to preserve the cult, changes can be described in terms of the decline of the cabildo, increased intervention by the priest or town council, and the change from individual sponsor to commissioner.

* * *

The accumulation of causes giving rise to a movement against the organization of the cult and the cargos had thus been going on for a long period of time when the Mexican agrarian revolution began to be influential in Michoacan. The local participation of Tarascan villages in the movements for agrarian reform has been outlined in the previous chapter. The local agraristas became supporters of the national revolutionary governments from which they expected to receive lands. Both the national and the local situations also combined to produce an anticlerical policy on the part of the agraristas.

Social studies in Michoacan have been limited to peasant communities, and no good study is available on the haciendas and the cities. Consequently there is no good information as to the way in which the anticlerical policy of the government was evident in Michoacan. In Mexico at large the official Church has been connected with the traditional landowner class, which explains the anticlerical policies of the government. In Michoacan we can assume the same situation prevailed, for we know that the church here, too, opposed the government's agrarian reforms.[51] Anticlericalism appears on the one hand as the influence of governmental policies. On the other hand, the local situation is of paramount importance and only in those places where local conditions provided a basis for it has anticlericalism gained any stronghold.

[735] Financing the traditional cult had been the cause in many villages for Indian impoverishment and the loss of land to a few rich or to outsiders. This fact led the

51. Foster, 1948, 179.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p.32a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

668 agrarista groups to identify the cult and the festivals with the land order against
794 which they were revolting. Thus the local
798 situation tied itself up with the national anticlerical policy of the government.

The agraristas kept the priest out of town and closed the church. If it had been burned during the Revolution they did not rebuild it,[52] or they used the church and the priest's house for other functions such as social centers or schools.[53] Cargos and fiestas were forbidden as they were seen to be the causes of excessive expenditures and drunkenness.[54]

We have already presented the causes for the failure of the agraristas to maintain their power in villages where small landowners prevailed. The agraristas became
[565] an exclusive privileged minority, opposed to the interest of most of the villagers. Their anticlerical policies also led them to reforms in an aspect of culture—religion and festivals—which were deeply ingrained in the traditional culture. Resistance to their economic policies thus became associated with resistance to culture change. In such conservative villages, reaction against the agraristas was always prevalent,[55] and it had a militant Catholic ideology. Even during the period of the most strongly antichurch policy of the government, some villagers managed to hide a priest,[56] and others, like Cherán, smuggled one in to say mass in private houses without the anticlerical minority's being strong enough to dare speak.[57]

Still in other more conservative villages
791 the lack of a priest led not to obsolescence of religion, but to manifestations of folk religion which the priests would not have allowed. In Ocumicho, a woman called María Doncella (Mary the Maiden) claimed to have heard the voice of God in a slit stone in a ravine near the village. The news spread throughout the region and many people began to come to Ocumicho in pilgrimage. María Doncella baptized the children herself and songs were made to her in which she was called the daughter of God. Once she said that the Virgin of Cocucho had come to Ocumicho and taken the patron San Pedro with her, and she organized a procession of people to go to Cocucho and pray to have San Pedro come back. According to skeptical informants

52. Urapicho: Beals, 1946, 121.
53. Tzurumútaro, Puácuaro.
54. Sáenz, 1936, 96; Simpson, 1937, 467.
55. Sáenz, 1936, *passim*; Foster, 1948, 175.
56. Tzintzuntzan: Foster, 1948, 175, 224.
57. Beals, 1946, 119.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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791 from Cocucho, her reputation and activities evaporated when in spite of her name she became pregnant.

668 Also, during this time of the government's limitation of priests, groups of
794 *cristeros*, in revolt against the government, operated in Michoacan.[58]
178 From about 1940, the agraristas lost control of many villages. They were able to stay in power only where they had been the majority. No study has been made of towns where the agraristas predominated. The communities studied are conservative and the agraristas were a minority. The study of Cherán[59] was made shortly after the agrarista group had been expelled. The author's field work was concentrated in a village where the anti-agrarista reaction was in power and had become affiliated with sinarquismo.

In describing the present economic situation we mentioned how the economic decline of the Indian communities is continuing in modern times. Since this economic decline was the cause for conflict in the sphere of the cult, the question naturally arises about the policy of this strongly religious reaction in regard to the old cargo system.

Following the success of the anti-agrarista reaction, the cult has again been allowed in villages where it had been forbidden, and fiestas are celebrated again, but there is no blooming again of the traditional cabildo; the decay of the old cargo system continues. Within the Catholic reaction to the agraristas we can see differences arising between more traditional and more modern elements; these differences are manifest in connection with religion and cargos.

Through the changes taking place in the political-religious organization, the cabildo became independent of the village civil administration, and, although connected with the priest, it arranged the festivals and the concession of sponsorships independently. As the organizer of the folk cult activities, it can be taken as the organization most purely representing the folk aspects of the local culture. It is in a position to resist national inroads on the folk culture either from the priest, who wants to change the festivals, or from the government, which wants to suppress the religious cult. As long as the elders have any political power within the community,

58. Foster, 1948, 178.
59. Beals, 1946.

668 the cabildo is neither official nor related
178 to the national or state government.
794 Correspondingly, there are people — we shall call them traditionalists — for whom religion means fundamentally the festivals to the saints, organized by the cargueros and the cabildo, and their meetings, inaugurations, and ceremonies. They speak of the need to continue the cargos and the fiestas and to resume the meetings of the cabildo. They even oppose the priests who attempt to suppress cargos or to modify the festivals, and they look down upon fellow villagers who do not care to take cargos, considering them unfit for leadership within the community.

These folk values are under attack by individuals who, although religious, are drifting away from the traditional organization and becoming closer to the Church. These may be called militant Catholics.

The trend is primarily against the cabildo as a clique of those who, through wealth and age, have passed through the cargos and reached eldership, and try to control cult organization. Also, the individual sponsorship as practiced by the cabildo included heavy expenses in connection with presents and banqueting for cabildo members. The trend is toward less drunkenness and toward making sponsorship less expensive.

The changes in organization cause the cult to be more strictly dependent on either the Church or the town government, i. e., on local branches of national institutions as against the former almost purely locally organized cabildo.

Thus to some extent the conflict appears as one between the priest and the conservative cabildo. The priest, of course, tries to lead the natives into more orthodox practices so that he attempts to suppress some of the folk customs and excessive drunkenness. The basic point is that he is only the incentive and leading force for those town elements who want the changes themselves.

The initiative often comes from the townspeople, from those whom we called militant Catholics. In Cherán some of the people organized a town meeting to ask that the cabildo be suppressed because of the excessive gifts they demanded from those aspiring to sponsorship, because their festivals and meetings were occasions for drunkenness, and because they stole from the church (a discussion having arisen as to the use the cabildo made of

668 178 794 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking). They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

[793] In Jarácuaro, where there was no resident priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

[656] In some cases the new civil authorities intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. Ibid., 124 ff.
61. Ibid., 143-44, 218-19.
62. Ibid., 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 291-292.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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On the other hand, the intervention of the civil authorities reflects increasing secularization of the main festivals. It takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

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The trend of change is not only to shift control from the cabildo to either the priest or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; and instead of the carguero sponsor, there is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

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This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan: the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of offce. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero system. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 120-127; Foster, 1948, 204ff, 215ff.
65. Beals, 1946, 106, 120.
66. Foster, 1948, 198, 199.
67. Ibid., 198, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 120, 126, 127.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.34b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

794 uals can be found to sponsor festivals. The fact remains, though, that the opposite 178 tendency making for decay of the mayordomías seems to be stronger.

In spite of the changes devised to pre-794 serve the festivals and the desire to continue them, the old fact of their being an economic burden still continues. During the short time when the field work for the Tarascan project was done, a number of fiestas were not celebrated because nobody was available to see to the expenses or because of the current conflict between the cargueros and the priest. Thus in Cherán, 1940, dances for Santa Nieves, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the pastorela of the shepherdesses were not celebrated.[69] In Tzintzuntzan, the cargueros of La Soledad were not functioning since the priest had suppressed them in 1942.[70] The festival of the patron saint failed in Jaracuaro in 1945 because of lack of enough sponsors.

The new commissioner who substitutes for the old carguero can find his duty too much like that of his predecessor, his contribution being too high. In Cherán in 1940, one of the four commissioners named by the town officials to act as Moro dancers avoided the performance and only three Moros danced.[71]

This new trend away from folk festivals 668 and toward a closer dependence on the priest is, therefore, also one toward both 794 more orthodox Catholicism and secularization of the festivals. It finds more ready 178 support among the villagers who have become associated with sinarquismo, and whose relation to the Church is close and similar to that of allegiance to a political party. Conversely, the priest often supports and fosters the spread of sinarquismo among the townspeople. Not only does he attack the old organization of cargueros and try to have a new one under his control, but he uses their influence to attack the government and schools, and to support the sinarquista schools and propaganda.[72]

* * *

The economic developments of the Indian communities outlined in Chapter 2 have been causing the disruption of folk cult celebrations because of the economic burden of their financing.

In connection with the agraristas, a radical trend for change arises which, spurred by the cult rôle in the impoverishment of

69. Ibid., 136, 138, 149.
70. Foster, 1948, 198.
71. Beals, 1946, 131.
72. Foster, 1948, 175, 184-185, 192.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 359] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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some villagers and by the anticlerical policy of the government, aims at abolishing the cult. But as in the economic sphere, this movement does not succeed in making change permanent because of the survival of the villages' economic foundation and their folk culture. There is a return to the cult, although the economic situation forces changes in its organization: decline of the body of the folk officers (cabildo); increased control by the priest; abolition of some folk ceremonies; organization of the main festivals by the civil administration as secular affairs; change from organization by an individual sponsor (carguero) carrying all the financial burden, to that of a number of commissioners sharing in the organization and the collection of contributions from the whole community. The decline of folk festivals and the greater control by the priest lead to a more orthodox Catholicism, and the influence of sinarquismo, in which allegiance to the

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.35b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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Church is of a political nature, brings the local subculture closer to the national culture. These changes show the trend through which the folk religion might disappear completely (lack of cult sponsors, control by the priests, or the success of the anticlericals), but the simplification of ceremonials and the new forms of organization are also a means by which the folk religion survives, on an organizational basis better suited to the changed economic and social order. As in economics, the basic traits of the village community survive. A stable situation, however, is not reached. Conflict continues, because of the same forces which caused the changes described: the economic impossibility or unattractiveness of the festivals, and the ceremonials under attack by the priest. These trends go on disrupting the folk culture, but they are not strong enough to break it completely. As in economics, a state of latent conflict continues.

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Paricutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the wrongness of anything that is against the 183 Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

The priest is considered the representa- [793] tive of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

105 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a 177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national 621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

771 Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. Cult financing was provided for by the 794 produce or communal property devoted to

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 57b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 178 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 182 178 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic impact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be [794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a [735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

182 178 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it condemns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

535 a clockwise direction (see "a," Fig. 1). The tempo and nature of the music then change and the dancer in the center (the *pendonpasi*) makes a half turn to the left and dances around each of the two back Huananchichas, then circles each of the remaining two dancers in the center row, first one and then the other. Next the front Huananchichas are circled and the *pendonpasi* returns to the center and turns once to the right in place (see "b," Fig. 1). Now the two back Huananchas move forward. The one on the left crosses the one on the right behind the *pendonpasi* and continues to circle first the dancer to the right of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the Huananchicha in the left front. After this she returns to her place in the back left corner. Her partner in the meantime is circling the dancer to the left of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the right front Huanancha and is returning to her place in the back right corner (see "c," Fig. 1). Next, the two Huananchichas in the front proceed in approximately the same fashion, except that instead of circling the two rear Huananchas they skirt them without completing the circle (see "d," Fig. 1). When they have returned to their places, the remaining two center dancers start to do their "turns." These involve circling first the front Huanancha opposite their standing position and then the back Huanancha who is standing on the diagonal from this, and finally returning to their starting places (see "e," Fig. 1). When this is completed all dancers take a half turn in place clockwise and return to starting position counterclockwise (see "f," Fig. 1), then the three center dancers step close together, the rear Huananchichas come up beside them (see "g," Fig. 1) and together they march slowly forward between the two front Huananchichas, bringing all into one straight line (see "h," Fig. 1). At this point the girls are given a large bowl full of confetti and small hard candies which they throw to the assembled guests of honor who are at the front of the dance area.

The dance is supposed to be performed twice in public, once at the church or in the street in front of the church, and once for the mayor of the town and such visiting dignitaries as may be invited to observe the performance in the mayor's office. In 1948 no performance of the dance took place in the street; the priest came to the mayor's office to watch the dancing there. Following this the girls, sometimes their mothers and always a group of older women in whose charge the dancers are, go to call on the important merchants and dance for them. After this, the dance is performed at the home of each of the dancers. The neighbors all crowd into the patio to watch. There is no set time for arriving on these rounds, so no special preparations can be made. One simply hears the music coming down one's street, and if interested follows it to its destination. If you happen to have one of the dancers in your own family the assumption is that the group will come to your patio eventually. The older women [794] who escort the dancers were, in the past, the organizers of the fiesta, and during the year they used to help to keep the church in good order and decorated. These women also used to operate a "hospital" (after the models first established by Don Vasco de Quiroga in the 16th century) near the church. Supposedly their presence with the dancers is to serve as chaperones for them, although some of the residents were heard to comment that the opposite may

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

175 By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan king-
642 dom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and
643 Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion.
[539] King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of
[776] Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest
political authority but also as the representative and incarnation
[794] of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

175 In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as
644 the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal house-
539 hold, including the group comprised of daughters of important men
of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to
[782] be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the
royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

173 The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition
539 that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to
644 generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of
648 revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became
known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this
[669] legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

539 Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique
644 of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival
173 in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned
her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539
The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uaxcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mo[illegible]nd the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
577

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in
[252] the house. Most black corn is consumed as roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved
[796] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring
[231] sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat
[821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.57a]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
● [196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (čiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*"
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[20] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*"
252 (guaníto). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[20] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

511 tures, there will also be less frequent ones. In the life time of the average family, a house and kitchen will have to be bought or built. By usual Cherán standards, this will mean a capital expenditure of $170 to $450. Animals must be replaced from time to time, an item difficult to estimate, but probably involving capital expenditures of around $200 every 10 years as a minimum.

Periodic expenditures will also include a blanket every few years at about $20, reroofing of house and kitchen every 10 years or so at a cost of about $40, an occasional *mayordomía*, and the expenses of weddings, births, and deaths. Finally, there are taxes on property and contributions to the church. All these are impossible to estimate accurately with the available data. A *mayordomía*, for example, may vary from an outlay of perhaps $15 or $20 for [796] Mass, candles, and ornaments for the altar in the house to a cash expenditure of about $500 for the *mayordomía* of Nochebuena plus extensive use of maize and butchering of animals etc. belonging to the *mayordomo*. Weddings likewise may vary enormously according to economic resources, but may run up as high as $500 in cash outlay. In addition, there are the innumerable occasions when one must participate in weddings, roofing or house-moving fiestas, etc., each of which involves more or less expensive gifts aside from possible contributions of labor.

The above factors suggest that a Cherán family of five in about average circumstances makes a total outlay on consumption goods of not less than $500 a year if such capital expenditures as housing are allowed for. This does not include the value of home-produced foods. Many families unquestionably have a much smaller cash outlay than the amount suggested, but, equally certainly, some families spend more. Furthermore, these estimates assume that the family has inherited all the land it needs and is not making any expenditures for land purchases.

The preceding considerations suggest that insufficient attention has been paid to the quantity of exports and the movement of money in Cherán economy. Such data are difficult but not impossible to secure, although a considerable margin of error must be expected.

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to those who do serve. There is no obligation, [431] nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

Comisionados may also be named if funds
632 are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

There are many *comisionados* in connection
796 with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro [535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p110?a]

632 represented in the fiesta. Each major tradi-
796 tional occupation is required to hire a band, and the *comisionados* must raise the money by taking up a collection or by paying out of their own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados* is named to take up another collection to hire music for the celebration of the Octava. Voluntary service is also given by the bee hunters. The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often put in many days of labor.

One final type of *comisionado* should be men-
632 tioned, the men named to do communal labor.
651 Probably every eligible man has to put in 2 or 3 days a year on such work. This may be for work assigned to a *barrio*, or it may be some community-wide program such as cutting poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or nights of service a year to the community, if it be taken into account that about half the adult males are exempt for reason of age or service such as office holding, school teaching, store keeping, etc. However, the work is probably very unevenly distributed, for there is no systematic method of assignment. A person who raises many objections or who is not in proper economic condition may evade many commissions. For example, no right-minded mayor would commission a poverty-stricken man to bring out a moro. Consequently, persons who are conscientious and do not complain are apt to receive many more commissions than others.

Reserva.—The *reserva* consists of 11 men
632 armed by the Government (State or Federal?)
625 with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained by the real political boss of the town, Moisés Valencia. Although all were agreed that the 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed to have any idea of the mechanism of choice. In all probability the group was chosen in the same way Valencia was chosen political boss, through aggressiveness in defense of town interests and personal popularity. Even a town the size of Cherán does not need formal elective machinery at times in order to express popular will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections. During the disturbed period in Michoacán during the installation of President Camacho, the reserve received instructions from the military

579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of four types. Central to the system are those
796 church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

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[p.116]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
123 factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

Forming a mixture of church and community
796 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

The *mayordomías* are the third important
796 type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the ačes. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The ačes are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the ačes. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the ačes have any real control.

THE CHURCH

346 The physical aspect of the Church is represented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is reverenced [788] to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

Maintenance of the structures still used by 794 the church organization and the priest depends 358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the kéŋi, an official of the *cabildo* or ačes, as a residence.

The church building has obviously undergone 346 a number of major alterations in its history. 358 Originally the church did not front on the

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527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day
527 before, including three women with "a little
443 religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

Some street cleaning began on this day.
527 Trash was burned in the streets and the streets
364 were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

527 October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day.
796 Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members
[574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the 796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass. [793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be [443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A [265] gambling game was set up. The booths for [275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on this day. Comments implied that the girls [548] running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of [443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round [529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the commissioners and their assistants went to the 533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

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527 533 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided, the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a [534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

527 Sunday the market was in full operation, and the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the [443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur- [323] chases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing. 527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the 535 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing. [574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During [542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 389 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks set was to be burned. Not until after dark

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527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
198 of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 Often a group of young men will ask per-
541 mission of the municipal authorities to collect the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
796 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 The Octava occurs a week after Easter
443 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
541 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent, everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
[785] fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent. Some people fast until noon every day. Others
[785] do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
[624] of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

796 latter are given to the girl by her relatives. Her father and mother present her with 1 bag and 1 cloth, but the rest, as many as 20 of each, are presented by her grandparents and cousins. At the top of the cross and at the end of each arm are fastened small sprays of green palm. On Palm Sunday this cross is carried by the boy.

The girl carries a stick, usually of oak, about 796 2 yards high. Hung to this is every kind of 482 fruit, especially tropical fruits, all provided by the boy. These may include a bunch of bananas, some coconuts, and perhaps a watermelon. Or the girl may carry a watermelon, together with some honeycombs, on her back. Often she can scarcely carry the load.

There is much competition between the [621] *barrios* in this regard (the only hint of *barrio* competition secured). Each looks to see which girl is most laden with things, which girl has been able to make the largest balls of pinole and decorate them best, and which has the most grandparents and cousins (and hence the most bags and tortilla cloths).

On the afternoon of Palm Sunday all go to 796 the little rise in the road toward Nahuatzen (the road to the hot country) beyond the bridge at the edge of the town, and from there all go together to the church. The boy and girl from each *barrio* have their companions, all relatives. Those relatives of the girl who have given a bag or a cloth and those relatives of the boy who have given a honeycomb for the girl to carry are adorned with the *gorditos*. The four boys together will have hired musicians, and many others come to see and hear. About 4 o'clock they all reach the church; they go inside for a moment and then return home, where they divide the things among the relatives who have helped them or accompanied them. There is no special ceremony in the church on this day.

During Holy Week a Mass is held every day in the church. The Tenebrae are also represented. All the candles are put out. Sulfur is burned and bombs are exploded to represent the lightning. Then the candles are relighted with an ordinary wax match.

Thursday the image of Christ is placed in a cage of bars. It is guarded by a number of persons representing the Jews, who are dressed in common-colored women's dresses and hats

796 of *catucho* (a word I have not identified) and are carrying spears.

On Friday, the three times that Christ falls with the cross are represented with a cross and the image of Jesus of Nazareth. The cross is very large, but it is made of light materials, so it weighs little. The figure carrying the cross is put on a table, and it is manipulated from beneath the table to make it fall slowly and rise again. While the figure falls, the Jews pretend to beat it and mistreat it.

The Crucifixion is represented at a *velorio*. Three crosses, one bearing a crucified Christ, are placed upright in a corner of the church. The Jews pretend to beat the figure and injure it with their lances. Later in the same service the figure is lowered from the cross and placed in a special box. This represents the Holy Sepulcher and is guarded by the Jews.

On Saturday morning, 12 boys are placed in a corner near the altar. One of these washes the feet of the others. This act (obviously out of place in the chronology of events) is the only representation of the Twelve Apostles.

Some 20 years ago a somewhat more elaborate representation was given which included the portrayal of the garden of Gethsemane. Persons representing Pilate, Herod, and the Jews went about the plaza asking for Jesus. One, representing Judas, went up to a Christ image surrounded by branches and kissed the image. Jesus now answered, and the whole group fell down. Then they tore down the branches and took the image prisoner. Judas went around showing people the money he had received. On two occasions in the past the apocryphal incident of Veronica was also represented in connection with the three falls of Christ. After one of the falls, a girl pretended to wipe the face of the image with her handkerchief.

The activities in connection with Easter week are carried on by the persons attached to the church and the various societies. Nurukáta, laurel, is brought from the mountains in large quantities and is used to decorate the church during the week. After it has been "sanctified" it is taken home and kept in the houses. It may later be used for medicinal purposes. A special food for Easter week is

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[p.129a]

A special food for Easter week is
796 tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
[262] boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *cohetes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

Although most private fiestas are described
342 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of
574 a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

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[p/130c]

342 and are served. While all this is going on, a few women start dancing.
574 Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuelgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuelgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuelgas*. Single *cuelgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

The host, on the occasion observed, drank [273] very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

796 A few data collected on fiestas from other towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colchas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the [439] occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

796 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very [793] drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities [272] of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The 438 principal item in the market is pottery, and it 323 is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

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[p.1316]

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

● 796 The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assumption of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *carguerox* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

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and ceremonies. The ceremonies of the saints are sometimes called *mayordomías* as they are elsewhere in Mexico, although the term *cargo* is more common in Cherán. The elaborateness and expense of the ceremonies vary considerably. Some are virtually community functions or minor fiestas but held at the expense of the *carguero* or *mayordomo*. Others have very little expense attached to them. In many cases dance groups are associated with the *mayordomía*.

So far as could be learned, six of the saints and accompanying *mayordomías* "belong" to the *cabildo*. Four others are associated with particular professions (this is also true of some of the saints of the *cabildo*) and are "managed" by principals (*principales*). Another is managed by a group of principals but is not associated with a profession, while the final saint identified is owned by a private family. The saints belonging to the *cabildo* are San Isidro (of the farmers), San José (of the forest workers), Santa Inéz (of the cattle raisers), Santa Nieves or the Virgin of Snows, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the Santo Niño or the Child Christ. Saints belonging to professions are San Antonio (of the *arrieros* or muleteers), San Rafael (of the merchants), San Anselmo (of the honey gatherers, with two separate images and ceremonies), and Santa Cecilia (of the musicians). Independent of any profession is the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings or Tres Reyes. The privately owned saint has no *mayordomía* properly speaking and is usually spoken of simply as the Miraculous Saint.

The *cabildo* is also known as the "ačes," meaning principal persons or things. In Spanish the *cabildo* is also known as the *principales*. The group consists of men who have occupied the offices of *colector* and *prioste* associated with the church. In the past the *cabildo* looked after many things connected with the church, including the collection and care of the tithes or gifts to the priest, cared for the saints in the church and the ornaments and decorations of the church, and brought the priests to Cherán during the period when religious functions were prohibited. Members also had charge of the *mayordomías* mentioned above, and considered the saints their property.

796 They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.
794 The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about $250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, [578] however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortíz, a noted conservative. Ortíz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described, about the *cabildo*, Ortíz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

● 796 same duties, but the *colector* is the superior of
794 the two. Their duties are to select and supervise the kéŋi and the matters of the church. The day-to-day expenses involved they must pay out of their own pockets (despite the charges against the *cabildo* to be reviewed later, no one denied this expenditure by the *prioste* and *colector*). The two officers receive the gifts of maize and wheat made to the church and give them to the priest, who in turn entrusts them to the kéŋi.

The kéŋi is selected by the *colector*. For 1 year he lives in a house on the church grounds (probably formerly in the hospital before it fell to ruins), cares for the church property and the stores of the priest, rings the church bells every noon, runs errands for the *colector*, and does any odd jobs he may be assigned. After 1 year he does not become a member of the *cabildo* but retires to private life.

During his year of office, the *colector* has to provide the kéŋi with the maize he needs for his family and some money for minor expenses. Usually the kéŋi is a man who has a grown son or a brother to look after his affairs for the year. Among the public outside of the church group it is not regarded as a great thing to be a kéŋi. The church group, on the other hand, make a good deal of the individual. Moreover, it is believed that the service is rendered to God and will bring recompense in the future life. The offices of kéŋi, *prioste*, and *colector* change each year on December 8. The main ceremonies circle about the change of kéŋi.

At one time the kéŋi began in the month of November to visit the *cargueros* of the saints belonging to the *cabildo* every Saturday early in the morning, accompanied by musicians. The *cargueros* served *posole*. By December 8, the kéŋi had visited all the saints, saying farewell to them. On this date a large lantern was suspended from a pole outside the house of the kéŋi and remained until the ceremonies of changing the kéŋi were concluded.

For the change of office, both the old kéŋi and the new provide themselves with "old men" or *viejos*. These are men dressed in an overcoat and with a cane. They carry a little bell adorned with flowers, wear a small hat, and a
[532] wooden *viejo* mask (a wooden mask carved to represent an old man with a long white beard).

796 794 These are the speakers for the two kéŋi. Each kéŋi (in conjunction with the new and retiring *prioste*s) has a band of music. Both the old and the new *prioste* invite friends and relatives to their houses for a meal. The *cabildo* goes to both places.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon both parties go to the house occupied by the kéŋi in the church grounds, still sometimes called the hospital despite the assertion of many that the kéŋi never lived in the hospital. The new kéŋi brings with him all the things he needs to set up housekeeping: new brooms, dishes, a *carga* of maize, the head of a beef, ax, metate, mats and clothes, all carried on burros. Arriving at the house, he finds all in disorder. The house is full of trash, the fireplace has been taken down, and everything has been left in the worst condition possible. The old kéŋi carries away everything he has used. Even old brooms and broken pots are saved through the year to be carried away at this time.

The two *viejos* or old men now begin to argue. The *viejo* representing the incoming kéŋi makes a long speech, criticising the administration of the outgoing kéŋi. The other *viejo* then responds, defending the outgoing kéŋi and explaining all the good things he has done. The two argue for some time. The music then plays a tune. First one and then the other dances; they endeavor to outdo one another, both in their ridiculous manner of dancing and in making jokes. Each is accompanied by a woman dressed as an old woman in a very much embroidered blouse and wearing a hat. Then the new officials inspect all the patio of the hospital; the new kéŋi enters the kitchen and takes possession. The old kéŋi goes out through the *zaguan* or gate with his belongings. The old kéŋi goes to the house of the old *prioste* with his friends and they drink until night. The new kéŋi and his *prioste* do the same in the hospital after the celebration of Mass.

Sometime during these events the *cabildo* elects the new *colector*. This official takes office on the 1st of January when he goes to church to celebrate the Circumcision. The new *colector* and his wife receive the benediction at the Mass. The wife of the *colector* carries with her an outfit of clothing for the Christ Child. After Mass the two go to the house of the new

796 794 [535] kéŋi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[38]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuŋánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 794 793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[38] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

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MAYORDOMÍAS

796 *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *carguceros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

For the most part the *mayordomías* are 782 undertaken to secure some future good or to 796 give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. 788 Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

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788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. [554] More than any other it may be undertaken for motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto.*"

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*tróje.*" Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

796 The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* 535 (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assist- 796 ants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

796 mented that the *carguero* did not seem to wish to give even cigarettes. To which Pedro Chávez, our progressive and anti-Church assistant, replied sagely that this was because the *cabildo* had been abolished.

On the evening of December 24, candles are burned at night before the image in the house of the *carguero*, and he, his family and relatives, and the dancers and their relatives sit up with the image but do not participate in other activities of the *mayordomo*. The *uanánčes* are also present. All are given food by the *mayordomo* in the late afternoon before dark. About midnight the image is taken to visit the image of the Child Christ in church and a Mass is held at the expense of the *carguero*, who also provides special candles for the occasion. The image in the church is put in a reclining position in a crib where it remains until January 1.

After the Mass, whch does not end until nearly morning, the men go home, but return at an early hour to the house of the *carguero* for breakfast. The women remain in the *carguero's* house, assisting in preparing the meals for the dancers. After breakfast the men either return home or accompany the *carguero* as he cares for the dancers who now go out to dance in various houses. The dancers perform
796 the days of the 25th, 26th, and 27th. During
535 this time food is provided for them and many people assist in the food preparations. The dancers provide their own costumes for this affair, but the music, a band of wind instruments, is hired by the *carguero*. At the houses where the dancers perform they are given gifts of fruits and things that children would like (because it is a fiesta of the Child Christ).

In addition to the *negrito* and *pastorela* dances connected with the December 25 events, three other groups of dancers sometimes appear, the *melebris*. Neither they nor the *pastorela* are connected with the *mayordomía*. They are discussed in connection with the dances.

796 The expenses of this *mayordomía* are between $500 and $700. Music is hired for a week (for part of the practice as well as for the dancing), an expense of about $200. One or two beeves usually are killed and about three fattened pigs. As much as 15 *fanegas* of maize may be consumed. Quantities of bread are also purchased, and *charanda* forms a considerable

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796 item of expense also. A midnight Mass and candles are paid for, as well as the dance instructor. Special foods are also prepared at this time, for example, *mole de pepita de calabaza molida*, mole of ground squash seeds, a very rich food prepared only on this occasion (see recipes, p. 53).

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA NIEVES

[776] Santa Nieves, or the Virgin de las Nieves (Virgin of the Snows), was evidently once the Virgin associated with the hospital. The *carguero* in 1940, as was the case with the *carguero* of the Child Christ, had taken the post "for pleasure."

The *carguero* receives the saint August 5. He takes it to his home and places it in a specially prepared place. On the day of the saint, August 5, he is supposed to arrange a dance, the caballita uarárica, dance of the little horses, and to provide a band. This was not done in 1940 because of the quarrel over the *cabildo*. The dancers perform on this one day only, visiting the houses of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass in church to which he takes the image of the saint. The image is left in church for the new *carguero*.

MAYORDOMÍA OF GUADALUPE

The *mayordomía* of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12 is also a fiesta of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* gives food to his relatives in his house and they help him to decorate the church. The image of the Virgin is taken to church for the Mass and is left there for the new *carguero*. A long Mass is held. In 1940 there were three priests and the cost was $60. Eighteen large candles were provided, each with bows of red, green, and white made out of tin (because of a shortage, four candles had paper ornaments). The candles are carried to church in procession by the helpers (relatives) of the *carguero*. Behind is carried the Virgin's image, followed by the *carguero* and his wife. A dance is supposed to be held, but it was omitted in 1940.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ISIDRO

The *mayordomía* of San Isidro is also connected with the *cabildo*. The date of the *mayordomía* is May 15. Information of this *mayordomía* was obtained from the *carguero's*

796 wife, who was very suspicious and possibly ignorant. Consequently it is not wholly satisfactory.

[776] The saint is the patron of those who cultivate the ground with oxen, but there is no evidence that only cultivators assume this *mayordomía*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass and probably for candles. Usually the relatives of the *carguero* and his wife are invited to eat at the house, but this is not obligatory and may be omitted if the *carguero* cannot afford it (the *carguero* in 1940 was obviously very poor). If the relatives are invited, the wife's female relatives aid in preparing the food. The saint's image is taken to church before the Mass and remains in church until the fiesta of Corpus, when it is removed by the new *carguero*. The *carguero* in 1940 had taken the saint because of a vow, but the wife said she did not know what the vow was. [i.e., San Isidro.—Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN JOSÉ

[776] San José is a patron of the shake makers and the plank makers. The *carguero* is usually of one of these occupations. He begins his service on the saint's day, March 19. At the fiesta of Corpus he takes the image to church and pays for candles. He also provides meals for the commissioners and musicians of the woodworkers at the fiesta (for the entire fiesta according to one informant, but this contradicts other information given in connection with the Corpus fiesta). In the following year on March 19 the *carguero* pays for a Mass, candles, and *cohetes*, taking the saint's image to the church where it is left for the new *carguero*. On the 19th, if the *carguero* wishes, he may invite his relatives to the house for food and have music, but this it not obligatory.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA INÉZ

[776] Santa Inéz, also a saint of the *cabildo*, is regarded as one of the virgins. She is patron of cattle and pigs. Formerly there were cows belonging to this saint, but they were lost. About 15 years ago a cow was presented to the saint. Now she possesses two cows, two bulls, and two young steers. The *carguero* looks after these animals. He may use the milk from the cows, but he is not supposed to sell any of the cattle.

796 The saint's image in this case! was kept with
778 special elegance in a large case with glass on the front and sides. Inside the box were small images of a cow, a steer, and a pig on the left side. The box stood on a table decorated with paper flowers and supporting an incense burner, a basket of copal gum, and a candle. The table in turn rested on a mat on the floor. The wall behind the box was decorated with colored papers and chains and paper cut-outs.

The new *carguero* receives the image of the
796 saint on April 21. On Corpus the image is taken to church (and probably candles are burned). At the end of the year, on the following April 21, the relatives of the *carguero* visit him. He has musicians and food for them. The saint's image is taken to church for a Mass paid for by the *carguero* (probably with candles). Some *cargueros,* when they receive the image, give it a new outfit of clothing. The image is large and one of the best-
[778] dressed in Cherán. The dress is white with a blue cape. A gilt crown is on the head and a necklace of the red glass beads prized by Tarascan women is about the neck. The altar is decorated with many flowers and aromatic herbs. ! [i.e., Santa Inéz - Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN RAFAEL

The *mayordomía* of San Rafael is not connected with the *cabildo.* The saint is patron of the merchants, and apparently the *mayordomía* is administered by a principal or principals selected by the merchants. The principals decide who shall receive the *mayordomía* and pay an occasional visit to the *carguero's* house to see that all is kept in proper order. This seems to be the regular arrangement for all the independent saints connected with *mayordomías,* although specific information is lacking for some of them.

As patron of the merchants, the image of
[778] San Rafael carries a fish under the left arm
[776] and in his right hand bears a staff (actually a shepherd's crook). About his neck is a necklace of sea sheels. In front of the altar are hung other sea shells and miniature fire fans, clay fruits, etc. The house and altar are well decorated with paper flowers and colored papers. Before the altar are candles and an incense burner. The merchants visit the

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796 saint's image and burn a candle before setting out on a journey.

The new *carguero* takes charge of the image the day before Corpus. He goes to the house of the old *carguero*, secures the image, and takes it to church. There it remains in a "box" during the week-long festivities of Corpus. On Monday afternoon of Corpus the musicians of the merchants come to the house of the *carguero* and make it their headquarters during the fiesta until Saturday noon. The musicians, the commissioners, and whatever people attach themselves to the group, breakfast and dine at the house of the *carguero* during the fiesta. If he cannot afford this, the commissioners provide the meals, three or four cooperating in providing each meal. The musicians of this group also greet the honey gatherers when they return from their stay in the woods collecting honeycombs for the fiesta (on Friday, according to the *carguero;* Tuesday, according to all others).

The day of the saint is October 24. The *carguero* pays for a Mass (and presumably candles). In 1940 the Mass was delayed because the priest was too busy and was out of town frequently.

The *carguero* ordinarily is a merchant, but in 1940 he was a fireworks maker. Because he traveled from town to town, the principals had decided he could qualify as *carguero* when he asked for the *mayordomía*. The *carguero* sought the responsibility "for pleasure" and not because of any vow. Incidentally, he is a [191] native of Pichataro and speaks very little Spanish. His wife speaks even less. Perhaps because of this origin they were much the most open and cordial of the *cargueros*.[37]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ANTONIO

[776] San Antonio is patron of the muleteers, the *arrieros*. The new *carguero* receives the image on June 13, the day of the saint, and takes it to

[37] Those desiring the *mayordomía* of San Rafael apply to the principal. The holder of this office in 1940 had occupied it for 18 years, although he had several times tried to resign. Occasionally he calls meetings of the merchants to discuss some expense relative to the saint, such as new garments or altar table. Sometimes money is collected in the meeting in advance for such expenditures. On other occasions the principal spends money out of his pocket and takes up a collection at the meeting to reimburse himself. According to this principal, the new *carguero* goes to the priest during Corpus for benediction. Probably this is true of the other *mayordomías* but the point was not investigated.

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796 his house. On Corpus he carries the image to church and spends money for candles. If he wishes he may have a fiesta with music and food at his house, but this is not obligatory.

A few notes on the history of San Antonio, obtained from one of the principals, are of interest. The original image was burned at the time the town was destroyed during the revolution. For a number of years the *mayordomía* was in abeyance. About a dozen years before the study, a young man in the house, a traveler, expressed an interest in having the saint. The principal borrowed a saint from somewhere, and they kept it in the house. The muleteers talked a good deal about the matter, but did nothing. Finally the principal placed an order for a new image. A principal of the old image of the saint, which had been destroyed, assisted, as he knew about such things, and solicited alms from the muleteers. In about 2 years they got the new image of the saint and then informed the priest. He came to the house to see it and commended them. Then he said they should seek godfathers for the image and have it blessed. This was done, and thus the *mayordomía* was revived. The old principal, the informant, and one other who had recently died had been the principals ever since. Persons wishing the *mayordomía* had to ask them for it. If more than one person asked, they were given it in order.

Although San Antonio is the patron of the muleteers, they do not visit the image before going on journeys. Persons not muleteers may also receive this *mayordomía*. In fact, the principal who served as informant is a mason who interested himself in the saint because of the youth living in his house (possibly his son, although he carefully avoided any suggestion of relationship).

[782] Some persons not muleteers also make vows to the saint. The same informant cited the case of a man named Antonio who made a vow to take the *mayordomía* when there was an epidemic killing many pigs in Cherán. None of Don Antonio's pigs died. He sought the *mayordomía* and received it. Ever since, he fattens and kills a pig every year, sells the lard, and buys something for the saint with the proceeds.

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THE MAYORDOMÍAS OF SAN ANSELMO

796 There are two *mayordomías* of San Anselmo, each with its saint's image. Both belong to the honey gatherers, the *panaleros*, and there is a certain amount of cooperation between the two *cargueros*. For example, they share the cost of the Mass on the saint's day. One of the *mayordomías* is always in *barrio* III or IV, the upper *barrios*, while the second is always in the lower *barrios*, that is, I and II. It is said that only honey gatherers can receive the *mayordomías*. Although honey gatherers apparently are not numerous, there are a good many men who occasionally follow the occupation. As it is highly dangerous, the aid of the saint is felt important and there usually are numerous persons willing to accept the *mayordomía*, especially as it is not a very expensive one.

The new *carguero* receives the saint at the church 8 days after the fiesta of Corpus. The new *carguero* presents the saint with a hat, blanket, palm fiber raincoat, and other miniature items. As the saint's image is small, everything connected with it is small. On April 22 the two *cargueros* jointly pay for a Mass, but it is said not to be such an important Mass as for other saints. The Mass follows that of Santa Inéz on April 21; it is said that as the *mayordomías* of this saint follow after Santa Inez, one should not spend as much as is spent for Santa Inéz. San Anselmo is more humble. The giving of a fiesta in the house on the saint's day is optional with the *carguero*.

Eight days before Corpus both images of the saint are taken to the mountains when the honey gatherers go out to seek honeycombs for the fiesta. The two images are taken to different places, and the men from the different *barrios* accompany the associated saint's image. The *carguero* supplies large quantities of *charanda* on this occasion. The men get drunk and dance every afternoon to guitar music. On Tuesday of Corpus the images are taken to church and left there until taken by the new *cargueros*.

The choice of the new *cargueros* is made by the priest from lists provided by the principals. According to the *carguero* for the two lower *barrios* in 1940, four principals named by the

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● 796 honey gatherers determine the list of candidates for the *mayordomía* at a meeting before Corpus. For the upper two *barrios*, only one principal was mentioned. In this case the principal was interviewed and asserted that all candidates for the *mayordomía* applied to him. The real *carguero* in the lower *barrios* in 1940 was the 4-year-old son of the household, according to his father. The *mayordomía* was sought [755] because the boy was not growing normally.

On some occasions the principals of the lower *barrios* have some expenses. For example, one year the box in which the saint's image is taken to the mountains was partly burned through an accident. The principals ordered a new box at their expense.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE THREE KINGS

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings, Los Treyes Reyes, is celebrated on January 6, the new *carguero* taking the images the following day. The *mayordomía* is relatively new, and the present images were secured in 1940. The previous images were small and provisional. The *carguero* in 1940 had held the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child the previous year. In both cases the *mayordomía* was sought to aid the [755] health of a sickly child. In addition, the parents had vowed the child to perform in the dance of the *viejos* every year.

It is obvious that the *carguero* in 1940 was well-to-do to be able to take two *mayordomías* on 2 successive years. Moreover, he introduced an innovation by taking over all the expenses of the dancers who perform in connection with the Day of the Kings. Previously the dance group had been entirely independent of the *mayordomía*, raising their own money for expenses and music.

796 435 The expenses of the *carguero* in 1940 were secured in some detail. They are as follows:

Musicians	$ 70.00
1 pig butchered (estimate)	25.00
1 ox butchered (estimate)	60.00
22 *fanegas* of maize at 3.75 to 4.00	80.00
40 sugar canes and 40 oranges for dancers	2.00
Bread for all (about 200 guests) at end of dance; three breakfasts for dancers	10.00

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[435]

3 liters milk daily 25 tablets chocolate daily 3 or 4 centavos of bread each daily Three breakfasts for musicians	15.00
2 kilos of sugar	.70
3 bottles alcohol (estimate)	3.00
Coffee for musicians (estimate)	1.00
Total	$266.70

Ordinarily the new *carguero* seeks the *mayordomía* from the principals. The *carguero* in 1940 had some doubts as to what would be done because of the insistence of their priest that *mayordomías* should in future be asked of him. On the other hand, the principals had no doubt that the *mayordomía* was their special property.

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings was definitely a new departure in Cherán. The dance group apparently had performed for many years.

According to the three principals, whom by good luck it was possible to interview together, until a few years ago only a group of dancers performed on the Day of Kings. The dancers were not organized but each year a group of volunteer performers got together informally. There were images of the Three Kings in church, but none were taken to private houses. One time the three principals were talking about the dance when "God sent them the idea" of creating a *mayordomía*. From some 15 or 18 others they collected some money. The principals, however, put in a good deal more than the others. Then they started with the three small images which one of them had in his house, in the meantime ordering the new images. One of the principals received the *mayordomía* first. The *carguero* in 1940 was the third and those for the following 2 years had already been appointed.

With regard to the position of the priest, the principals remarked that the saints belonged to them and neither the *cabildo* nor the priest nor anyone else had anything to say about the images. However, the priest, according to the principals, accepted this situation, for he had no cause to be angry with them.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA CECILIA

Very few data were collected concerning this *mayordomía* which was not discovered until

796 shortly before the close of the study. (It is quite probable that two or three *mayordomías* exist in Cherán which were not discovered at all; no one in the town appears to know all of them.) Santa Cecilia is patroness of the [776] musicians, and the *carguero* is always a musician. In 1940 no one wished to "take the saint," so the image remained in the same house, a nephew of the former *carguero* who lived in the house taking the responsibility. The musicians all gather at the house of the *carguero* and play all day. (This is how the *mayordomía* was discovered; however, no outsiders were invited in, despite the most obvious hints.)

THE MIRACULOUS HOLY CHILD

776 This saint, El Milagroso Santo Niño, is not
796 properly to be included among the *mayordomías*, as it is the property of a single family and does not circulate among other households. According to the story told by the owners, the saint was found by the man of the family some 18 years before, while he was cutting wheat below the town. Tiring, he sat down, and while picking idly at the dirt with his sickle he uncovered the image. He had the image fixed up (at present it looks entirely like the other saint's images with respect to the technique and painting). With the aid of others, a chapel was then built for the saint in the yard of the house. When the image was found it was only about 30 cm. high. It is claimed that it has grown steadily until it is now between 70 and 80 cm.

The saint first became known as a miraculous saint when a man from the ranchos (a group of small Mestizo settlements on the boundaries of Cherán in the mountains) cut his foot while alone in the woods. As he was bleeding to death, he recalled the saint, of which he had heard, and vowed to take it to his rancho accompanied by dancers. The bleeding stopped and he recovered.

Keeping his vow, the Mestizo brought dancers to Cherán and took the saint to the rancho. There other miracles occurred. For example, a child who could not walk and who was dumb had the crown of the saint put on him; he now walks and talks very well.

As a result of these experiences, the people

776 from the ranchos came every year with dancers.
796 They spent 3 days in Cherán, dancing in the church and in the municipal building. Then they took the saint to the ranchos and it often was kept there many months. In 1940 the owners decided not to let the saint go any more because they wished to have it with them "as we have lost much time with it."

COMPARATIVE NOTES

796 Material collected from other towns suggests
794 that other types of *mayordomía* organization exist. In Angáhuan, Rendón found an elaborate hierarchy of officials, evidently corresponding to the *cabildo* and the associated organization at Cherán. In Angáhuan, according to Rendón, the officials are ranked as follows: *Alcalde, regidor,* kámbiti, petájpe and biskál, *mayores,* kiẽ̞ɲi, anyítakua.

In addition, there is a group of elderly men, corresponding to the Cherán *cabildo,* who are known as *tarénpenya.* These are men who have served the above offices or part of them.

The *alcalde* and *regidor* correspond to the *prioste-colector* positions in Cherán apparently. The *alcalde* is in charge of the church for 1 year. During this time he has to hold six fiestas. The first is at New Year's, when he receives his post and when he must provide food and *aguardiente.* The second is carnival, when he is aided in the expenses by the "*cabildo*" (it is not clear from Rendón's notes whether this means the same as it does in Cherán). The third is the day of the Holy Cross when he must pay for two bands and there is the dance of the moors and soldiers. The *alcalde* provides food for the dancers. The latter dance in the houses of various functionaries. The fourth fiesta is Corpus, at which time all the members of the different occupations take miniatures of their products and dance with them before the church and also perform their offices. The fifth fiesta is that of Santiago (the patron saint), when there is music, dancers, and also bull riding. For this fiesta the *alcalde* pays for the Masses and gives food to the dancers. The final fiesta is the day on which the *alcalde* is chosen by the elders.

The *regidor* is the helper of the *alcalde* and aids him in every way possible. The relatives of the *alcalde* also assist him with food.

796 The duties of the kámbiti are to pay the expenses of the Holy Week festivities and to decorate the front of the main altar with fruits from the hot country, such as bananas, watermelons, mameys, coconuts, mangoes, and sugarcane. The fruits are suspended in small nets or are perforated and hung from strings. The ceremony is called uirímutakua, which means "to adorn the front of something."

On Holy Saturday the young people of the town divide in two groups and go through the town, the girls carrying an image of Mary Magdalene, the men one of Saint Joseph. At strategic points the two groups meet and have races with the images. Certain young girls also place themselves at the door of the church during Holy Week and offer the refreshments known as čarápes to all comers. These girls must change the flowers on the altars during the ensuing year and are known as cʌcʌki jaćirati. All these ceremonies are regulated by the kámbiti.

The petájpe gathers the young men at his house in February and feeds them *"esquite,"* of the type known as kanita takunji. At this [312] time he announces the date for cleaning the spring from which the town gets its water. The day the spring is cleaned, the petájpe provides music and rice, beans, and pork for the helpers at his house. At the spring, many families go along and take picnic food, singing and enjoying themselves while the young men clean the spring. When the spring is cleaned, they carry *ollas* of water to their houses, using it as drinking water in preference to water from the pipes until it is gone.

There are no data on the office of biskál. Rendón's notes suggest that the offices of petajpe and biskál are the same.

To reach the office of *mayor,* one must give a fiesta to the patron saint and appear as a moro dancer. The moros dance on December 25 and 26 in the houses of the elders. On the 24th they worship in the church. *Mayores* must aid their superiors with firewood and their wives grind and carry water when the *alcalde* or kámbiti or petájpe hold a fiesta.

The kiéŋi has similar duties to the kéŋi of Cherán. He is entrusted with the care of the church and follows the orders of the *alcalde* in cleaning and adorning the structure. He

796 has under his orders the anyítakuas or "*semaneros.*"
794 The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yuríšo*. This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorela* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos*, are associated with the *pastorelas*.

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

796 The dances performed at Cherán are all associated with some religious festival. Or-
535 ganization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo*, although the moros are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the moros, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (Moors) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the moro part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

796 535 gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choregraphic description (and being unable to [126] witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, turí'a, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or boys are sought, "alert people, good learners, [883] who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the koroníče.

535 Usually the dancer picks one of his existing godmothers whom he likes. The godmother
796 dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:

[435]
[427]

Mask (rent)	$0.50
Ribbons (rent)	8.50
Suit (rent)	6.00
Shirt (purchase)	5.00
Shoes (purchase)	9.50
Necktie (rent)	.50
Total	$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

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535 other (fig. 16). Occasionally each pair of
796 *negritos* will walk to the head of the line and back while the two recite their part of the *relato.*

535 The teaching of the *relato* and of the dance is done by a specialist hired for the occasion by
538 the *carguero.* The best-known specialist is Gregorio Castillo, although he was not hired in
796 1940. Castillo also teaches the dance of the *viejos, Europeos* or *Españoles,* as he prefers to call it, and was hired to teach the group in 1941. He had been teaching the dances for 28 years (in 1940). His *relatos* he wrote himself. He secured many *relatos* locally and also sent to Mexico City and Guadalajara for others, but he liked none of them. (But several people said they were very tired of Castillo's *relatos,* which have been the same for 20 years and which they felt were not very good anyway.) Castillo feels that the *negrito* dance is especially fine and that the *negritos* of Cherán are superior to any he has seen in other towns. The only time he admits having seen a better dance than that of Cherán was once when Aranza borrowed his *relato* and had especially elaborate costumes. Nahuatzen *negritos* have a better dress than those of Cherán, but they are no longer trained.

Castillo, perhaps because it is not in his field, believes the *pastorela* to be a very inferior performance. It is, he says, merely a lot of children dressed up prettily but knowing neither their lines nor their dance. The *negrito,* on the other hand, is a nice clear *relato,* all divided into acts, and the performers are old enough to learn their parts.

Castillo's *relatos* are, naturally, part of his stock in trade. While he was cooperative and willing to permit them to be copied, he would do so only at a price commensurate with their value to him. This price seemed more than they would be worth as documents, particularly

[Text continues on p. 146a]

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[p.145c]

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FIGURE 16.—Figures executed in the *negrito* dance. *P* indicates *pastores*.

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[p. 146a]

535 as it is evident that they contain much literary
538 echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived
from literary sources. As considerable por-
796 tions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín
Rangel, assistant on the project, who partici-
pated in both dances in 1940–41, it was felt the
expense of securing the complete *relatos* was
not warranted.

535 The following is the *relato* of Agustín
Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given,
796 but punctuation added):

539 *First act: Music, followed by a song*

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
Las Azuceñas puras y olorosas
Colores en su tallo vacilante,
Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
Se Abren, Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song
Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustin's part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
Divina criatura,
Te doy mi cariño . . .
(Second speaking part:)
Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
Y el sauce a la orrilla del torrente,
Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
Y asi los campos de verdor revistas
Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gusto y con amor a ofrecer passemos
Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(*The following is sung as they pretend to make offerings*):

Ante tus plantas postrado
Te ofrece aqui este negrito
Recibe me niño amado
Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
Con suelo y amor;
Escucha mi canto
Niño Salvador.
Benedice toditos,

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[p. 146 b]

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796

Divino Creador.
Se van los negritos
Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand.
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou causest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by Agustín are the following (given in English):

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in Bethlehem.
I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle, a dog, and different playthings.)

535
538
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The main part of the *relato* is recited by a person known as *el letra* and another called *el segundo*. These two stand at the head of the

535 two files, except for the little girls at that end of
538 the lines. When the recitation begins, *el*
letra steps forward alone and recites his part,
796 returning to his place when finished. There is then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle. *El segundo* then does the same, followed by a *caminata*.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts about a month before December 25. For several evenings before the date they meet in the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The procedures beginning the night of December 24 are described as follows in an account written by Agustín Rangel:

The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the *carguero's* house. There were lots of people and about 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The *negritos* finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they were given supper and they sat around for a while. They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church. The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the *carguero's* house and the church, and third, when the Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed before going inside the church. There was a 12 a. m. Mass. The priest of the church came over to the *carguero's* house before the Holy Child left the house. The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a. m. Mass. [Note: There were several hundred persons in the
[373] procession, all with candles. The streets and houses were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even more light.]

December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner they went to church again to visit the Holy Child. Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house where they danced again. Then they went to the night Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio of the priest's house and danced before him. After they finished dancing, they danced in front of the municipal building before the mayor and officials. After they finished dancing there they went to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. They ate supper and every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.

December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten breakfast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's* house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced. After they finished there they went to Paricutin (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

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535 of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced
538 in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the
796 *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner, they danced and then went to the house of the new *carguero* for the Holy Child where they danced until the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the *carguero's* house and then they went to the house of the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which they danced. From there they went to the priest's house where they danced in front of the priest. Then they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

535 A number of dance groups often appear at or
796 before Christmas. Collectively they are known as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly, they appeared about 10 days before Christmas Eve and then appeared every third night until December 24. Of recent years they have been forbidden because the various groups often arrived at the same house and then they would fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out but they went mainly to houses in their own *barrio* for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are the čúrikua anápu tuɹíča or sakíč, "the negroes who go out at night." This group wears ordinary clothing but with the crown of the hat decorated with cut papers representing ribbons streaming out behind. Dancers of this group also wear paper ornaments on the front and back of their clothing. They have guitar and drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the t'aɹé aríriča, the dancing old men. The word "aɹí" also means a person who talks too much and who certainly does not speak the truth. This group dresses
[532] like old men; the members wear a long overcoat and a black wooden mask with the beard represented. The masks are similar to those worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the dancers are also dressed as women. They have five or six stringed instruments. No data were collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the apáčiča or the *salvajes* or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro savages). They paint their faces to resemble the negrito masks but wear no masks. Rooster

535 feathers are stuck in their hair, and they carry bows and arrows. Their dance is purely leap-
796 ing about. They form a circle, leap about, shout, and make gestures with their bows and arrows. They never speak but make a sort of buzzing noise and make signs with an arrow to indicate what they want. They have guitar and drum music.

The three groups are said to signify that when the Christ Child was born, there appeared a star and various persons had to follow the star, performing their dances in various places. The three dances represent those of the tribes of the Three Kings who went in search of the Child. The Apaches were the last and were the most savage.

The various groups (and more than one
535 group may appear for each dance) go about to
584 various houses where there are unmarried girls
796 or girls approaching marriageable age, and especially to houses where one of the boys has a sweetheart. Usually the girl is warned in advance (through the agency of some small boy) if she is to be visited. She prepares presents of balls of pinole and brown sugar, wrapped in maize husks, often elaborately painted. Sometimes some of these are made in the shape of a rooster or some animal. The girl gives these to the boy who has been courting her if she favors him, and the plain pinole balls to the others. They are also often given food. One of the surreptitious groups in 1940 at a well-to-do house were given coffee with *charanda* in it and boiled squash. When the dancers first enter the house yard, they shake hands with the girl. After eating, they dance a while. Then they say a word of thanks in Tarascan, shake hands with the girl again, and leave. "The idea," said unmarried Agustín, "is just to touch the girl's hand and see how neat her cooking and housework is." Obviously the dances are significant parts of the mating selection, for on almost no other occasion would a boy have a chance to see how a girl's house was run or have a chance to touch her hand openly.

According to one informant, a burlesque of the Mass is given by the dancers. This was not verified from any other source. It is the sort of thing which might sometimes have been done, but it seems foreign to the main purpose of the dances.

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[p. 148b]

THE PASTORELA

535 The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is also performed at Christmas time. The dance
796 is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are
857 the *uanánčes*, the four girls (six according to other accounts) who have taken incense and flowers to the church during the year and performed other services at the church. Generally they are about 10 years of age. Usually the girls have been vowed to the service by their parents as the result of illness or some other misfortune threatening the child. The time of the dance is sometimes called the fiesta of pajáču (meaning not secured).

The *uanánčes* invite a number of other girls to participate, 12 in all being needed. The girls invited by the *uanánčes* have no responsibilities other than dancing, but each of the *uanánčes* must feed the group for 1 day. The *uanánčes* also select adults to represent the parts of the devil and the hermit and also select the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of course, are borne by their parents) also have music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the *catrin*, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with straw hats adorned with artificial flowers (actually the style is not citified, but is rural Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not performed in 1940 and the actual dance could not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the performance. One of the songs collected (for
535 the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows
539 (spelling as given):
796

A que noche tan cremoza
Ensillad mi buen caballo
Que en Belen nos conbida de Salvador
Muy lejos tieras bengo
Agosar de una pasiada
Con gusta y contento
A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
Saddle my good horse,
For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
To very distant lands I will arrive.
I will enjoy a journey,
With pleasure and content
To bring together my cattle.

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[p.149a]

535 Usually the *pastorela* is given the night of December 24 and for 2 or 3 days afterward. ●796 The dancers perform first between the church and the municipal building. Then they visit the houses of the members of the *cabildo* and the various *cargueros*. At the houses they are usually given some fruit.

In 1940 considerable feeling was engendered by the collapse of the *pastorela*, which many believed to be the pleasantest of the various dances, the more moralistic because no one drank in connection with it. Don Inocencio, the father of the first *uanánče*, the šunánda or pári, wished to give the *pastorela* so that he could comply with the promise he had made when his daughter was sickly as a small child. He was somewhat incensed because the *prioste* had spoken to the other families first and told them they should not give the dance. When Don Inocencio visited the other parents he found them unwilling to go ahead and disgusted with the whole situation. Most extreme was Tomás Hernandez, who said he would not comply with the obligation, even though it should mean losing the 10 pesos he had advanced on behalf of the group to bring the band from Tanaco. Or, he added, he might be willing to bring the band, but he wouldn't give the dance; instead, he would give a big paránda or drinking party for the benefit of themselves and not for the town.

Don Inocencio expressed great distress at this attitude. He already had fattened two pigs and expressed himself frequently as willing to go ahead with the *pastorela* if others would help. He appealed to the staff of the investigation to speak to the mayor, asking him to compel the other families to comply with their obligation; or, failing that, for permission to take up a voluntary collection. Clearly, Don Inocencio felt that the families of the other *uanánčes* were taking advantage of the dismissal of the *cabildo* to avoid their just obligations.

This suspicion of Don Inocencio's was quite correct in some cases. One of the other family heads stated that the dismissal of the *cabildo* canceled the obligation. Although his daughter had become a *uanánče* in compliance with a vow, her father announced he would not help to give the *pastorela* even though others volun-

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535 796 tarily contributed to the expenses. One of the more cynical assistants in the investigation pointed out that the attitude was quite understandable, as the man owed a debt of $160 to a woman in the town, who was trying to force him to pay at least half of it.

The father of another of the *uanánčes* stated that with the dismissal of the *prioste* the custom of the *pastorela* had ended and that it was unnecessary to continue. Evidently he did not care for the custom and remarked, "To me it seems best that they dismissed the *prioste*."

Another case is of some interest. Although the girl was not a *uanánče*, her parents had made a vow that she should appear in the *pastorela*. The parents made an arrangement for her to participate in the *pastorela* of Cheranástico. The Cheranástico *pastorela* evidently is somewhat different from that of Cherán. The girl would wear a red dress, a silk handkerchief covering the lower part of her face, a man's hat, and shoes and would be known as a *rancherita*. She would dance opposite a small boy partner called a *ranchero* (rancher). The *pastorela* of Cheranástico is performed January 1.

DANCE OF THE *VIEJOS* OR *EUROPEOS*

The dance of the *viejos* or *Europeos* (old men or Europeans) appears in connection with the Three Kings, January 6. Previous to 1940 the dance had been given by a volunteer group. In the afternoons, as men lounged about the streets and talked after work, people would begin to mention that the time for the dance was approaching. Eventually a group would decide that they should organize the dance. They would collect money among themselves and others and hire musicians and a teacher. In 1940, however, the *carguero* of the Three Kings, announced that giving the dance was properly part of the *mayordomía* and undertook to organize the dancers, pay the teacher and musicians, and provide food for the dancers.

The group in 1940 consisted of 30 *viejos* (but not all of them appeared all the time), three kings, and five *pastorcitas* or shepherdesses. (There should have been only four shepherdesses; we were unable to learn the reason for the extra one. Possibly someone asked to participate after the four were chosen or there

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[p. 150a]

535 were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be
786 politic to ask five different families.) The *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men participated in this dance. They wore *vestido de catrín*, "city dress," including a long black overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden
[532] mask with black or golden beard, the features being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white, one rose-colored, and one black (one of the images of the Three Kings is also black). They also wore a long white wig surmounted by a crown, each one different; a long, intentionally ragged cape of colored material (really a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The kings merely sit or stand and do not dance. The shepherdesses are dressed in the same fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes. The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

[435]

Mask ($1.50 to 2.50, rent; $5, purchase)	$ 2.50
Hat	2.00
Overcoat	3.00
Pants and vest	2.50
Muffler	1.50
Incarcha (hat band?)	.50
Flowers	1.50
Shoes	$6.00–$10.00
Shirt	5.00
Necktie	.50
Total (with shoes, $25–$29)	$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

The local masks are expensive and are re-
[532] garded as inferior. Those from Sevina and Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better. The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior local products; good masks had been ordered from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recitation. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a shepherdess at each end (two at one end in 1940), with the three kings facing the files at

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[p.180b]

535 one end. First spoke a *letra* (in 1940 Agustín
7% Rangel, assistant in the study), who gave an introduction (see below), walking up and down between the files and describing the events of the birth of Christ and the Three Kings. Then all made a circuit (fig. 17). After this, everyone (except the Three Kings but including the shepherdesses) stepped between the lines in

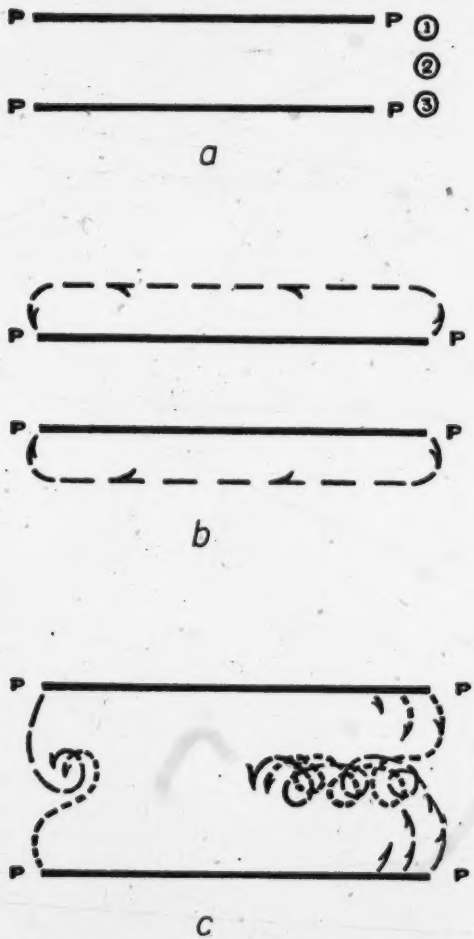

FIGURE 17.—Dance of the *Europeos*, showing various dance figures. *a*, Basic position at start of dance and in which all figures end. *b*, Circling movement. *c*, Movements of paired dancers, executed by each pair in turn, reversing the figure to return to their original position. *P* indicates the *pastores;* the numerals indicate the Three Kings.

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[p.151a]

535 796 pairs, speaking a *relato* referring to events that had happened in those days. Then they sang a song, making another circuit. After this, the Three Kings marched between the files to the opposite end, where they were met by one of the pairs, the shepherdesses first. The Kings returned to their position, followed by the pair of dancers. Each dancer then spoke a brief verse, telling what he had brought to the Christ Child. The Kings answered. The others sang without words during this event except while the dancers spoke. This was repeated for each pair of dancers.

A pair of dancers from each end of the line now passed down the files until they met one another. Each pair held hands and danced in a circle, then reversed to the original position. The pairs then returned to their position and were followed by the others until all had danced. The *letra* then spoke a closing piece, telling everyone they should be gay. After this, each pair in succession danced a *jarabe* between the files from one end to the other. If a dancer performed very well and with much spirit, the others cried out in a falsetto voice. Sometimes they did this anyway for pleasure.

535 539 796 The *relato* of the *letra* or leader in 1940 was that composed by Gregorio Castillo and went as follows (spelling and punctuation as given):

No duda, bien lo Sabeis
Mis respetables ancianos;
El 25 del mes,
De Diciembre en la locacion:
Bajo hay del alto cielo,
Han acer en esta suela
Nuestro Dios de predencia.
Al instante los pastores,
Sabidos del gran portento;
Salen preste en el momento,
A visitar el Señor.
Dejando el campo y ganado
Asi como sus cabañas;
Ven por bosques y montanas,
Y con crecido contento,
van a ver el nacimiento
Del Niño Jesus amado.
Cuando contaba ocho dias
De nacido el Niño Amado
Fue tambien cir convencido
El verdadero mezias.
Compañeros Veteranos,
Recordar el 6 de enero
Fiesta de la epiphania,
Fue de gloria el feliz dia;

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[p.1516]

535 Del bellisimo lucero,
Fue la manifestacion,
530 Del Niño Dios y Señor;
Por eso con todo amor,
796 Vamos a su adoracion.

Canto: 1ª caminata

Salid presuros,
Las glorias cantandos;
Al Nino en sal sando
Cantos de amor.

1ª Relato

Tambien Los Reyes de Oriente,
Manchan en este momento;
De Dios Niño al Nacimiento,
A ver a mi portente.
Luz de vina los va guindo
Y van a la adoracion,
En tan feliz ocasion,
La gloria le van cantando.

Ofrecimiento—Canto

Pasad al monto,
Con gusto y amor,
Ofrecer al Niño,
Amor y consuelo.
Ofrece
Te veo en humildes pajitas,
Y me postre en el instante,
Yo te adoro Nino Amante,
Y te ofresco estas conchitas.
(Pide el baile al terminar los ofrecimientos de todos.)

Baile

Pues todos nos complacemos
Yavimos tu Nacimiento
Y Todos con gusto estamos
Porque felices seremos;—
Niño Dios, bello portento,
En grupo todos nos vamos;
Al terminar la Vecita;
Mas en nuestros corazones;
Todos Fidos te llevarnos;
Jamas, jamas nos olvides,
Hoy te dicen toditos,
Hasta el año Venidero
Mas todos con Alegria
Vimos ya tus Maravillas:
!Oh! Ninito Salvador,
Permitanos gran Senor,
Que con gusta te bailemos
Unos alegres cuadrillas;
En tan felices momentos
Adios digo companeros,
Toquen ya los instrumentos
Y los sones abajemos—

Despues del Canto

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[p. 152a]

Musica

535 Ya nos retiremos,
539 Del lugar Sagrado;
Llovando nos vamos,
!Oh! Jesus amado.
7%

TRANSLATION

Do not doubt it, well you know it,
My respectable ancients,
The 25th of the month
Of December in the location
There below the high heavens
Has been born on this earth
Our Lord who takes precedence.
Instantly the shepherds,
Knowing of the great portent,
Started quickly at that moment
To visit the Lord.
Leaving the fields and the cattle
As well as their cabins;
They went through woods and mountains,
And with growing contentment,
Went to see the birth
Of the beloved Child Jesus.
When eight days were counted
From the birth of the beloved Child,
Likewise were made neighborly
The true union [meaning unclear].
Veteran comrades,
Remember the sixth of January
Feast of the Epiphany,
That happy day was glorious.
From the beautiful morning star
Came the manifestation
Of the Child, God and Lord;
For this with all love
We go to adore Him.

1st walking interval. Song

Go forth hastily
Singing the glories;
To the Child raising
Songs of love.

1st relation

Also the Kings of the East
March at this moment;
Of God the Child at the birthplace
To see my portent.
Divine Light guided them
And they went to the adoration,
On such a happy occasion,
They went singing the glories.

Offering—Song

Pass to the amount [meaning unclear]
With pleasure and love,
Offer to the Child
Love and consolation.

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[p.1526]

The Offering

535 I see Thee on humble straw
And I prostrate myself instantly,
539 I adore Thee, loving Child,
And I offer Thee these little shells.
796 (The dance is asked for when the offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
Now we have seen your birth,
And all are pleased
Because we will be happy.
Child God, beautiful portent,
Together we all go
To put an end to the visit.
Moreover in our hearts
All faithful we carry Thee.
Never, never forget us,
Today all tell Thee,
Until the coming year,
But all with joy,
Now we have seen your marvels;
Oh, little Child Savior,
Permit us great Lord,
That with pleasure we dance for Thee
Some joyous quadrilles.
In such happy moments,
I say "farewell companions."
Let the instruments play
And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning not clear—possibly *abajeños* is meant, not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
From the Sacred place.
Weeping [?] we go,
Oh! beloved Jesus.

535 The style of delivery of these *relatos* was
538 highly declamatory and monotonous. The
796 words were spoken in a level tone without inflection or other interpretation of their meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual *relatos* was secured. One dancer said he was very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground. If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was going to the place of the Holy Child anyway. Another said that if he got tired walking, he would go on his knees to visit the Child, even though they were scratched. Yet another complained of his high squeaky voice, but even if his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

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535 Child. The performer with the latter lines
796 was the only one who managed to make the
[538] crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in
[626] silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p.m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a.m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a.m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. ,We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a.m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breafast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

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796

where we danced and were given oranges. We then went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Antonio, where we danced and were not given anything. From there we went to the store of Victoriano Turja where we danced and were given 1 liter of *aguardiente*. Then we left for the meat market of one of the *cargueros* of the Holy Kings [he means one of the principals], Don Ygnacio Duran, where we danced and recited the *relato*, the whole works, and were given oranges. From there we left for the house of [the *carguero* of] Santa Nieves, where we danced and were given money, 1 centavo apiece. From there we went to the house [of the *carguero* of] Our Lady of Guadalupe where we danced and were given limes. From there we came dancing what they call a *carnival* through the streets to the store of Don Hilario (Xhembe) where we were given sugarcane. Then we left for the *carguero's* house to eat supper. We were told to be early at his house the next morning.

January 8. The next morning we started to dance about 9 a.m. from the *carguero's* house. We went to the house of Rosalio [*representante* or representative of the town], where we danced and were given oranges. From there we went to the house of Crescencio Hernandez where they gave us a 50-centavo piece because she said [the mistress of the house] that they had not expected us to come and dance at the house. Then we went to a house on Galeana and Allende where we danced and where we were not given anything because he [the house owner] said he wasn't expecting us. Then we danced to one of the *carguero's* of the Holy Kings [meaning principal again] where we were given oranges. From there we went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Isidro where we danced and were given oranges. Then we went to [the *barrio* of] Parícutin to the place of the Virgin Inéz; there we danced and were given oranges. Then from there we went to the house of the *carguero* of some saint near the barranca of Parícutin where we danced and were not given anything. Then we went to the house on the corner of Rayon and Comercio streets where we danced and were given oranges. Then we headed for the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner, we then went to the house of the Miraculous Holy Christ where we danced and were not given anything because we started to grab the oranges from the basket and the woman got sore and didn't give us anything. Then we left for the house of Don Jesús Velasquez (the main marriage manager), where we danced and were given oranges. He had invited us to go over to his house and dance. From there we went to Ricardo Queriapa where the saint of San Anselmo is. There we danced and were given oranges. But this time some of the *viejos* had separated and some of them had gone to the plaza. After we finished dancing at that lady's house we then danced at the store of Alberto Muñoz where we were not given anything. Then the Doctor invited us over to dance in front of his office. After we got through, the Doctor flipped a peso to see who would get it. One of the *viejos* got it and got drunk

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535 7% with the peso. From the plaza we then went west over to the store of Don Emilio Rojas where we danced and were given a 50-centavo piece. From there we then came over to the house of Rafael Castillo, where we danced and were given two packages of cigarettes. From there we went over to the store of Benito Pahuamba, where we danced and were given a bottle of sherry. From there we went over to the *carguero's* house to eat supper, but before we ate we danced the whole works. Then we ate supper and after that they gave each of the *viejos* a loaf of white bread. But before, when we were dancing and reciting, the *carguero's* wife began to pass out sugarcane and oranges and then we went to eat. After supper we danced for a little while, up to about 11 p. m., and then we went home. We danced [this time] because that was the *combate* for this year's *mayordomía* for Don Aurelio. [The last sentence is obscure. Don Aurelio was the *carguero* for the succeeding year.]

Ordinarily the dancers appear again for 1 day at the time of Candelaria, February 2, reciting the same *relatos* but without the Three Kings. For 1941 one man had agreed to pay for the music and two others had agreed to provide food for the dancers, but for some reason the arrangement fell through. On the vespers of Candelaria, people burn pitch pine (ocote) in front of their lots.

OTHER DANCES

[857] On January 1 a group of children, 6 to 8 years old, dances in the day time. Six boys and six girls participate and are called taré sapíratiča, or the "little old men." They go to church very early in the morning and change the image of the Holy Child, which had been placed in a reclining position in a crib on December 25, placing it in a sitting position. After the Mass the children go to the house of the *colector*, where they breakfast and dance. They then go to the house of the kéŋi and dance. Later they go to some other houses to dance. At midday they eat at the house of the *colector* again. The dance is performed to music furnished by wind instruments. It apparently attracts little attention and often is not performed. A former *colector* stated the girls are the *uanánčes* for the ensuing year, but this fact seemed not to be generally known.

In connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves or the Virgin of the Snows, a group of girls performs a dance on August 5 for 1 day to music of wind instruments. The dance is

535 known as the caballita uaiáriča dance of the
796 little horses. The figures of horses are made
[532] of withes from certain plants, with openings in the middle in which the girls stand. The head is made so it can move, and the dance consists mostly of the girls standing and moving the horses' heads in time to the music. Again, little attention is paid to the dance, and the *carguero* often does not arrange to have it performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges a dance known as the uáris. The dancers consist simply of unmarried girls and young women who dress in the traditional costume but perhaps with a few more ornaments than usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned of in other towns. The *pastorela* of Capacuaro was the most thoroughly studied, but the data remain superficial and unrelated to the ceremonial setting. The dancers are connected with the *carguero* for the December 25th ceremonies. A pole is erected in his patio with a large paper lantern suspended from the top (this is done by the kéṛi at Cherán, but use of this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage is erected at one end of the patio on which some of the *relatos* are given. The house is also decorated with paper flowers and pine boughs. A table altar on the porch has a *creche* with miniature figures. The dancers appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting 18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the *carguero's* house. Doubt of this statement seems indicated.

292
535 The dancers consist of between 35 and 40
796 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of 8 to 12. In addition, there were two "hermits" or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and carried a whip, serving, among other functions, as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europeos*
[532] were dressed in white wooden masks with long blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

292
535 "demons" were dressed in black, wearing a
crown of feathers on the back of the head,
796 with a black veil over most of the face. The
devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*.
Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers.
Two small boys represented angels (one,
Michael, with a sword), but the majority were
dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls
wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw
hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore
satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes,
and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried
shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid
animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

535 The performance begins with a long *relato*
by the devils in which they talk about a journey
796 they are going to make, the curious things they
are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a
ranchero dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros*
supervise the two files of children. Then there
is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers
give their crooks to friends or relatives and
dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of
children alone or occasionally with the hermits.
The devils and the hermits, on the other hand,
constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one
another. Occasionally one or two of the devils
will capture a hermit and force him to dance
along with them. Also, from time to time the
hermits use their whips to keep the children
from crowding in too much on the dancers.

[522] The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One
was seen "praying" before the church with his
hands together but with both thumbs to his
nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at
them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd
with their whips or if they identified the
offender, would pursue him with their whips—
and sometimes used them if the stones had
been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of
the church before the saints' images, which are
brought out of the church for this. Then the
dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after
which they dance. Then they go to various
houses and dance. The householders give them
fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts.
Then they return to the house of the *carguero*
to eat once more.

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[p. 155b]
Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

535
7%

At primarily Mestizo San Juan Parangaricutiro on January 7 a dance of *Europeos* was observed. The two main dancers were a man and woman in burlesque of *catrin-ranchero* costumes (the "woman" was a man dressed in women's clothes). The woman wore a straw hat with artificial flowers, a well-made white wooden mask of a European woman's face, a cloth enveloping all of the head not covered by the mask, a yellow waist, and a black *ranchera's* skirt with a beautifully embroidered yellow silk apron, gloves, and a handbag. In her hands she carried a narrow woman's sash. The man wore a white wig with ribbons, white mask with black beard and attractive features, a sweater, a moro dancer's cape (but worn a little lower than the moro dancer does, so the mirror was over the man's buttocks), and several women's aprons of silk or rayon hung from about his neck. About his legs from the knees down were wrapped numerous women's belts and about his ankles were copper bells. Over one shoulder he carried a stick with one end carved into a burro's head, adorned with ribbons and with a bell hung from the neck of the burro.

The other dancers were dressed somewhat like the male leader, except the cape was black with an opening like that of a serape although worn as a cape. The lining of the cape was in brilliant colors of silk or rayon. Ornamentation of the cape was done with colored sequins. Otherwise the costume was the same, but no stick was carried.

The dance music varied according to various aspects of the dance, changes being indicated by the male leader ringing his bell. The dancers formed in two files, with the male leader at the head of one file, the woman leader at the head of the other. When the music began, the dancers leaped in the air several times and shouted in a high voice. Then the files performed several circuits; the one headed by the male making its circuit first, followed by the other. Following the circuits the dancers performed a sort of *jarabe*, but remained in one place. From time to time they leaped high in the air (individually), shouting in a falsetto voice. As they came down they spread their capes wide and, with hair and aprons flying in

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535 all directions, they resembled some impossible
●796 bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either sondado uaran or turiçauarani. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed
[534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

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252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	Barrio
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

[text continues on middle of p.215b]

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[p 215b]

La Cañada

252 262 237 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidfied. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

796 624

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or nánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pondompari*, and one *capitamore*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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796 important being that of the čičiua. A *fiscal* 624 looks after cattle belonging to the Virgin of the hospital and acts as a sacristan. A topil (a Maya word) rings the church bells and does errands for the *mayordomo* of the hospital. The *regidores* each have two messengers, the *mayor* or petajpi and the katapi. One of the duties of the latter is to chase dogs away during the fiestas, for which reason he is known as the "dog frightener," uičariri.

A person wishing to take a ceremonial office makes his petition to the *regidor* (of his *barrio?*), taking bread, chocolate, and liquor. [431] The *regidor* consults with the *cabildo* regarding the matter, but he cannot accept the gifts unless the person receives the office. Apparently the *regidores* function primarily as the administrative officials of the *cabildo*. They are said also to have functions with respect to the Indian population in La Cañada. Indians visiting Chilchota on business often consult with the *regidores* and, if the matter is one involving the court or *juzgado*, the *regidor* acts as intermediary and advocate of the Indian's cause.

Decision regarding the offices is reached by the *cabildo* before December 12. On this day the new *cargueros* assemble at the hospital where the wife of the mayordomo places a crown on each one; this ceremony installs them in office, although some apparently do not take up their duties until later.

The most important meeting of the *cabildo* is on the day of Candelaria (February 2). The principals and the *cargueros*, old and new, who have passed the office of *mayordomo* of Santiago, meet about 10 o'clock in the morning in the patio outside the chapel of the hospital. Men and women (wives of the men?) form two groups. The men are seated on chairs along the sides of a table covered with mats of tule. The *regidores* take seats at each end. The women are arranged in similar fashion but kneeling on mats on each side of a row of tule mats placed on the ground. The *regidores* evidently take their places first. As each person arrives, he kisses a cross placed in a little shelter before the chapel. He then goes to the *regidores*, crosses himself, and kisses the staffs of the *regidores*. He then takes his place.

Each of the *roseras* must bring two sugarcanes for each person and a bottle of liquor for

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796 624 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in advance.) [524] The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give [431] them čapatas. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 796 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

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541 fighting (of which no further details were
796 learned). Some women appeared every year. They wore dresses of red bayeta, a white kerchief on the head, and a felt hat. Two kerchiefs were crossed on the body (breast?) and another was used to tease the bull. A machete was carried on the shoulder.

796 On these occasions the image of the Virgin of the hospital was taken out and handfuls of tiny confections, of the size of silantro seeds, were scattered. The boys and girls broke many eggshells filled with confetti. The boys struck the girls with sugarcanes when possible and the girls retaliated with čapatas wrapped in napkins.

On Ash Wednesday the *cargueros* assembled in the houses of the *vaquero* and karačakape. Piles of oranges, limes, ashes, and earth were placed in the yards, and men and women fought. The oranges and limes were blackened with charcoal and thrown, as were ashes and earth. When the game became violent, a woman struck a shake with a stick and called "peace, peace." The game then stopped.

The passion of Christ was once represented. On Thursday of Holy Week, the imprisonment of Christ was represented, many youths dressing as Jews and soldiers. Friday the image was taken in procession, decorated with laurel, roses, bananas, čapatas, and flour tamales.

Normally processions were held three times a year, Holy Thursday, the Friday of Sorrows, and Corpus. The same images were used each time. The image of Jesus the Nazarene was dressed in dark tunic, a cord at the belt, and the stretcher decorated with field flowers. Boys carried the stretcher. Anyone wishing to participate dressed himself in a black tunic and bonnet and went out to gather flowers. The boys were called Judas. The images of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin were also taken in the procession. The image of the Virgin was in the special charge of the *roseras*, who dressed it and prepared the stretcher with flowers. The *pendompari* carried a standard (*pendon*), from which her name is derived, while the *capitamoro* carried a spray of flowers. Both went ahead of the Virgin. The *fiscal* carried an incense burner at the head of the procession. Twelve boys dressed in red tunics represented the Twelve Apostles.

796 On Palm Sunday palms brought from the hot country are taken to the church to be blessed. Formerly a more elaborate observance was held. An image representing Christ was mounted on the image of a burro called San Ramos. The images were carried on a stretcher to the spring supplying water and were put in a little shrine made of flowers. To this spot came youths who had left 2 weeks earlier to secure palms. The youths came down to the spring from a place called La Mesa, wearing carnations and little gourds about their necks and cracking their whips. The girls brought music for dancing and also provided čurípo and kurúndas. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon all went with the palms to the church.

On Holy Thursday there formerly was a market at which the principal goods sold were clothing and fruit from the hot country. People purchased the latter to make offerings to the church for the decoration of the altar.

[755] Holy Saturday the girls carried small, highly decorated jars of water to be blessed. These were used later to cure the sick and to protect from "fright" (*espanto*). When the church [789] bells ring, children and fruit trees are shaken so that they will grow more rapidly. Images of Judas are burned on the street corners at this moment also. They are provided by anyone who feels like doing so.

In April the *regidor* notifies the youths to clean the spring. The boys provide music and the girls bring them čurípo and kurúndas.

The day of the Assumption, most people go to the fiesta at the town of Huáncito. On their return, the wild honey collectors go through the streets announcing the fiesta of Corpus. They play the *chirimía* and make a special cry called pitakuri.

Two days before the fiesta of Corpus, bread is made in all the houses. The night before Corpus, each *barrio* hires musicians to play. On the day of Corpus the girls bathe at the spring. On their return they dress for church. In the afternoon, boys and girls gather and present each other with fruit and trinkets.

The following day there is a large fiesta in the plaza. The ox drivers bring out their oxen with the yokes decorated with silk kerchiefs, ribbons, and flowers. The drivers also decorate their hats with flowers and their goads with

796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes [515] bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are [533] bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [526] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers 535 dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* 796 of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of curípo and kurúndas. The fiesta is called tzíndakua.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing [533] *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

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796 themselves, kissing the image, and wearing a crown for a few minutes. Alms are given and the boy and girl are then "*hermanos*." During the day girls put on the dress of the Tarascan girl, uári, and go about to the stores offering tamales for sale in the manner of the Indians. Boys sing *pastores* in private houses and are given *aguardiente*.

The day of Christmas Eve, the *pendompari* goes about with musicians singing *pastores* (pastorals) to the houses of the *cabildo*, where she makes presents of *buñuelos*. In return each gives the *pendompari* 50 centavos and charape. With the money the *pendompari* pays for the Mass said on Holy Thursday.

One month before Christmas Eve the čičiua prepares figures representing the birth of Christ in his house. These are taken to the image of the Holy Child. The day of Christmas Eve, people watch and burn candles before the image until 11 p. m. Quantities of *buñuelos* and nákatamales are made for the *cabildo*. At 11 o'clock, the image of the Holy Child (which apparently is in a private house) is taken to the church accompanied by a band. Powder is burned at the street corners. In the church the Infant is placed in a reclining position. Moss for preparing the bed is brought from Cerro Viejo by youths in the same fashion flowers are brought for Carnival.

In addition to these observances, fiestas called *niños gorderos* are celebrated in private houses. A scene representing the birth of Christ is prepared. The Infant is "raised" sometime before Candelaria, and the scene is removed on the 3d of February.

Pastorelas are also celebrated on Christmas Eve. The *roseras* pay the teacher to instruct the dancers, and provide them with čurípo and tamales. Each dancer provides his own costume. The group consists of 5 girl and 5 boy shepherds, 3 devils, 2 old men, 2 *negros*, 2 hermits, 1 male and 1 female rancher. They appear to conduct the image of the Holy Child to church, and they also appear on the two following nights.

On January 6 the new čičiua goes to church with music and "raises" the Holy Child. The priest takes up the image and gives it to the čičiua to dress. He kisses the image and gives it to others to kiss. Afterward all go through

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.219a] Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

796 the streets with the musicians to the house of the čičiua, who serves nákatamales, *buñuelos*, and čápata, the men and women of the *cabildo* eating first. During the night there is much dancing of *jarabes*, first women dancing with
[text continues on top of p. 219b]

APPENDIX 3

REPORT ON MAIZE

FROM CHERÁN By EDGAR ANDERSON
Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St Louis

243 Fifty-five ears of maize were received from Dr. Ralph L. Beals, in lots numbered from 1 to 43, there being two ears each of most of the numbers above 30. The ears were photographed, grain samples were taken, and the ears returned to Dr. Beals. In the summer of 1942, 10 plants from each lot were grown at the Blandy Experimental Farm, of the University of Virginia,[89] Boyce, Va. Although the planting as a whole was badly infested with smut, at least one good tassel specimen was obtained from each lot and herbarium specimens were also made of leaves and seedlings. Notes on plant color, pubescence, etc., were taken in the field, and the internode pattern of one plant of each lot was recorded. Five plants from the entire lot were investigated in detail, cytologically, and the knob number and knob positions of their chromosomes were determined.

As a whole, the corn belongs to the race recently termed "Mexican Pyramidal" by Anderson and Cutler (1942). Many of the ears and the plants grown from them are indistinguishable (for all practical purposes) from collections made in the vicinity of Mexico City. However, there are certain average differences which seem to be significant, and a few of the numbers are unlike anything we have yet examined from Mexico, D. F. Plants are medium to tall, mostly with conspicuous sun red (occasionally purple) plant color. Tillers are few or absent. The leaves are broad but break easily in the wind, giving the collection a very bedraggled appearance, which is heightened by the susceptibility to smut. The tas-

[89] For laboratory space and many other courtesies, we are indebted to the Director, Dr. O. E. White.

[text continues on middle of p. 219b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 women and later men dancing with women. The latter enter into contests with others. *Pastores* are also sung all night, verses taken from printed pamphlets from Mexico. This is continued every night until Candelaria.

APPENDIX 3
REPORT ON MAIZE FROM CHERÁN

By EDGAR ANDERSON Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St. Louis

243 sels are large and coarse but there are few tassel branches. The ears are short, though the husks are often very long. The ear branches vary greatly in length, the most extreme being 3 or 4 feet long, with numerous secondary ears. This is partly due to culture in a region of different day length (i. e., Virginia vs. Mexico). The ears are prevailingly broad at the base, tapering sharply and evenly. The kernels are mostly hard and flinty but are nearly all more or less dented. There is great variation in kernel size and shape, not only from plant to plant but also on each ear, since, owing to the position of the husks, the grains at the tip of the ear are under strong compression, whereas those at the base have plenty of room. It is not unusual to see an ear with the basal kernels deeply dented but with no perceptible denting in any of the kernels at the tip.

Two main types were well represented in the collections (table 18). There were the so-called "Black" maize from Cherán (Nos. 31–37) and from Nahuatzen (Nos. 38–43) and "Tulukénio" (Nos. 1–26), a mountain type grown only above 8,500 feet (pl. 8). A third type, "Trimásion," is grown on the plain below 8,500 feet. It is said to be later maturing, larger-eared, and larger-grained. This was apparently confirmed by our collections, but since there were only two numbers (29 and 30) no averages have been prepared.

The collections of Black maize stood out sharply both in the field and in the collection of ears. The latter were around 15 cm. in length, nearly all of them with dark (blue or purple) kernels which were deeply to lightly dented and were rounded (i. e., not pointed). Purple cob

[text continues on p.221a]

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of
771 the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

175 others being landless. This condition seems
423 to have been present even at the time when land was owned by the village, wherever private property existed within the community. When private ownership became general at the end of the nineteenth century, the differentiation as to wealth within the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are available for the Tarascan area, the existing information shows that inequality in landed property within the villages was prevalent, although in different degrees, in the various Tarascan villages. It has been reported for the Cañada villages,[30] Urapicho,[31] Cherán,[32] Tzintzuntzan,[33] Paracho, Charapan and Jarácuaro[34] either for pre-revolutionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less in some small Cañada villages, which have preserved as communal holding the agricultural lands of the community.[35] In a large agricultural town like Cherán, where laborers come to work in harvest time from neighboring towns,[36] the differences are considerable. A great number of larger landowners rent part of their lands on a share crop basis to other villagers, and there are some completely landless men.[37]

Many Tarascan villages discourage the
[609] selling of land to outsiders, the approval of the town being necessary for such transactions.[38] The increased inequality seems to have been greater in those places where selling to strangers took place. At the advent of the Revolution, this was the case in some Cañada villages where the largest landholders were mestizos from neighboring towns.[39]

The custom by which individuals take
[796] care of financing a given religious festival
[426] also led some villagers to sell or pawn and later lose their lands. Such was the case in Urapicho before the Revolution.[40] In La Cañada this was not only a factor in hastening the loss of lands but also the way by which outsiders got hold of them, for the Indians pawned their lands to moneylenders in mestizo towns.[41]

175 In all towns where there are landless
423 people, the latter go out to work in neigh-
464 boring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
31. Beals, 1946, 131.
32. *Ibid.*, 12, 61-3, 66, 98-9.
33. Foster, 1948, 71-2, 173-5.
34. Field notes.
35. West, 1948, 32-3.
36. Beals, 1946, 61.
37. *Ibid.*, 99.
38. West, 1948, 32.
39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.
40. Beals, 1946, 131.
41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 255-6.

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater ac-
177 culturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has
[241] a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are light-
[821] ed to them. There are also a number of
[824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

● 796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and
[754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although
[177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 246] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

796 The cult ceremonies are arranged after the Catholic yearly cycle of ceremonials. Every ceremonial has the rituals prescribed by the Catholic Church, but the popular form of the cult also includes elements of ritual-like dances, which are peculiar to the folk culture. Many other activities of a non-religious character, such as social gatherings, entertainment and trade, are also associated with religious celebrations.

There is also a folk organization of festivals based on the individual sponsorship of the ceremony or part of it. Sponsors are called *cargueros* and sponsorship *cargo* (literally, office). These cargos are related to the town government and economics, and are the main sphere where changes discussed in this chapter take place.

796 The people participate in ceremonials as members of the group (town, trade, etc.) which is having the celebration. Personal
782 participation also is determined by a personal life crisis. A person in need of help will ask a given saint for recovery from sickness, or success in travel or any other enterprise. He will invoke the saint when in danger in an accident or will beg for offspring or for finding a lost animal. A vow (Spanish, *manda*) is usually made in exchange for the saint's giving the supernatural help demanded. This vow is often a promise to sponsor a festival or participate in it as a dancer. Even if the vow is of a different nature, attendance at the saint's festival is generally the rule. The devotee will usually go in pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. Often an ex-voto is taken which records the miracle performed by the saint; these are little figures of silver, usually representing the part of the body healed (Spanish, *milagro*, miracle); or, (although this is more common among the mestizos than among the Tarascans) a picture is
[532] made to depict the miracle and an explanation written *(retablo)*. Votive offerings are kept by the image as proof of its miraculousness. Another common vow is to take an ornament for the image, usually clothes. Thus, personal drive toward religion resolves into sponsorship or attendance at a festival.

796 Folk religious festivals *(fiestas)* and related activities of the cult form the main part of Tarascan folk religion. The description of these festivals and their organization take most of the space devoted to religion in the published community studies.[2]

2. For example, Beals, 1946, 36 out of 47 pp.; in Foster, 1948, 25 out of 35.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 259] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

•796 Festivals of the different saints and virgins are celebrated at the dates fixed by the Catholic calendar. Most important are the celebrations of events regarding the life of Jesus: Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi are the occasions for the main cult activities. Only the patron of each town and the cult of the Virgin attain similar importance. In all fiestas, mass is said as Catholic ritual prescribes, and other traits of ritual demanded by the Church are also performed.

796 536 The most important folk additions to the Catholic liturgy are dramatizations and dances somehow related to the festival which is being celebrated. The Passion of Christ is the best example. Certain of the villagers dress as Jews, apostles and other characters of the story, and participate in its representation, which takes place in church under the direction of the priest. Some also police the village so that everybody will keep the precept of not working. In some villages a full stage production is performed. The celebration of Holy Week is most renowned in Tzintzuntzan.[3]

796 535 In Holy Week there are no dances. In other fiestas, music and dancing are the most important aspect of the performance accompanying church rituals, and outweigh the spoken play (Spanish, *relato* or *coloquio*).

In Corpus Christi and its Octave, the farmers take their oxen to the churchyard and pretend to plow while the other crafts represented in the village also display their work and make little samples which they later throw to the crowd. A mock market and a greased pole also make this festival an attractive entertainment. Dances of the Conquest and of the Negroes, and a Maypole dance (Spanish *tejedores*, weavers) have been reported for this occasion but seem to be obsolete now.[4]

The most important dances are performed during the Christmas-Epiphany season and on the patron saint's day. The dance performed in most towns on the day of the patron saint is that known as *moros y soldados* (Moors and soldiers) or by slightly different words. It represents the Moors' defeat by the soldiers and their conversion.[5] In some places this dance is also performed on the Day of the Cross (May 3rd).[6]

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3. Foster, 1946, 210-214.
4. León, 1906, 463-4; Beals, 1946, 125-27; Foster, 1948, 216-18.
5. León, 1906, 431 ff; Beals, 1946, 131, 144, 156.
6. For Angahuan, see Beals, 1946, 143; for eighteenth century Tangamandapio and Jacona, see Estado, 1944, 470, 477; León, 1906, 431.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 256] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

796 The plays and dances performed during
536 Christmas and Epiphany represent people
535 who comment on the birth of the Holy Child and come to worship him and to bring him presents. The usual name for these dances is *pastorela* (pastoral) and the main characters are shepherds. Sometimes other characters are added, often wearing masks, such as old men, savages *(apaches)*, Negroes, ranchers, the Three Kings, hermits, angels, and devils. In some places the *pastorela* includes a number of these characters, while in others some of them perform in the pastorela and the others form special dances.

In Cherán, for instance, there is a dance of Negroes, performed on December 25th, another called *melebris* which includes Negroes, old men and savages (December 14-24), a pastorela of shepherdesses (December 24-6), and a dance of old men including the Three Kings (January 6).[7] The only complete pastorela which has been published (unfortunately only in Tarascan) comes from Pichátaro, 1883.[8] It had shepherds, a ranch boy and girl, hermit, angels, and three devils (Luzbel, Sin, and Cunning). The first part, performed by the devils, is followed by the presentation of gifts brought by the other characters to the Holy Child. The pastorela from Capacuaro looks similar for it has first a stage play by devils, followed by a dance with a play by ranchers, shepherds, angels, Europeans, and hermits who act as buffoons.[9] In another published text (from Quinceo, 1912), the characters are old men who not only bring presents to the Holy Child but also discuss other aspects of the Faith.[10] Other villages have slightly different Christmas dances or pastorelas, all with different combinations of the same basic characters.[11]

796 A dance can become an element of cere-
535 mony in itself. Taking a dance group to a saint can be an individual vow. In famous fiestas which draw pilgrims from many villages, dancers come to perform for that saint although the festival celebrated may have nothing to do with the original meaning of the dance. For instance, *Santiagos* (Saint James dance) from Pátzcuaro, *Pastorela* from Zipiajo and the Old Men's dance from Cucuchucho (both Christmas dances) come to Tzintzuntzan to dance for the *Señor del Resgate* (an Ecce Homo).[12]

7. Beals, 1946, 144-154.
8. León, 1906, 433-52.
9. Beals, 194, 154-5.
10. León and Contreras, 1944.
11. Beals, 1946, 144, 155, 218; León, 1906, 435; Foster, 1948, 204.
12. Foster, 1948, 208.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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796 Different towns have reputations for giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an advanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is held and people come in pilgrimage, com-
517 bining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexican Indians has always been closely con-
621 nected with the political and social organization of the communities.

13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
tributions and made their own donations.
575 Thus they financed and organized the main
621 religious festivals of the community and
attended to the upkeep of the priest and
743 his household. The function of taking care
175 of the sick, which can be supposed to have
given the name to *hospital*, was still met in
some villages but not mentioned in others,
and seems to have been of relatively lesser
importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

The hospital had a number of yearly
175 elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
authority. He took care of the festivals of
624 the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young
girls, other times older women; they were
624 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

These officers were found in most villages
175 for which there is information.[20] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to
town, mainly in the particular festival
796 each one of these officers sponsored and in
the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

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20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 138), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1962
[P. 28b] NU36 Tarasco NU36
Pátzcuaro

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21]
743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
423 erty, this financed not only the cult and
575 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
794 hospital officers, such as caring for the sick and paying for masses of the dead. In addition, the cargueros could use this same source of income to provide food for the villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
● 796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
735 the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*,
794 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring himself out as a muleteer servant [sirviente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very impoverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautivan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Relacion, 1944, passim.
29. 1944, 478.
30. 1944, 488.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Relacion, 1944, 477, 478.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 579] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

105 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a
177 blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national
621 authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

771 Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the
[796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government.
794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

243 the appearance of terraces.[63] Remnants of pre-Columbian terrace agriculture occur in the vicinity of Chilchota in La Cañada.[64]

412 243 In the small plots described above, the large metal hoe (*azada*, *azadón*, with blade perpendicular to handle) is the principal instrument used to prepare the soil. Although called by the native name (t'ekáčakua or tarákua) by some Tarascans, [177] the *azadón* is European, having been introduced into Tarascan culture early in the 16th century. The aboriginal t'ekáčakua (with blade parallel to handle) is no longer used to prepare soil for planting, but, as mentioned above, is still sometimes employed to replant. In pre-Conquest times this instrument (at least in the *tierra caliente*) carried a copper alloy blade (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo, 1581); the tarákua with a triangular iron blade is at present employed by the mountain people in the Balsas drainage of Guerrero (Hendrichs, 1945–46, vol. 1, pp. 31–32).

Planting in the *desmontes* and other small maize plots is performed by opening a small hole with the *azadón*, dropping in the seeds, and covering them with earth by a sweep of the foot. The seed holes are spaced 2 to 3 feet apart, but no attempt is made to form straight rows. Maize is cultivated twice (*escarda* and *segunda*) with the *azadón*.

243 *Maize harvest and storage.*—Three maize products are obtained from the field: roasting ears (*elotes*), fodder (*rastrojo*), and mature ears (*mazorcas*, šanini). Roasting ears come mainly from the special colored corns of the house-lot garden, but many are taken from the fields. In the *humedad* lands of the Sierra *elote* is ready by August in the *temporal* lands, in July.[65] At high elevations (e. g. around the *rancho* of Cherato) the development of *elote* from corn planted in March

[63] These apparent terraces are best developed along the north and west shores of Tazin-k'éri Peninsula.

[64] The following account of the terrace agriculture near Chilchota is given in the Relación Geográfica for that town (1579):

" . . . *por ser muy pedregoso y de malpais las piedras eslon puestas a manera como gradas dexando entre grada y grada con una vara de medir de ancho limpio donde plantaban el maiz, y es esto tanto y hecho por tal orden que parece cosa que pone espanto*" (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, f. 55v).

[65] In some Tarascan towns a minor celebration occurs when roasting ears begin to mature. The first ears picked in the village are taken through the streets by girls, who invite people to kiss the *elotes*. The ears are then taken to the village church and placed on the altar. Later, when all the fields and house lots are in *elote*, girls make special tamales (uétpu) of green corn for friends and the family. The *elote* fiesta is apparently a vestige of a significant aboriginal harvest rite. Other minor festivals occur on the first day of the fall-corn or spring-wheat harvests, but they are usually family days and consist mainly of a "*combate*," or drinking spree. Often special foods—tamales, ou ipa (meat stew)—are prepared. There are no religious rites involved in the latter fiestas.

[196]

443 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practi-
443 cally every village lively trading accompanies the
438 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
796 some instances such markets are large enough to be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongarícuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
[651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence 171
that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only 526
village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conserva- [101]
tive Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. 526
Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of [237]
a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári*.

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in [624]
the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following [796]
the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgua*. An official called the *kiéŋi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéŋi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akúčperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atásutákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento [104]
Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia [171].
Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* 186 *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 554 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission 796 of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

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7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
●796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
[114] pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanancha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but apparently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
443 brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoacán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people because they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the present parish priest was in residence.

178 But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
533 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same specialized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin.
796 We were told that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, ". . . The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious
175 Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoa-
535 cán . . ." León goes on to say,

796 The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.[2]

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.[3]

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."[4]

535 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to
554 twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

[2] Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletin del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 2a epoca, T. I, Mexico, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

[3] *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored [574 by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in 273] nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music 538 because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." 535 He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, 178 very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar 535 dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said 796 it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week 114 after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

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In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

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From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their pre-
[128] sumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and
805 Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación*
[175] *de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 At the fiesta of *Uaxcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief
786 priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the
796 nation and its princes.
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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a southern origin.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [178] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times. 539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
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through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 173
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
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literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
577

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

Native religion before the Spanish con-
175 quest was based on a number of gods rep-
771 resenting the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

Every Indian community was provided
175 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
794 were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

Very important in this new religion were
175 the festivals connected with the yearly cy-
796 cle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

Part of the native religion not related
178 to the Church rituals survived, because of the considerable community autonomy,
771 mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 443-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

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177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1534 to 1826 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13a]

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important
167 agents in substituting Spanish for the native language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevine, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 46-a]

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by 177 missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent 197 had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit [242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting [242] of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly 438 for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *cemuasa*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chata*, *mariceua*, *chata de Serina* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *moreliana* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1789 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, *f.* 338). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *ed* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p1119a]

793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

Another activity, about which little is known, 575 is in connection with the various societies. As 794 indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

There can be little doubt that Cherán is a 794 strongly Catholic community. During the 578 height of the conflict between the Church and 798 the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 who were opposed to Church domination in 578 political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.216] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

423 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio.
661 Here an agrarista group was formed and was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that led many peasants to lose their lands [798] brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, in a small farmer-owner environ-
423 ment a new privileged minority was formed, which seized the lands of political
668 enemies or of the community, assumed
578 control of the town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values re-
175 lated to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

Sinarquismo is a political movement
668 strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajío region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 178.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 34-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1946, 320, 322.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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794 by commissioners (*comisionado, encargado*) named by the priest or the town council for a given task. In this case the time required is less and also the contributions, the expenses being met by the town or ward (barrio) and the commissioner acting as collector.

794 Changes in recent years have been, on the one hand, the rise of an anticlerical movement among the agraristas, aiming at 668 suppressing the cult. On the other hand, 798 in the conservative communities trying to preserve the cult, changes can be described in terms of the decline of the cabildo, increased intervention by the priest or town council, and the change from individual sponsor to commissioner.

* * *

The accumulation of causes giving rise to a movement against the organization of the cult and the cargos had thus been going on for a long period of time when the Mexican agrarian revolution began to be influential in Michoacan. The local participation of Tarascan villages in the movements for agrarian reform has been outlined in the previous chapter. The local agraristas became supporters of the national revolutionary governments from which they expected to receive lands. Both the national and the local situations also combined to produce an anticlerical policy on the part of the agraristas.

Social studies in Michoacan have been limited to peasant communities, and no good study is available on the haciendas and the cities. Consequently there is no good information as to the way in which the anticlerical policy of the government was evident in Michoacan. In Mexico at large the official Church has been connected with the traditional landowner class, which explains the anticlerical policies of the government. In Michoacan we can assume the same situation prevailed, for we know that the church here, too, opposed the government's agrarian reforms.[81] Anticlericalism appears on the one hand as the influence of governmental policies. On the other hand, the local situation is of paramount importance and only in those places where local conditions provided a basis for it has anticlericalism gained any stronghold.

[735] Financing the traditional cult had been the cause in many villages for Indian impoverishment and the loss of land to a few rich or to outsiders. This fact led the

81. Foster, 1948, 175.

668 agrarista groups to identify the cult and
794 the festivals with the land order against
which they were revolting. Thus the local
situation tied itself up with the national
798 anticlerical policy of the government.

The agraristas kept the priest out of town and closed the church. If it had been burned during the Revolution they did not rebuild it,[52] or they used the church and the priest's house for other functions such as social centers or schools.[53] Cargos and fiestas were forbidden as they were seen to be the causes of excessive expenditures and drunkenness.[54]

We have already presented the causes for the failure of the agraristas to maintain their power in villages where small land-
[565] owners prevailed. The agraristas became an exclusive privileged minority, opposed to the interest of most of the villagers. Their anticlerical policies also led them to reforms in an aspect of culture—religion and festivals—which were deeply ingrained in the traditional culture. Resistance to their economic policies thus became associated with resistance to culture change. In such conservative villages, reaction against the agraristas was always prevalent,[55] and it had a militant Catholic ideology. Even during the period of the most strongly antichurch policy of the government, some villagers managed to hide a priest,[56] and others, like Cherán, smuggled one in to say mass in private houses without the anticlerical minority's being strong enough to dare speak.[57]

Still in other more conservative villages
791 the lack of a priest led not to obsolescence of religion, but to manifestations of folk religion which the priests would not have allowed. In Ocumicho, a woman called María Doncella (Mary the Maiden) claimed to have heard the voice of God in a slit stone in a ravine near the village. The news spread throughout the region and many people began to come to Ocumicho in pilgrimage. María Doncella baptized the children herself and songs were made to her in which she was called the daughter of God. Once she said that the Virgin of Cocucho had come to Ocumicho and taken the patron San Pedro with her, and she organized a procession of people to go to Cocucho and pray to have San Pedro come back. According to skeptical informants

52. Urapicho: Beals, 1946, 131.
53. Tzurumútaro, Puácuaro.
54. Sáenz, 1936, 96; Simpson, 1937, 467.
55. Sáenz, 1936, passim; Foster, 1948, 178.
56. Tzintzuntzan: Foster, 1948, 175, 234.
57. Beals, 1946, 119.

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well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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●798

In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

668 against the traditional cargo system is
798 again discernible, although this time under the cloak of a more orthodox Catholicism. Thus people are divided according to their appreciation of some cultural institution: for cargos (traditionalist) or against them (agraristas and some militant Catholics); for the Church (traditionalists and militant Catholics) or aganist it (agraristas).

Since the ethical religious ideology sanctions those institutions thus in conflict, let us see how supernatural sanction of political groups is evidenced in folk narratives.

Corresponding to the general anti-agra-
183 rista trend, we find in the tales use of the good and evil theme in order to prove the
668 wickedness of the agraristas. A number of experiences in which people see the Devil take place in towns where the agraristas dominate, doubtless a reflection of the connection between the two evils.

At the time of our stay in Jarácuaro, the level of the lake was falling, leaving considerable extensions of land dry. At that time in Ihuatzio, which is strongly Catholic, an agrarista group was formed to get this land for themselves instead of sharing it with the whole town. News soon reached Jarácuaro that the Devil had been seen in Ihuatzio. The following market day in Pátzcuaro brought more complete news:

[539] "In Ihuatzio they saw the Devil. He came out
[776] of the mountains and he crossed the town through the center. He looked like a human, but had feet like those of donkeys. The people wanted to hit him, but they were not able to reach him. They say he came out because many have now become agraristas. In order to get the land at the lakeshore the town has split."

A similar story is told of another town:

539 "This is what happened to a man from Tócuaro when agrarismo was so powerful. This man remembered an errand he had to do at Pichátaro and he left; this was about eleven o'clock at night. He went down right to the road and there he saw a man on horseback. They greeted each other: 'Good evening.' 'Good evening.' 'Where are you going?' 'To Pichátaro.' 'I am going to Puácuaro. Shall we travel together?' 'All right. Let's go.'

"'Where do you come from?' the stranger asked. 'I come from Tócuaro, and you?' 'Well, I am here and there, sometimes in Tzurumútaro, sometimes in San Pedro, San Bartolo or Puácuaro; those are the towns where they like me best.' 'And what about Tócuaro?' 'No, you don't like me at all; you have there an old

539 which the people had to suffer. Then God gave His permission and the Devil made the volcano at once."

• • • •

"In the plain where the volcano burst forth there was a cross which the missionary fathers had buried because there was a danger in that plain. A man from Parícutin was working that land; when he was plowing he saw the cross. He did not approve of it, he called a friend, dug, and took an arm from the cross; he chopped it off. Inside was a golden cross to keep the volcano from breaking forth. They took it out and broke a wooden cross which was on top of the golden one and the agraristas burned it. Then the volcano erupted. They say that because the people from Parícutin were so bad and broke the cross, the volcano broke out. Before the volcano broke out, little figures were seen dancing, city-clothed people (*catrines*), and also four whirlwinds. Dionisio was getting close and felt the earth was hot so he said, 'Now it is going to break out; I better go.' And he heard a noise, *fu*! and smoke came out. When he arrived home it was already roaring."

• • • •

"Once when the people of Parícutin had a land dispute with those of San Juan, a priest had told the people to gather a lot of money and bury it there. So he put the money and on top of it a cross and he blessed it because he said that to him who hurt the cross or took the money out, God would send a punishment. Some agraristas felled the cross with an axe and took the money. Shortly thereafter the volcano broke out. And that is the reason."

• • • •

"The volcano appeared because the agraristas from Parícutin had felled a cross which had Holy Hosts inside. The cross was placed by a missionary father that same year so that no water snake [tornado] would fall there. They felled it and, the day after, the volcano was there."

668 The political conflict and the agrarista
798 anticlericalism have thus produced an in-
538 crease in the use of some themes of the traditional religious ideology, namely those which point out the wickedness of the people who oppose the Church and the cult.

On the subject of cargos the folk ideology maintains that they are necessary in order to enter heaven. However, we did not find this belief elaborated upon by the more traditional people in opposition to the militant Catholics who reject the car-

2:Carrasco E-4,5 (1945)1952
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668 gos.[4] Conversely, the militant Catholics do
798 not seem to use folk ideas in order to argue
538 their stand; we simply find disbelief in the idea that the cargos have supernatural sanctions. These Catholics are supported by their priest who holds the same views.

Full agrarista material is lacking, for our collection was gathered in conservative villages. A volcano story was told by an agrarista from Charapan who had taken refuge in Cocucho. The tale demonstrates belief in religion and clearly condemns fiestas, making them the cause for the volcano, instead of blaming the agraristas as do most other stories. The agrarista policy of suppressing fiestas finds in this story a neat ideological justification:

539 "A bearded man appeared near San Juan before the eruption had started. He found a cowboy and asked him, 'Where are you going?' 'I am looking for some oxen,' he said. 'Well, haven't you seen them where you have been?' 'No, I have not.' 'Well, look here. After all, nobody is going to take them. I want you to do an errand for me. There is a hole back there where you were. Go and step on it and you will find a man. Tell him that I need him.'

"The cowboy went there, but the hole was too small to get into, so he went back to tell the bearded man. 'Sure you can get in,' he replied. 'You just step hard on it.' The boy did so and he sank. He arrived at a big house, where he told the man there what he was ordered to say: 'A bearded man sends me to tell you that he needs you.' 'What is the matter, then?' 'I don't know. I was looking for some animals when he found me and sent me on this errand.' 'Let's go then.'

"And they went out and they arrived where the bearded man was. He said that he wanted this man from the underworld to destroy the town of San Juan before the time came for the fiesta. 'But I cannot do that!' 'Sure, you can. You must destroy the town before the holy day so that no fiesta will be made.' And so they left, and the cowboy left, too, and he found the oxen where the bearded man had told him.

The bearded man was God and the other one was the Devil. God didn't want any more fiestas in San Juan, because the poor people went there and spent so much money because everything was very expensive. Besides, they were robbed even within the Church, and so the poor people were left without any money at all. That's why God destroyed everything."

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4. It should be noted that no particular effort was made to obtain them. Neither, however, was an effort made to get the anti-agrarista motives which so often appeared.

[p.17b]

313 about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

An important product of Cherán is shakes, [438] *tejamanil* (tasámani). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, [824] as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (péri) with [401] a wedge, *cuña* (injárukua). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (uá,gua). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied [804] into bundles of 400 called an irépita (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the [438] length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.[8]

[8] A cuarta equals ¼ of a vara (the standard measure of length, about 32 inches long).

[text continues on p. 19a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
304 called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
438 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*, or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes 6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are sold in Zamora and are sometimes called Zamorana.

313 Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows: On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled. Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional, the finished product is taken to Uruapan or Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract
439 arrangements. The workers leave town on Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a
397 week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in splitting and shaping the ties with the ax. Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor, and the men are paid in time to return home that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
322 madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold in Paracho, where they are made into doors,
438 spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small wooden objects for which Paracho is famous. A few people in Cherán also make broom handles.

314 A considerable amount of charcoal is produced on the more distant lands of Cherán. Several men in town make their living entirely from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners usually spend from Monday until Friday in the woods, and return home over the week end. Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers, the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has been true of Cherán in the past, but. for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

241 when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

243 Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may [804] be planted. Maize rows are about 1 *vara* (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work [462] is done by men. There is no exchange of labor [476] or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (ʼirá,ki) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

438 Recognition of the interrelations of various
439 economic activities in different regions is not a new idea to the Tarascans. The economy of the region tends toward individual and local specialization with a consequent high development of trade. While undoubtedly the majority of the Tarascans are members of self-sufficient family groups so far as the bare necessities of existence are concerned, very large numbers are partly or wholly dependent upon employment, manufactures, or trade. Consequently, the internal economy of a Tarascan village not only is complex by primitive standards but also fits into tribal and extratribal patterns of even greater complexity. Quite apart from relations with the national economy of Mexico, and, through it, with international economy, large numbers of Tarascans have been traders and middlemen on a large scale. Not only have they carried local products from Tarascan village to Tarascan village, or outside the Tarascan area; they have bought goods in non-Tarascan areas to sell in other non-Tarascan areas. The study of Cherán economy, then, must be considered an incomplete picture of Tarascan economy just as the study of the economics of a single small town would inadequately describe the economics of the United States.

● 804 The following tabulation gives the units of measure used in Cherán.

Cherán units of measure

Dry measure

1 *litro* = 1 liter, or 0.908 quart
1 *medida* = 5 *litros*
1 *fanega* = 20 *medidas*, or 100 *litros*, or 1 *hectalitro*

Weight[1]

1 *libra* = 1 pound
1 kilo = 2.2 libras
1 *arroba* = 11.5 kilos
1 *carga* = 161 kilos or 14 *arrobas*
1 burro load = ½ *carga* (approx.), 7 or 8 *arrobas*
1 mule load = 1 *carga* (approx.), 14 to 18 *arrobas*

Capacity

1 cuartillo = 1 pint or ½ liter
1 *litro* = 1 quart (approx.) or 1 liter
1 *decalitro* = 10 litros

Square measure

1 *hectarea* (hectare) = a piece of land about 10,000 sq. paces or 10,000 sq. m.

[1] The beam balance is widely used for determining weight.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.59b]
Sierra Tarascans

Cubic measure (used in masonry)

804 1 *barra* = 1 yd. × 1 yd. × 16 in.
1 *metro* = 1 m. × 1 m. × 50 cm.

PRODUCTION

433 Production in Cherán depends more directly
439 upon the land than it does in most other Tarascan villages. Although the land ultimately is the source of all Tarascan raw materials, some industries require relatively few of such materials. In some cases—for example, the straw hat industry—all the raw materials are imported from outside the Tarascan area. Even more numerous are instances where the raw materials are secured from some other Tarascan town.

While Cherán economy is primarily self-sufficient in character, it is less so than are most Indian economies of Mexico. Cherán does supply most of its own basic food and housing needs, but it does not supply its own clothing. Moreover, many foods every Cherán resident desires are not produced locally. Numerous Cherán families also depend on wages more than upon their own direct exploitation of the land or upon industry. Finally, Cherán produces many goods for export, although to a far less degree than neighboring Paracho.

LAND

Tarascan land is of three main types: farm,
423 forest, and residential. To these might be added public roads, water courses, and mineral deposits. The latter are relatively unimportant. Public roads and trails of course serve communications and do not enter directly into production. Water courses are also mainly in the public domain. Virtually their only use is to supply drinking water for man and beast and for washing purposes. Public lands also supply the small requirements of sand, clay, and building stone.

All permanent farm lands are privately owned. The only exceptions are occasional temporary fields cleared from the forest on lands too steep for cultivation for more than a few years. On the farm lands the major products are white or yellow maize and wheat. Beans, squash, fruits, oats, and barley are produced only in small quantities.

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33b]

●[804]

[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands 224 within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 222 gathering, although now of small importance, is still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom P. 33b]

845 inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were [821] born dead. The phenomena were attributed to an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

[805] Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

After the birth of the child the mother stays 846 in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife may still massage her with unguents, either [278] coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

846 One case of what was probably a postparturient infection was recorded. The midwife
757

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their pre-
[128] sumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and
805 Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación*
[175] *de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief
796 priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the
793 nation and its princes.
173
292

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 53b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found
181 only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credul-
178 ous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

"Who knows, really?" or "Who knows
821 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world,
812 the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), 642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the 131 largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, [197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. 829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a [814] southern origin.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[p. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation. 80 [131]

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved. 173 793 773 82

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions. 173 829 [179]

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block. 131

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of pre-Conquest days. 13 36 [173]

243 although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of [262] the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter, apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and [263] chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color 243 variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types. 824 Red ears are called čóču and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called čústika and a coiled shape called tokére čústika.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest. 243 All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shelling [821] is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in the house. Most black corn is consumed as [252] roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved [796] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands [231] are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat [821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 356 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, 821 has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people. 825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

A very clever man once went up on San
823 Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

821 Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
263 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
789 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

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[p. 163]

789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

847 To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain
278 the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobernadorcillo* is
[844] also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

One midwife purges barren women with the
842 bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are
278 used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant
847 mothers are often fearful of this and sometimes will not go to curers when they are ill for fear they will be given a medicine which will cause abortion. A woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who was suffering fever and spitting blood refused to go to the curer for fear of being given abortive drugs. Drinking is believed to cause many abortions, and heavy work, such as lifting a log while helping to build a fence, is recognized as a possible cause of abortion. If the mother "likes something too much," for example, a horse or a kind of food, the child may be born prematurely, but apparently may live. Solar eclipses are likewise
[821] believed to cause early births. The midwife is sometimes called if abortion is feared. One midwife anoints the coccyx and abdomen with the white of an egg (which has been beaten on the ground) and also with lard and oil. Another midwife gives the flower of maize, tomato peel, a shoot of verbena, and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware. The potsherd is ground and the whole made into an infusion. This is taken twice and the coccyx and abdomen are rubbed with the white of an egg beaten on the ground.

Some people believe that the first child takes
843 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

843 sidered frequent symptoms also. Sometimes in the early months women are sick at their stomachs and vomit in the mornings.

Usually a midwife is sought early in pregnancy and pays frequent visits to the enceinte woman. The midwife massages the woman with lard or cooking oil "to make sure the foetus is in the right position" and generally keeps an eye on the patient's health. Sometimes the midwife locates the head of the child during the massage. A fee of 10 centavos is charged for each visit.

A pregnant woman should not do much work, should not lift heavy things, and should take frequent baths in cold water in the house. She continues to grind corn and carry water; young mothers, indeed, are encouraged to keep active by older women, who believe some exercise helps the mother. She does not cook tortillas if she can avoid it, because the fire might "cook" the foetus. Toward the end of pregnancy some women are "delicate" and eat very little. At Capacuaro this is customary in the last days of pregnancy. Otherwise there are no prenatal food taboos.

843 An eclipse during pregnancy may cause
● 821 something bad to happen to the child. To
[789] prevent the effects, a red belt is worn underneath the several belts worn by women who dress in traditional costume. If Mestizo costume is worn, red underwear is used. Women should do nothing during an eclipse. The
[144] occurrence of Mongoloid spot is reported. It is believed that this is caused by the woman carrying her coins in the customary fashion in her belt during pregnancy.

843 Women should not tie any animals during pregnancy, as this may cause the child to be strangled by the umbilical cord during birth. If the mother urinates where some animal has urinated, the child may be born with some part of the animal. Reports were given by midwives of children having been born with a pig face or a goat face and tail because the mother urinated where these animals had urinated. In the latter part of pregnancy a woman should always remove the lid from a vessel before lifting it from the fire; if she fails to observe this rule, the child may be born dumb. Clubfoot is caused by the mother not taking proper care of herself.

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases
821 of the moon determines the length of labor.
844 Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as
[144] occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal
[753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

845 inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were [821] born dead. The phenomena were attributed to an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

[805] Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

After the birth of the child the mother stays 846 in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife [278] may still massage her with unguents, either coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

846 757 One case of what was probably a postpartur- ient infection was recorded. The midwife

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, *i. e.*, those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

Among the Tarascans, their connection
771 with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater ac-
177 culturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the
[241] moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are light-
[821] ed to them. There are also a number of
[824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

In the life cycle ceremonies the main re-
796 ligious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and
[754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although
[177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

Unorganized (non-Church) religion is
779 comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.

Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the grave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found 181 only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credul- 178 ous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

"Who knows, really?" or "Who knows 821 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world, 812 the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", *i. e.*, compacts with the Devil.

• • • •

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
778 behind the Church to make a compact with
the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Form-
erly there were witches because God allowed
it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are
some magicians who learn in books, but God
does not allow many of them. Otherwise with
so many books as there are, there would be
many magicians and all of them would be
causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
condemned them together with other devils to
539 go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
storm destroyed the cave. They said many
783 people were seen leaving the mountain; they

821 539 783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

539 [778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182 771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.2106]

769 graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day.

Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames [822] of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

The present study of Cherán reveals a num- 177 ber of points of considerable interest. Perhaps 181 the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation of Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

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825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

● 823 A very clever man once went up on San Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

821 Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
263 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
789 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

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[p. 163]

789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.
Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to so that they will kill one's enemy. This
775 takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

An outline of Tarascan folklore and
128 main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

Harmful natural elements are consid-
821 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are
776 special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The volcano was made by the Devil, as some-
[823] thing bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

The material which is of more interest to
183 our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano ● [823] (Parícutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the 183 wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

539 they were going to kill him, but if he did not, they would let him free. He said they had better kill him. So they were going to kill him. They told him: 'Tomorrow we are going to kill you; make up your mind.' And he said he had already made up his mind. It was night. An angel came and opened the doors. The man was asleep and the angel told him: 'Come, then. Get out.' So the man went out after him and he walked through where the soldiers were and not even one woke up. Next day the light broke out and the soldiers went to kill him and nobody was there and everything was locked up tight. Our Lord Saint Peter had left him on the outskirts of Rome. He went into the city and when the call for mass struck there he was. He heard the mass and he told the Pope everything that had happened, and the Pope said, 'Right now in your town they want to kill the soldiers because they did not pay attention. I am going to send word that you are here, not to kill them.' So, they did not kill them."

[668] [823] The anti-agrarista theme appears important in the tales about the Parícutin volcano.[3]

"At that time there were many agraristas. One man from Corupo spoke to a man from Parícutin, to another from San Juan, to still another from Zacán, and to a fourth from Zirosto. They got together and said, 'Let us go and steal the Holy Sacrament.' They went to San Juan and took it out from the church. And in the whole town only one man noticed that the Holy Sacrament was no longer there, but he was afraid of saying so lest the people blame him. He noticed on three days during mass that the Holy Sacrament was not there and at last he told some friends whom he trusted. The agraristas took the Holy Sacrament to Zacán and they wondered what to do with it. They spent some days in Zacán; then they went to Zirosto, and finally they took it to Parícutin in order to hide it. The owner of a land plot there was an agrarista, and he said, 'Well, as you don't know what to do with it, let us take it to my plot.' And they hid it there.

"And the Eternal God said, 'What shall I do with those people? They are the most wicked in the world. I don't know what to do with them.'

"Then the Devil appeared and said, 'There is a way.' 'How?' 'Sure, there is a way so that they shall suffer, but they will not be the only ones to suffer.' Then God said, 'Go then, but let me think it over for a month.' The Devil asked for too much, but at last they drew the line within

3. Tarascan stories about the volcano have been discussed by the author in a previous paper (Carrasco, 1946).

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings,
726 and other data essential to a successful compaign.

Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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823

pined for the speedy return of her beloved warrior who had accompanied the king on his path of conquest.

Finally, one morning as Father Huriata's splendrous rays appeared over the mountain, hundreds of warriors filed across the vast plains of Cuaracurío. The commotion of the warriors drove to flight a beautiful hummingbird, which disappeared in the distance with the swiftness of an arrow. The princess, who had often fed the bird from her hand, watched disconsolately as it became lost from view.

Quickly she ran to greet the troops, anxiously questioning them concerning her beloved warrior. In the faces of the Tarascan fighters she beheld sadness and compassion. Trembling with fear, she fell on her knees in the path of the king.

"My father," she said, "return to me my beloved warrior who entered your service and left on this campaign. With your permission, my eyes will behold him as the vanquisher of our enemies."

The king made a gesture with his hand. The warriors fell into silence in order that all could hear the voice of their leader.

"My daughter Hapunda, beautiful 'Tzinziquin,' an arrow of the barbarous Chichimecs struck him while he stood in the midst of my warriors. Our god, Father Huriata, wanted his blood and I have deposited his heart in a box at the god's feet in the temple."

A low, audible moan came from the princess. With her eyes rolling wildly, she ran to the temple where the impressive golden disk of the god gleamed from its setting in precious wood. The grave, dignified priests were unable to restrain the impetuous Hapunda as she seized the box containing the heart of her lover and fled into the depths of the valley below. There, among the tall flowers, she concealed herself while directing her demented eyes first in one direction and then another, seeking a place to hide the box and its remains. Her insensible ears could not hear the voice of her father who futilely called and called and called.

The sun set beneath the hills and the moon passed beneath a cloud. All was dark and Hapunda remained silent. Finally, from her grief-stricken eyes emerged rivers of tears which inundated the valley.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead
823 of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most signifi-
[539] cant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to fur-
[361] nish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with
584 a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La
[178] Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of
449 three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the
[539] main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Urua-
000 pan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[824] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardína"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a
[435] father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a
[563] day (16 *cargas*), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutin two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

[p.17b]

313 about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

An important product of Cherán is shakes, [438] *tejamanil* (tasámani). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, [824] as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (péri) with [401] a wedge, *cuña* (injárukua). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (uánguа). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied [804] into bundles of 400 called an irépita (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the [438] length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.[8]

[8] A cuarta equals ¼ of a vara (the standard measure of length, about 32 inches long).

[text continues on p. 19a]

243 although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of
[262] the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter, apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and
[263] chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color
243 variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types.
824 Red ears are called čóču and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called čústika and a coiled shape called tokére čústika.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest.
243 All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shell-
[821] ing is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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335 carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

322 402 As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type. They are made of madroño wood and are turned [824] on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

322 438 Broom handles are made by one family, as already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

754 sexual relations with another woman, and, in addition, aiding the adulterers to meet:
832

Buy a new small pottery vessel (*olita*); it is best to buy it direct from the kiln to make sure it has not been used for anything else. Fill the vessel with holy water, first fastening a new 20 centavo piece to the bottom, inside, with campeche wax. Into the water put a large paraffin candle which has been cut into many small pieces. Each piece represents part of the strength (*fuerza*) of the individual while the holy water signifies that the strength is broken. In order that the results will be "good," put in a piece of cane from the mountains known as *otate del leon* and a very resinous splinter of pitch pine. Then cover the top of the vessel with a thick cap of campeche wax so that no air may enter. The vessel is then buried beneath the spot where the person to be bewitched sleeps, if this person is a spouse. If not, the vessel is buried in the patio of the house of the person.

6. To make a man lose his sexual vigor so that he will recover it only with the woman who has had the magic done:

[824] The witch must first seek a small grass known as *pito de toro* and place it in *aguardiente* to infuse. The man should drink a little of this *aguardiente* every day for 8 days. If he is not a drinking man, then it must be given in coffee or atole or in some other manner so that he will not be aware that he is being given something. After 8 days the woman spies on the man until he goes to urinate, when she must recover a bit of the moist earth or, if he has not urinated on the earth, place earth in the receptacle. The urine-moistened earth is placed inside a *chile ancho* of the largest size it is possible to secure. The *chile* is then sewed up with needle and thread so none of the earth can escape and placed below the spot where the man sleeps with someone, or, if he is unmarried, it is buried in his patio as close as possible to the place where he sleeps. With this, the man remains incapacitated from having sexual relations with any woman except the one who has performed the rite.

754 7. To make a person suffer so that he will be sad and feel sick, although it will be imagination and not in reality; so that he will feel he is going to die; so that everything is revolting; and so that he will be unable to find tranquillity at any moment because it will seem something is about to happen:

Make a small doll resembling the human figure out of campeche wax and clothing used by the person. It is important that the clothing used should not have been washed, but be soiled from wearing. When the doll is made stick pins in it all along the part of the spinal column, one in the crown of the head, two in the temples, two in the throat on each side, two in the nape of the neck, two in the umbilicus, and seven on the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the 752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling 755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which [824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them 755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in 761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to [888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially 775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the 764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.23b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater ac-
177 culturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has
[241] a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are light-
[821] ed to them. There are also a number of
[824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and
[754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although
[177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

539 and when he came to he tells how he has been dead in the other world but was sent back to life because his time had not yet come. Once in the night he was followed by a ghost trying to harm him. As a young man, he owned a dead man's finger which can be used to unlock doors. He did not want to tell the author the prayer which has to be said in order to use the finger. He did not want to have it published, because then people would use it and he would be responsible for their sins.

He thinks corn should be carefully handled; it's bad to throw it on the ground. "Corn is one's own life. That is what God Our Lord did: It is our Life. Adam sinned because Eve made him sin, and the Lord told him, 'Now you are going to work and sweat; take this adze, this spade, and this seed so that you can eat from your sweat.' When corn lies on the ground, it cries and that is not good. We mistreat it and that is bad, because it is our life, our food. Some people say they earn their living with their work, but that is only because God allowed us to be able to work. Were it not for that we would do nothing."

773 824 This explanation contrasts strongly with the attitude of other people who laugh when asked if it is bad for corn to lie on the ground.

Maximino draws morals from his stories:

[539] A man who tries to reach the end of the world dies very old before he can reach it. This teaches man that he should not attempt to learn certain things which are only God's. He tells the story of the rich man's son who leaves his house to become poor and has to be taken back home by his father. Also that of the man who tries to kill his wife he wrongly thinks unfaithful because of a friend's slander. She survives, dresses as a man, and manages to become king. Then she finds that her former husband, who has repented, has become the town drunkard.

Are these stories true? Of course; "these stories are real happenings which God allowed to happen in order that we might learn how to behave." (Mateo, on the other hand, tells this last story as fiction.)

539 Clemente tells how Saint Peter came to town descending from heaven. No doubt about it; his grandfather saw it.

Agustin tells how the ancients of Ihuatzio were enchanted and the treasures buried in the ruins. A boy had a chance to disenchant a girl and the money, but he failed when he could not carry to church the girl who had turned into

343 stringers, but wooden pegs (tarúju) of pine heart-
335 wood or wild crabapple, or string of maguey or
[824] bark fibers, may be used. The method of attachment is such that each shed of the roof is a separate unit and, by removing the wooden pins, may be lifted off intact in case it is desired to move the house to another location (pl. 5, upper, right). The stringers are crudely made with ax or saw. They are not measured, but after fastening, any surplus length is cut off.

The shakes are laid in two layers with the thick sides facing in opposite directions (fig. 8). They

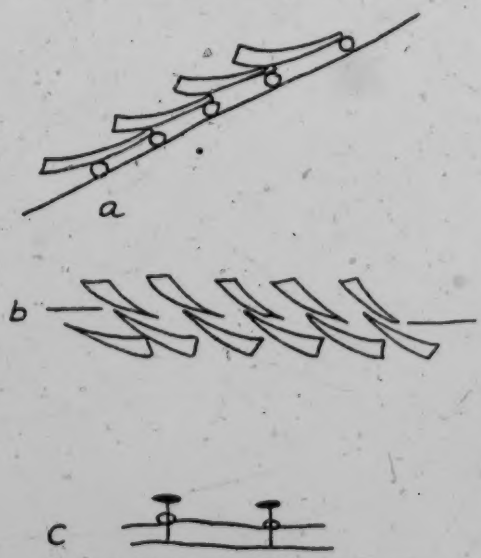

FIGURE 8.—Methods of attaching and laying shakes.

are fastened down now usually with 2- or 3-inch nails. However, they may also be fastened with
[824] small pins (pirénʼa) of red-pine wood, or, preferably, of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. If pins are employed, a hole is made with an awl. The shakes must be put on while green; otherwise splitting is excessive. If it is necessary to use old shakes, they are first soaked in water.

In addition to the above methods, shakes may be held in place by long thin strips of wood placed on top of the shakes. Stones are placed on the wooden strips at intervals. This method is rarely used now on houses, where the steep pitch of the roofs makes it rather insecure, but it is common on the roofs of sheds and stables and is not infre-

[p. 13 b]

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Sierra Tarascans

puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883]

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Kolíṭa atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskúkua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurínṭkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *ra* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "l" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *kolíṭa* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

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231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be- [825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal [314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He [438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells [435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

All the work of caring for bees is done by [462] men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women. [373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.33a]

231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]
[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to
[825] happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are special-
232 ists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family
[184] has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Parícutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Parícutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

232 common. If wounds are bound, carefully washed lard mixed with sugar may be applied or wet dressings may be used, dampened at frequent intervals with salt water.

Rabies is believed to be caused by the bite of some other animal, by inadequate food, or by heat. There is no cure.

Dysentery, *"posición,"* in horses and burros is believed to be caused by cold or *"salitre,"* a very salty mineral-bearing earth. The animal is fed pills of coffee, lemon, and bicarbonate of soda.

"Onia" is caused by overwork, but the symptoms were not recorded. Treatment is bleeding the side of the neck and rest. (In general, [753] overwork is regarded as an important cause of sicknesa.)

Sore feet result from the feet becoming full of blood. The bottom of the foot is bled and the animal must rest until well.

"Roncha" is a disease caused by mosquito bites; if it is not cured within 24 hours, the animal usually dies. Symptoms and treatment were not recorded.

"Pirojon" is very dangerous and kills in 24 hours. It is believed to be caused by mosquitoes or flies that have bitten a dead animal already putrefying. One curer burns the bites with a magnifying glass.

Evil eye, *malojo,* may affect animals that refuse to eat. There is no cure. The best thing is to sell the animal to the man who cast the evil eye (at his price usually); the animal then recovers.

[825] Bats are reported to bite animals at night and make them bleed. Nothing is done to prevent this. As it is said bats never bite humans, and as Cherán probably is above the range of vampire bats, the report may be folklore.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

In the previous sections were described the 128 technological processes which involve the exploitation of the environment and the extraction therefrom of raw materials. The present section will describe techniques by which the raw materials are processed and made ready for consumption. Obviously, such classifications must be somewhat elastic. No doubt, good reasons could be advanced against including domesticated animals under exploitative activi-

776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the [556] miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

When houses are repaired or reconditioned, 356 it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, 821 has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.

825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

825 back where it enters, but no further beliefs
787 could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

A very clever man once went up on San
823 Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made
821 in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from
263 the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the
789 fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

In the preceding sections the culture of
128 Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

538 heaven, are opposed to the bad super-
779 naturals, the Devil and the demons in hell; the right Religion and the Church are set against superstition and lack of religion; good behavior against bad (sin); the idea of the good going to heaven at death against that of the sinful being punished in hell.

Ethical values are apparent in the rea-
577 sons given for the destruction of the world
538 and the creation of the Devil, in the actions
[779] of the saints in rewarding good behavior and punishing evil, in the acts of the Devil in sponsoring bad behavior, and in the destiny of the dead.

Taking this concept of good and evil as the main theme, we can give an outline of practically the whole, and certainly the most important part, of Tarascan religious ideas. Nonethical concepts are few and of secondary importance. They are mainly miscellaneous beliefs or tales (in which some natural elements are personified), omens, and so on.

Creation stories are not common among
773 the Tarascans. In those collected, the con-
538 cept of good and evil is apparent. The duality of the supernatural—God and the
577 saints against the Devil—is explained as the consequence of the bad behavior of one of the sons of God who revolted against his Father and was punished by being made into the Devil. Insubordination and lack of respect for paternal authority are the causes of this punishment.

In several myths about the creation of animals, the good animals are created by God while the bad ones are related to the Devil. Thus, when Jesus and the children of the Devil play making mud figures,
[825] those of Jesus become birds while those of the Devil become "snakes and lizards, and scorpions and all sorts of bad animals". The coyote was a dog which deserted his master, the Devil.

Most important are the myths regarding
773 the destruction of the world. In these we have a blend of Spanish and Indian ele-
538 ments in which the Indian motives, nonethical in origin, are reinterpreted and subordinated to the Catholic concept of Good and Evil. A number of stories give two destructions of the world. A first one by water is identified with the Christian flood, although it keeps also some traits of the Mesoamerican flood myth; and a second by fire embodies Indian traits but is identified with the advent of Christianity and the Spanish conquest. Some ver-

773
775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand,
[735] if one gives alms to beggars, they will speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized,
[788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɕakuɪin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

Other than those of wealth, most pacts
754 with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witch-
776 craft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 202b]

753 are recognized as of mechanical origin. Some diseases are vaguely regarded as of natural causation and as possibly contagious; others are clearly of supernatural character even though curable by natural means, although the line between the two is not sharp. In either case, herbs, unguents, and drugs are believed capable of helping the sickness. To utilize these methods of curing requires no special ability but merely knowledge. Many minor ailments are treated at home; the curer is merely a 759 person of greater knowledge who is called in when home remedies fail or the case is obviously beyond the knowledge of the household. Similarly, the doctor at Parácho is called only when the curer fails or the case is believed beyond the curer's powers. Obviously, this situation has not greatly enhanced the reputation of the doctor, for most of his patients are nearly moribund some hours before he can reach them.

Curers usually make a diagnosis first. No 757 information on methods could be secured. It appears that a visual inspection and questioning of the patients are parts of the diagnosis, and possibly the only diagnosis. Once the diagnosis is made, the curer decides what steps to take to cure the patient. Often herbs kept on hand can be used; others, however, must be specially sought because they must be collected either fresh or at certain hours of the day.

In general, sickness by some is related to the 753 strength of the blood which resides below the [826] nape of the neck. This is also the location of the individual's life. Persons with much blood are healthy. When persons are seriously ill, it is because their blood is scanty; when there is insufficient to nourish the "seat of life," the person dies. There are also vague concepts of sickness being caused by "heat" or "cold," (sophisticated Agustín attributed a cold to drinking water while sweating) "airs" (which may also be either hot or cold), fright (*espanto*), and, much more specific, evil eye.

Broken bones are treated by specialists, who 752 may also be curers of diseases or, in one case [759] at least, midwives. The bones are manipulated into place and bound to splints without other treatment.

Dislocations are massaged repeatedly with olive oil until the bones are back in place. They

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.204b]

753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness which are quite generalized, that is, they may
278 be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nurite, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe*, and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

753 Of considerable interest is a class of diseases and ailments which seem to be of supernatural
754 causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was something attacking only drunkards and per-
755 sons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

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Women are
441 believed to be more resistant to the illnesses of
439 *tierra caliente*, and tales are told of women who
[927] saved their husbands by nursing them or by bringing them back to the healthful highlands. For this reason, traders rarely go alone, although large parties are rare. The major
[664] disease appears to be malaria. Insects, especially one attacking the feet, are mentioned as a great bother.

Robbers are also a source of danger; how-
[674] ever, the most traveled route—that to Guerrero—is said to be entirely safe. Some of the greatest dangers on the route to Coalcomán or Colima seem to have been in Tarascan territory. The village of Capacuaro had a particularly evil reputation at one time.

[492] Goods are ordinarily transported by burros. A poor man may have to carry goods on his back. The *arrieros* never ride except when
[497] seriously ill. An exception is that journeys to
[494] Celaya are made on the train, while nearby trips may sometimes be made by bus since construction of the highway.

The first step in a trading expedition is the assembling of goods for the trip. These may consist of pears from Cherán; apples from Pichataro; wooden products (*"tornillo"*) from Paracho; sweetpotatoes from San Francisco; fine pottery (not cooking ware) from La Cañada, Guadalajara, or Quiroga; oils and spices from Pátzcuaro; dolls, pottery, and other goods from Celaya. Most of the goods carried by Cherán traders, however, are local in origin, i.e., within the Tarascan area. In such cases, trade goods either are assembled by one or more short preliminary purchasing trips or are bought en route. Guadalajara pottery requires a 7- or 8-day trip each way with burros. Celaya goods, as stated, involve a trip by train.

On the return trip various products are brought. From Guerrero come dried fish, dried beef, gourds, gourd containers, coconuts, and cheese, the last being most important. Few data were obtained on the products brought from Coalcomán, as few Cherán traders make this trip, but cheese and dried beef are probably the most important items. However, the one trader to give specific information bought beeswax. Chiles are brought from Colima.

Generally the goods brought back are not sold until Cherán is reached. Then they are

844 The child is then wiped off with a clean cloth and oiled but not bathed. Clothing prepared in advance is put on the child. It is said that the midwife tells parents in advance whether to prepare clothing for a boy or a girl and that they seldom make a mistake. But as no difference could be found in the clothing and, indeed, the child is usually wrapped just in some clean rags, the statement has little significance. Sometimes the child is given tea of Castile roses or a bit of edible oil, but most midwives thought nothing should be given the first day.

853 The child is nursed the second day. Rarely does the mother not have milk. Should this happen, the aid of some nursing mother is sought or the child is given cow or goat milk. The latter is not diluted, but it is boiled before using, often being flavored with a bit of yerba buena or cinnamon. Special drinks are given the mother to induce milk flow if it is inadequate. Brews of flaxseed (?) were mentioned.

844 The afterbirth is buried, sometimes beside the fireplace, sometimes under it. If this is not done, it is believed the mother would become "cold," but one midwife stated the cord is preserved and used for remedies. The cord of Agustín Rangel's father was taken to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac and left.

846 Midwives continue to visit the house to attend to the mother and child. The bandage over the umbilicus is removed every 2 ~~or 3~~ days. The cord drops off between the second and eighth days (the longer period apparently being unusual). The umbilicus is then anointed with iodine or powder made from tules. Sometimes small hernias are cured with a small ball of sosa (an herb) or a green tomato. Hernias result from carelessness or "coldness." Infections of the umbilicus result from carelessness in bathing the child. One midwife reported curing them with face powder!

The child is normally bathed by the midwife on the third, sixth, and ninth days (according to one midwife, immediately after birth also "if that is the custom of the house"). Warm water is used for the bath.

827 Some idea that children resemble parents seems to be prevalent and to be attributed to
143 hereditary mechanisms (although in this informants may have been sophisticated). An instance cited was that of a man with a very

827 linear body build which was repeated in the
143 children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark
[142] skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

732 Occasional examples occur of children apparently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeblemindedness.

854 Few special attentions to infants are recorded. There is no use of ashes or leaving of corn ears or fire pokers with infants when they are left alone, but a broom of straw may be left at the head of the child's bed for protection against evil if the mother wishes to leave it for a few minutes. Children are nursed freely whenever
853 they desire the breast. Although some evi-
[834] dence of shyness was evident, for example, some mothers draped their *rebozo* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

854 Infants are ordinarily carried by their mothers, almost invariably wrapped in the *rebozo*. Even if the child is carried in the arm, the *rebozo* is slung around the child and over the shoulders to take part of the weight. Ordinarily a small child is slung more or less horizontally in the *rebozo* on the mother's back. One end of the *rebozo* goes under the left arm, the other over the right shoulder, the two ends

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaíri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

753 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is
828 about to leave his body. "My heart [i.e., soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of
775 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God,
773 decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

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[P. 1]

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric Tarascans, residing for centuries in the lake country of Michoacán, Mexico, asked questions about things around them. They asked why the land was sometimes flat, sometimes hilly, sometimes rich, and sometimes poor. They wanted to know why the precious waters of a spring suddenly erupted from beneath a tree on the hillside. They felt that the wonderful light-giving sun, the hurrying stream, the glittering stars, and the rustling leaves all required explanation.

Before the Spanish Conquest, the oral accounts of the *Petamuti* (high priest) explained the phenomena of nature through the great deeds of Tarascan gods and culture heroes. Knowledge of historical events was similarily preserved.

Some of these stories, to which Catholic and modern elements have been added, are still "history" to the native Tarascans living in isolated pueblos in the mountains. As with many people, it is what the Tarascans believe to be the historical truth, rather than the actual history itself, which most profoundly influences their thoughts and actions.

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan area has contracted since the time of the Spanish Conquest. Located approximately 250 miles northwest of Mexico City in the State of Michoacán, it centers in several geographic areas which form a fairly continuous block.

In the area around Zacapu (Fig. 1), traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, remain a few purely Tarascan villages. Bordering the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway a few miles northwest of Zacapu is a small, pleasant valley approximately a mile wide and six miles long. It is called La Cañada and in it nestle ten of the Once Pueblos of Pre-Conquest days.

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her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a southern origin.

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539
The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [1991]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 113
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 829
577

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539 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the
809 pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and
577 heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the
173 Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and
867 thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is pro-
182 vided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.

754 refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft, Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too [831] scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches [763] disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

776 Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural outside of the various aspects 151 of Christianity and withcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the mirí$_{\eta}$gua, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the mirí$_{\eta}$gua. The most common place about town for the mirí$_{\eta}$gua to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

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[p.158a]

WITCHCRAFT IN CAPACUARO

754 As is often the case, more specific details of witchcraft were secured in Capacuaro, which has no reputation for witchcraft, than in Cherán. In the course of a brief stay in Capacuaro, Rendón and Carrasco made the acquaintance of a delightful couple who openly admitted to being witches. The remaining members of the staff subsequently became fairly well acquainted with the couple. Their witchcraft seemed, on the whole, a relatively harmless and unmalicious variety, which may account for their willingness to admit to the practice. Per-
754 haps the most entertaining incident was when
832 the wife told Rendón under promise of secrecy that she had secured her husband through witchcraft and had been able to keep him only through the same means. The husband told Carrasco the same story about his wife!

The following are details, mostly collected by Rendón:

1. Method of winning the love of someone; of making a wife return to her husband; or of making a husband return to his wife; or causing someone who is impassioned without hope to obtain what he desires:

Secure five candles costing 5 centavos, three of paraffin and two of tallow. The practitioner must shut himself in a room without anyone seeing him, but if he has asked a witch to do the ceremony for him, he must be present. The candles are arranged in the following form:

•	tallow candle
• • •	paraffin candles
•	tallow candle

The paraffin candle in the center is known as the "Candle of the Heart." The candles must be in the center of the room and oriented to the cardinal directions.

Placing of the candles begins with the lower tallow candle. First the candle is turned between the fingers in a certain way, saying "so and so, come, come, come, come, come . . . " many times. Upon saying this the necessary number of times depends much of the success of the ceremony, but there are no rules; the witch simply feels when it has been enough. The candle is then lighted and put in position. The same is done with the other candles, but the order could not be given unless the investigator had hired the ceremony performed with serious purpose.

The center candle, the "Candle of the heart," is previously softened by exposure to the sunlight. Two fingers are then measured on the candle from the base

754 "for your guardian angel, two fingers for the Holy
832 Spirit, and one finger for your name." At the point reached by the five fingers measurement, the candle is opened and a flower called the "flower of thought" is placed inside, and the wax is replaced carefully as though the candle had not been opened.

The center candle is now lighted at the butt end and placed in position upside down. Great care must be exercised, however, not to permit the candle to burn past the point where the flower is located. If it did, the bewitched person would die and the person performing the incantation would go to the inferno and suffer throughout eternity.

This ceremony may be performed in any position of the moon and by either day or night. Nevertheless, Wednesday is the best day, and night is the best time. The indispensable prerequisite is that no one see the ceremony except the person on whose behalf it is performed. Any other person, even though equally interested in the success of the procedure, would interfere with the result, while a hostile person who knew, could intercept the "labor" and even do injury to the witch.

Despite this prohibition in ordinary cases, there are some circumstances in which several witches or women "initiated in remedies," even though they did not know how to officiate, might perform this ceremony together. The informant, however, refused to tell how the ceremony was performed in this case or the object of the ceremony.

After the ceremony has been performed, the subject is observed for several days or a week. If no improvement in attitude is noticeable, the bewitchment continues in the following form:

Candles are burned again as described above. In addition, the witch procures a meter of black belting material, a small stamp of Saint Judas, a bit of red paper, "flowers of thought," dahlias or other red flowers, and a collection of as many kinds of flowers as can be found. The Saint Judas is wrapped carefully and thoroughly in the black belt. The bundle is then wrapped in the red paper and laid on a cross made of the miscellaneous flowers at the "head" of the candles with the saint's face down. On the bundle is placed the red flower and the "flowers of thought." Then the witch says, "Saint Judas, bring me so and so, for I have you there prisoner and if you do not hurry I will burn you." A "prayer" is then said in Tarascan which the informant refused to divulge. The witch remains in a kneeling position and recites seven credos until the "Candle of the Heart" reaches the point past which it must not burn. (In order to have the candles burn an equal amount, it is necessary to put out the others when they reach the same level.)

754 2. To make someone hate another person; to make a husband leave his wife or a wife leave her husband; to make children desert their parents or parents abandon their children; to make a person feel repulsion for others:

754 The witch or the person who wishes to accomplish the result secures excrement of the person who is to be hated. The excrement is dried in the sun from 12 until 3, being careful not to expose it at other hours. When dry, the excrement is ground to a powder. Each day at sundown a little of the powder is burned and clothing of the person who is to hate the other is passed through the smoke. Thus a witch who wished another [832] woman's husband secured some of the woman's excrement and passed a pair of trousers and shirt of the man through the smoke. The very next day the man left his wife and came to live with the witch (and is now her husband). The deserted wife immediately went with another man and her first husband "danced with pleasure."

3. To make mischief so that something goes badly with a person—so that his animals will die, so his harvest will fail, so he will fall in jail, so he and all his family will weaken and catch diseases:

Take about a quarter-liter bottle of alcohol. Mix this with earth taken from a spot where there was a quarrel to the death, or where someone had an accident and died, or where there is a burial of a person who did not die in Christian fashion, or from the illegal grave of some recently born child whose parents did not notify the authorities and buried it surreptitiously. If no serious injury is to be caused it will be sufficient to take earth where there has been a quarrel and bloodshed, even though there was no death. This earth, after mixing with alcohol, is allowed to dry thoroughly and is kept in a bottle until it is needed. When the opportunity offers, a little of the earth is sprinkled on the back of the person it is desired to injure, at the same time saying in one's mind the kind of injury one wishes will occur.

4. To cause suppurating sores on the genitals of a person one hates:

Buy oil for lamps and let it burn several days before a holy image. Take what is left and mix it with a bit of earth recently stepped on by the person it is desired to injure, or put in the oil something of the victim, such as hair, fingernails, or some piece of used clothing, and burn the oil, saying "So and so, you must have sores on such and such a part of the body." In addition, if the person is a man, he must be given a glass of *aguardiente* in which an herb from the hot country has infused a number of days; and if the person is a woman, a *gorda* made from maize dough or nixtamal in which the same herb is mixed. (The informant refused to name the herb, claiming she identified it only by sight when the herb sellers came around.)

754 5. So that a man or woman will "become
832 tame" and do what one wishes, including making a husband permit his wife sexual relations with another man or a wife permit her husband

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754 sexual relations with another woman, and, in addition, aiding the adulterers to meet:
832

Buy a new small pottery vessel (*olita*); it is best to buy it direct from the kiln to make sure it has not been used for anything else. Fill the vessel with holy water, first fastening a new 20 centavo piece to the bottom, inside, with campeche wax. Into the water put a large paraffin candle which has been cut into many small pieces. Each piece represents part of the strength (*fuerza*) of the individual while the holy water signifies that the strength is broken. In order that the results will be "good," put in a piece of cane from the mountains known as *otate del leon* and a very resinous splinter of pitch pine. Then cover the top of the vessel with a thick cap of campeche wax so that no air may enter. The vessel is then buried beneath the spot where the person to be bewitched sleeps, if this person is a spouse. If not, the vessel is buried in the patio of the house of the person.

6. To make a man lose his sexual vigor so that he will recover it only with the woman who has had the magic done:

[824] The witch must first seek a small grass known as *pito de toro* and place it in *aguardiente* to infuse. The man should drink a little of this *aguardiente* every day for 8 days. If he is not a drinking man, then it must be given in coffee or atole or in some other manner so that he will not be aware that he is being given something. After 8 days the woman spies on the man until he goes to urinate, when she must recover a bit of the moist earth or, if he has not urinated on the earth, place earth in the receptacle. The urine-moistened earth is placed inside a *chile ancho* of the largest size it is possible to secure. The *chile* is then sewed up with needle and thread so none of the earth can escape and placed below the spot where the man sleeps with someone, or, if he is unmarried, it is buried in his patio as close as possible to the place where he sleeps. With this, the man remains incapacitated from having sexual relations with any woman except the one who has performed the rite.

754 7. To make a person suffer so that he will be sad and feel sick, although it will be imagination and not in reality; so that he will feel he is going to die; so that everything is revolting; and so that he will be unable to find tranquillity at any moment because it will seem something is about to happen:

Make a small doll resembling the human figure out of campeche wax and clothing used by the person. It is important that the clothing used should not have been washed, but be soiled from wearing. When the doll is made, stick pins in it all along the part of the spinal column, one in the crown of the head, two in the temples, two in the throat on each side, two in the nape of the neck, two in the umbilicus, and seven on the

754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 In addition to the above methods of bewitch-
892 ment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 Methods of prevention and cure against
751 witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured
755 by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

548 occasionally. Payment, usually 50 centavos, is given to the girls prostituting themselves, part of which is given to the woman who lends her house for the purpose and arranges the meeting.

Despite the existence of prostitution, it is 864 claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Girls particularly are believed to be relatively innocent, although obviously all have knowledge of the nature of the sexual act in a setting as full of animals as is Cherán. Boys are believed to be somewhat more sophisticated because, even though they may not have visited houses of prostitution, details are talked about among them. After marriage, aside from the prohibitions on intercourse during pregnancy and confinement and 833 during menstruation, there are no restrictions on sexual relations between husband and wife. There seem to be no ideas about a fixed interval or ideal interval between sexual relations and informants thought relations were "frequent" but would not suggest any time periods. In general, the subject of sex relations proved embarrassing and informants seemed purposely to avoid definite statements.

583 The customary preliminary to marriage is for the groom to "steal" (*robar*) his bride. Virtually everyone of the older and the more articulate men in town deprecate the custom and many assert that it is a recent development. Nevertheless, no one could name a time when the custom was not practiced. Moreover, it is to be found in many other Tarascan towns, perhaps in all of them, and is regarded as an old form at Mestizo Chilchota, where most marriages also begin by stealing. Although occasionally the groom asks for the bride instead of stealing her, such cases are exceptional and seem more likely to be the innovation than does the stealing of the bride.

Only on very rare occasions is the bride stolen without her consent. Generally the entire performance, including setting the time and place, has been arranged beforehand between the bride and groom, although it is good form for the girl to struggle or at least to pretend to do so. The groom enlists the [561] cooperation of some of his age mates and they assist in carrying off the girl and in blocking pursuit. The usual time for carrying off a girl is on a Sunday when she comes out of church

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rakelike implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

252 The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.[10]

Pears.—The most important fruit in Cherán 245 is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *lecke* (*uérgamóte*), *perdo* (*ćarápiti*), and *t'ačani* (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the *uérgamóte* transports well.

Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock 245 of wild crab apple, *tejocóte*. (This is a sloe-242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

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[10] Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angahuan the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as *yácata*; the leaves are called *kíkua*, the stalk or bud, *kítuak*. Mexicanized Chilchota makes mezcal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with chile in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

846 bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*.
957 The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

834 Husband and wife do not resume sexual
846 relations until at least 35 days after the birth; in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

844 Shortly after the delivery the mother is given
262 her first food. This may be chocolate, milk, and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *refino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as kígwash kamáta for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

844 Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *rosas de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

827 linear body build which was repeated in the
143 children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark
[142] skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

732 Occasional examples occur of children apparently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeblemindedness.

854 Few special attentions to infants are recorded. There is no use of ashes or leaving of corn ears or fire pokers with infants when they are left alone, but a broom of straw may be left at the head of the child's bed for protection against evil if the mother wishes to leave it for a few minutes. Children are nursed freely whenever
853 they desire the breast. Although some evidence of shyness was evident, for example, some
[834] mothers draped their *reboso* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

854 Infants are ordinarily carried by their mothers, almost invariably wrapped in the *reboso*. Even if the child is carried in the arm, the *reboso* is slung around the child and over the shoulders to take part of the weight. Ordinarily a small child is slung more or less horizontally in the *reboso* on the mother's back. One end of the *reboso* goes under the left arm, the other over the right shoulder, the two ends

[p. 177a]

841 track of the periods are used but some account is kept of the phase of the moon and an approximate idea formed. The normal menstruation is regarded as lasting 3 or 4 days. Slight or excessive flows during the period are believed to be bad. No special garments are worn, but the ordinary underwear is carefully washed after the flow ends.

[834] Women should not have relations with men during the menstrual period, and most women do not resume relations with their husbands until they have bathed, although some do so as soon as menstruation ends. Violation of this [753] rule is believed to be bad for the men and to cause them to contract a disease with ulcers. 841 Women may prepare food for themselves and others, but they must not eat certain foods. 262 These include "cold" things, such as avocados or prickly pears. Beans, if eaten, must be consumed with quantities of onions. Rice, pork, and preserved chiles (because the liquid is very "cool") are also believed to be bad. Dried chiles may be eaten. *Aguardiente* is also avoided, although a little in coffee or orange-leaf tea is believed to be helpful. The majority, if possible, drink chocolate in the mornings even though they may not normally do so or may even dislike it. In connection with the concept of "coldness" it should be noted that this refers to the supposed effects on the person, not to the quality of the thing itself. Cold water, for example, may be consumed freely. Aside from sexual restrictions, men have no special rules to observe when their wives menstruate.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONSHIPS

581 Marriage is the normal state of the Cherán adult and unmarried persons are relatively rare, except among the aged. Although sexual inverts were reported, in every case they had 838 married. One woman is known to be an invert and is called *toro-ence*. As a girl she attempted to seduce other girls, and a woman told Rendón that in her childhood the individual in question once tried to drag her into a vacant lot, stopping her mouth with a *rebozo*, but she tore loose and screamed and was rescued by her father. Various charges were also made against the woman in court, but nothing was ever done.

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Paricutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[534] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "troje." Both sexes like

882 from their parents. In an overheard conversation, two young men commented at length on how fast people got old at their ages, while people over 30 did not seem to age at all.

The transition for girls is even less clearly defined than that for boys. As girls are sometimes married even before their first men-
[881] struation, this physiological transition hardly seems to mark a status change. From the age of 6 or 8, girls essentially perform adult labors in assisting their mothers. Youth is essentially a transition to adulthood and marriage. As a general thing, girls are married soon after the
[582] first menstruation.

Informants were agreed that most girls ex-
881 perience the first menses at about 14 years of age; whether this is the ideal age or the actual age could not be determined. No cases of failure to menstruate were known. Menstrual disorders apparently do occur sometimes and the aid of midwives is sought in such cases, but no details could be secured. Men, at least, believe that girls are generally ignorant of the menstrual period until they experience the first occurrence, and this belief coincides with a few statements by women. Some girls are said to be a little depressed or frightened, but the experience is not severe. Mothers explain to their daughters that the phenomenon is perfectly natural, and girls never become ill.

The mother always informs her husband
882 when the first menstruation occurs. At this time the father increases his admonitions to his wife to watch over the girl. Careful mothers from now on do not let the girls go alone for water or to church or walk about the streets. Care is taken that girls do not see "bad" things. Well-brought-up girls, in fact, are hardly allowed out of the house until they are married, but if this ideal were really lived up to, it is difficult to see how either marriages could be arranged or "stealing" occur. Cherán, though, feels its standards are much above those of other towns and people mention some
[186] of La Cañada towns, especially Tacura, as being very bad. The latter town is said even
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838 The individual in question was also said once to have lived with another woman who did the work in the household while the former acted like a man. It is also believed that she is a "man" during one month and a "woman" the next, the change being regulated by changes in the moon. During the month she is a "man" she is said to go through the streets at night, trying to entice girls to her house, or else she stands at the door of her house and offers presents to girls who will come in. At one time the woman married and had two children but later was widowed. That the individual is [158] emotionally unstable is indicated by her claim to have once "died" and come to life again, after which she brought many people messages from their dead relatives whom she had encountered in the other world.

No cases of men dressing as women or men who had homosexual relations were encountered, but there evidently are occasional instances. The only specific reports encountered were of subadolescent boys who showed a preference for doing women's work. One example cited was of a boy who washed dishes, swept, made tortillas, and did other housework. His voice was high-pitched and he refused to fight. Later, however, the boy's voice changed and he married.

548 Some prostitution exists in Cherán. There are several houses of assignation operated by elderly women who know the accessible women. Men go to these houses and the old woman then takes a message to some girl or woman. The younger women are often the daughters of older women who have taken this way of life, but sometimes the girls from other families will visit such houses clandestinely. Such girls become known among the unmarried men and usually have difficulty in marrying. Often they attempt to force boys to marry them by claiming to have been "stolen" by a boy and lodging complaints with the mayor, often abetted by their parents. If the girl's reputation is bad, the boy may be put in jail as a discouragement to boys who might be tempted to steal a girl without marrying her, but the boy will not be forced to marry.

The patrons of such houses are usually bachelors and older unmarried youths. Some whose wives are pregnant also visit such houses

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582 The earliest age recorded for married males
585 is 14, this age group comprising 0.7 percent of the total male marriages. However, there is reason to believe that the age of males is falsified at marriage more than that of females. Most marriages, according to the statistics, take place at 16 or after; 8 percent of males marry at the age of 16. Five percent were married at 17, 21 percent at 18, 8 percent at 19, and 10 percent at 20. None were married at age 24, but 6 percent were married at 25. Some marriages listed at this age are probably remarriages, and certainly few first marriages take place after 25. The emphasis placed upon marriage as a normal state is indicated by the considerable age of some persons married. Two women and two men are shown as married at 60, while one man is shown as married at 80 and another at 82.

No particular season of marriage preference is evident if marriage frequencies are analyzed by months, despite assertions that most marriages take place in the winter after harvest. Evidently marriages take place when people have resources, regardless of the time of year. The fluctuations from year to year probably could be accounted for in terms of variable economic conditions. It must be remembered that the month of marriage reported is the time of the civil registry and church wedding. Probably the majority of marriages are consummated before these events.

In addition to the statistical data, even earlier marriages are believed to take place. One girl, whose age was alleged by several people independently to be only 15, had four children. Gossip told of another case of a girl of 10 years who was "half married," that is, the groom's parents did not yet permit him to sleep with his wife. But at the age of 14 the girl was said to have had two children. Before the Tarascans are censured for the practice of such early marriages, it should be born in mind that Bishop Quiroga, who had so much influence on the Tarascans, in his ordinances authorized the marriage of boys over 14 and girls over 12 (Arriaga, 1938).

Data on family composition and fertility
163 were obtained by interviews with 53 families
842 where the wife was 47 years of age or older and had not borne children recently (table 13).

[text continues on p. 947b]

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842
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TABLE 13.—*Fertility of Cherán women*[1]

Number of births per woman	Number of women	Living children per woman	Number of women	Deceased children per woman	Number of women	Male births per woman	Number of women	Female births per woman	Number of women	Male children living per woman	Number of women	Female children living	Number of women
1	1	0	2	0	4	1	6	1	13	1	17	1	18
2	8	1	15	1	14	2	20	2	17	2	15	2	12
3	6	2	7	2	12	3	10	3	17	3	6	3	3
4	9	3	18	3	9	4	6	4	5	4	1	4	1
5	10	4	8	4	5	5	6	5	2	5	1	5	0
6	10	5	3	5	3	6	1	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
7	4	6	0	6	2	7	4	7	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
8	3	7	1	7	2	8	0	8	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
9	4	.....	.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(Average) 5.2 per woman		(Average) 2.7 per woman		.....		.....		.....		.....		.....	

[1] Based on interviews with 53 women past child-bearing age. In the data on male and female births, the sex of 2 children was not remembered.

TABLE 14.—*Deaths by age groups in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Age in years	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Totals 1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	TOTAL
Under 1 year			2		1	2		1			1	2	1	2	4	4	1	1		2	2	4	8	10		1	2	4		1	2	3		4		2	1	6		1	2	2	2	4	8	40	23	12	12	88
1– 9	2	2	1	1		2	1	1			2	2	1	2	2	1				2	2	9	9	10	5	2	2	2					3	1	1	2	2	1	1		1	2	2	2	4	15	80	18	18	8	124
10–19		1			1		1			2				1						1			1	2											2	1		1								8	6	4		16
20–29		1		2	4	1	2							1	1			1			1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1					2												10	7	8	2	2	27
30–39				1	2	1		1	1	1	1	1	5		2			2		2			0	1	5			2	1	1			3	1		1									1	13	14	2	3	32
40–49							1		1	1	1	1	1		1				1	3		2	1															1		1			1	1		8	9	2	3	18
50–59																				1			1																							7	3	9	4	16
60–69	1	1	1	2							2	1		1	1					1			4	1	1		1	1	1		2	1	1	1							2					2	9	10	4	25
70–79			1						1				1										3				1	1			1	1						1		1			1		5	4	3	4	15
80–89																			1	1	1		2				1	3																		6	2	2	2	12
90 +			1			1										1																									1		1		2	1	2	2	8
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	8	60	147	103	83	383

TABLE 15.—*Deaths according to sex in 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Sex	1936 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1938 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1939 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	1940 January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Totals 1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	TOTAL
Male	1	3	4	3	3	3	4	2	2	3	2	3	5	4	8	5	1	3	1	7	8	8	12	12	5	3	6	9	7	1	5	7	8	8	3	4	1	4	5	1	3	3	3	3	33	99	86	23	181
Female	2	3	2	3	5	4	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	7	4	2	0	2	1	10	7	8	17	14	5	8	5	7	2	1	3	2	2	4	2	3	2	6	1	3	2	5	6	5	27	78	17	30	152
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	8	60	147	103	53	383

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163 The data again are not entirely reliable because
842 of a tendency not to count deceased children until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938,
165 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

The table of deaths by causes (table 16)
165 should be considered primarily of interest in
753 showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities.
[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[858] [28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires,* "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

842 no remedies are taken for barrenness. Others reported that women speak to the professional midwives, who give them herbal remedies, [278] anoint the abdomen with mountain lion grease, or give stew made of mountain lion meat. However, none of the midwives reported any such practices.

Despite these attitudes, belief exists that 847 pregnancy can be prevented or abortion caused. It is believed by some that only families of poor economic standing who already have two to four children attempt to use these methods. Others suggest absence of love in the home as a reason; some women carrying on illicit affairs are believed to practice abortion. A good many people seem to know of the existence of abortion and to have knowledge of the herbs used. Consequently attempted abortion probably is more frequent than people wish to admit. The [842] ideal of Cherán is the large family; people prefer not to talk about those who do not share the ideal and some refuse to talk about it. It is also said that the municipal officials are vigilant in punishing such cases, but as the penalty is [684] said to be a fine of $1.00 or $1.50 or a night in jail after recovery, this probably would not be a great deterrent even if the danger of detection were great.

847 Four plants are named as being taken to cause abortion. One, *artamisa,* taken with 278 plenty of salt, was mentioned by one of the midwives. Another admitted to using iris root for this purpose, although generally the midwives claim to be opposed to abortion. The two plants most used, however, are *ruda* and *gobernadorcillo,* KUASA. It is possible that these are the same plants; at least descriptions of their use appear to be the same. If they are effective (and local medical men are sharply contradictory in their opinions), many unintentional abortions are probably caused, for *ruda* is a regular remedy for stomach pains. It is not taken, except intentionally, when pregnancy has occurred, as the herb is widely known as producing abortion. The herb is also believed to be helpful to women who have been unable to have children.

Much the same accounts were given of [842] *gobernadorcillo.* To have children, the herb is cooked with a tablet of chocolate and taken just before the menstrual period is expected.

847 To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain
278 the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobernadorcillo* is
[844] also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

● 842 One midwife purges barren women with the bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are
278 used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant
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Some people believe that the first child takes
843 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

[p. 165b]

845 Wrong positions, especially breech presentations, may result from several causes. The mother may have moved around too much and worked too hard, hit a dog with her foot, put the "foot" of a stick of wood in the fire first, failed to remove the *comal* from the fire immediately after finishing the cooking of tortillas, eaten toasted tortillas, or eaten off the metate (the latter taboo was explained on the basis that the metate has only three legs). Children are born blind only because "God wills it."

Witches may interfere with pregnancy and make the child arrive dead. The preventive [789] remedy is to cook tomato peeling and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware together and drink the liquid.

843 Fathers are also under some restrictions during the period of pregnancy. Whenever a load of wood is brought to the house it must be untied immediately or the child may be strangled by the umbilical cord. Also, the father must not kill lizards or snakes during the pregnancy, or touch resin or turpentine, or they will enter into the child. Some say the father should not kill any kind of an animal, from a snail to an ox. If he does so, the animal will enter into the child through the mouth or nose and the child will be born dead. One midwife thought the father should not have relations with his wife after the third or fourth month of pregnancy for reasons of cleanliness, but some say difficult birth or wrong positions may result from continued intercourse. The father should not work on the day of birth.

844 No distinction is made between first and subsequent births. Midwives varied in their ideas as to the frequency of births. Some believed that women had children from 1 to 1½ years [842] apart, others said from 8 months to 3 years. One midwife explained that the number of children and the frequency of births were determined by something resembling links in the uterus. These could be counted by the midwife, who could tell how many children the woman would have and, by the spacing, what the interval between births would be. Some women might be capable of as many as 25 pregnancies.

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843 sidered frequent symptoms also. Sometimes in the early months women are sick at their stomachs and vomit in the mornings.

Usually a midwife is sought early in pregnancy and pays frequent visits to the enceinte woman. The midwife massages the woman with lard or cooking oil "to make sure the foetus is in the right position" and generally keeps an eye on the patient's health. Sometimes the midwife locates the head of the child during the massage. A fee of 10 centavos is charged for each visit.

A pregnant woman should not do much work, should not lift heavy things, and should take frequent baths in cold water in the house. She continues to grind corn and carry water; young mothers, indeed, are encouraged to keep active by older women, who believe some exercise helps the mother. She does not cook tortillas if she can avoid it, because the fire might "cook" the foetus. Toward the end of pregnancy some women are "delicate" and eat very little. At Capacuaro this is customary in the last days of pregnancy. Otherwise there are no prenatal food taboos.

843 An eclipse during pregnancy may cause
821 something bad to happen to the child. To
[789] prevent the effects, a red belt is worn underneath the several belts worn by women who dress in traditional costume. If Mestizo costume is worn, red underwear is used. Women should do nothing during an eclipse. The
[144] occurrence of Mongoloid spot is reported. It is believed that this is caused by the woman carrying her coins in the customary fashion in her belt during pregnancy.

843 Women should not tie any animals during pregnancy, as this may cause the child to be strangled by the umbilical cord during birth. If the mother urinates where some animal has urinated, the child may be born with some part of the animal. Reports were given by midwives of children having been born with a pig face or a goat face and tail because the mother urinated where these animals had urinated. In the latter part of pregnancy a woman should always remove the lid from a vessel before lifting it from the fire; if she fails to observe this rule, the child may be born dumb. Clubfoot is caused by the mother not taking proper care of herself.

845 Wrong positions, especially breech presentations, may result from several causes. The mother may have moved around too much and worked too hard, hit a dog with her foot, put the "foot" of a stick of wood in the fire first, failed to remove the *comal* from the fire immediately after finishing the cooking of tortillas, eaten toasted tortillas, or eaten off the metate (the latter taboo was explained on the basis that the metate has only three legs). Children are born blind only because "God wills it."

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All births are attended by midwives, who form a professional group, although without

844 organization. It is believed all the midwives in Cherán were interviewed by the staff. Most of them are elderly women past childbearing age. Some 4 or 5 years before the study, all of the midwives apparently had received instruction from a doctor called in by the priest. This is reflected to some extent in the methods used, particularly in some efforts at asepsis and the use of antiseptics. The following biographical data were secured from the midwives, the individuals being referred to by number.

No. 1. About 55 years of age; 4 years' experience. Formerly was a curer. No one in her family had been a midwife; she entered the profession "by accident" and "knew how" by the grace of the Holy Virgin.

No. 2. Age unknown, but has had 20 years' experience. Her mother was a midwife and urged her to become one also. She became a midwife because her small business was not enough to keep her alive. She had been married and had one daughter in 6 years of marriage, apparently taking up midwifery after loss of her husband.

No. 3. About 55 years of age, 4 years' experience. Learned by observing a grandmother who was a midwife. Other "grandparents" also tried to teach her. She believes, in addition, she possesses a special "virtue" for such work. Before becoming a midwife she was a curer, devoting herself especially to women who suffered abdominal pains from overwork, using massage. She still does curing, but since her husband died, 5 years before, has been a midwife. She likes the work. She says the Virgin of Monserrato is the patroness of the midwives.

No. 4. New to the profession. Has attended only two births; one of the patients accused her at the court of causing swelling of the organs because of inexperience and refused to pay her fee.

No. 5. Has been midwife 5 years. No further data.

No. 6. Has been a midwife 30 years. Was assistant to another midwife for a long time. One day a child was being born dead; the sub-
[845] ject took cotton and put a medicine she knew on the head of the mother and the child was born successfully. There was a quarrel, but finally
[578] the midwife, who was very old, began to teach

844 her; "but God gave me the power to know
[578] medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from $1.50 to $2.50. One midwife charges $2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being $1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the $1.50, according to the
[578] midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

According to some midwives, if there is time,
844 the midwife goes to church before the delivery,
782 saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a
844 prayer to her just before the delivery. Mid-
[751] wives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino*, considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed,
[782] a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

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844 Sometimes, when the pains first start, the patient is laid on a blanket which is then lifted by four persons, one at each corner. The mother is then turned around gently for 15 or 20 minutes. This is believed to hasten the birth and aid the child to get into the proper position. The midwife may also walk from one side to another, saying, "I am coming," to hurry the child.

Most midwives specify certain materials which should be provided by the family in advance. These things include scissors, cooking oil, lard, cotton, and silk thread. Parents provide clothing for the child; the midwife does not specify anything for the infant.

Some midwives, when the birth pains begin, 844 give the mother *gobernadorcillo* or possibly 278 other plants to accelerate the birth. In any case it is asserted that the same herbs believed to cause abortion are administered at this time, usually with sugar or brown sugar. One herb (unidentified) is called zihuapaxtle, a Nahua name. There is no use of wheat rust, however. 844 When the crown of the head of the child is visible, the midwife tries to hurry through the rest of the birth so that there will be less danger of the child being born dead.

It is said that many normal births take only about 15 minutes. This can hardly be counted from the time the first labor pains are felt but is possibly from the time the labor becomes intense. Many mothers in Cherán, however, 845 seem to have fairly difficult births. Cases of labor lasting as much as 6 or 7 hours are reported.

In case the labor is difficult and prolonged, remedies of various sorts are used. The helpers apply pressure to the abdomen. One midwife boils a bezoar, the calcareous secretion from the intestines of some ruminant, brought from the hot country, and has the patient drink the water. Another gives the mother hot chocolate made with water and sugar, and massages the abdomen. Another covers the patient with a blanket and has her breathe the fumes from sugar or some sweet thing burned in a brazier. One midwife stated that when the patient is very "dry," that is, there is no discharge of blood and no breaking of the amniotic membrane, a bit of *nopal* (prickly pear) leaf is roasted in

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases
821 of the moon determines the length of labor.
844 Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as
[144] occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal
[753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

846 bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*.
757 The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

Husband and wife do not resume sexual
834 relations until at least 35 days after the birth;
846 in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

844 Shortly after the delivery the mother is given her first food. This may be chocolate, milk,
262 and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *rafino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as kágwash kamáta for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

844 Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *rosas de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

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[p. 169a]

Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo
La Cañada

844 According to Rendón, women in Mestizo
846 Chilchota observe no special diet before delivery.
262 Births are attended by midwives, who charge $2. A mixture of egg and flower is sometimes rubbed on the abdomen to lessen labor pains if these are severe. Massage and irrigations with water and soap are used to accelerate birth. After delivery the diet is based on chocolate and atole. After a few days, chicken broth and chicken are added but beef and beans are not eaten for 72 days. The atole is called púɛkua and is made of maize cooked without lime, ground on the metate, and cooked in water without sugar. If there are hemorrhages the patient is given rubbed (shredded?) parsley in water. The mother stays in bed for a week. On the eighth day she bathes.

Rendón reports a mild couvade in La Cañada
846 pueblos. The mother does not eat salt after the birth, eats atole of the same type as at Chilchota, and cooked greens. The fathers stay in the house several days without working.

INFANCY

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853 The child is nursed the second day. Rarely does the mother not have milk. Should this happen, the aid of some nursing mother is sought or the child is given cow or goat milk. The latter is not diluted, but it is boiled before using, often being flavored with a bit of yerba buena or cinnamon. Special drinks are given the mother to induce milk flow if it is inadequate. Brews of flaxseed (?) were mentioned.

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846 Midwives continue to visit the house to attend to the mother and child. The bandage over the umbilicus is removed every 2 or 3 days. The cord drops off between the second and eighth days (the longer period apparently being unusual). The umbilicus is then anointed with iodine or powder made from tules. Sometimes small hernias are cured with a small ball of sosa (an herb) or a green tomato. Hernias result from carelessness or "coldness." Infections of the umbilicus result from carelessness in bathing the child. One midwife reported curing them with face powder!

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845 Wrong positions, especially breech presentations, may result from several causes. The mother may have moved around too much and worked too hard, hit a dog with her foot, put the "foot" of a stick of wood in the fire first, failed to remove the *comal* from the fire immediately after finishing the cooking of tortillas, eaten toasted tortillas, or eaten off the metate (the latter taboo was explained on the basis that the metate has only three legs). Children are born blind only because "God wills it."

Witches may interfere with pregnancy and make the child arrive dead. The preventive [789] remedy is to cook tomato peeling and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware together and drink the liquid.

843 Fathers are also under some restrictions during the period of pregnancy. Whenever a load of wood is brought to the house it must be untied immediately or the child may be strangled by the umbilical cord. Also, the father must not kill lizards or snakes during the pregnancy, or touch resin or turpentine, or they will enter into the child. Some say the father should not kill any kind of an animal, from a snail to an ox. If he does so, the animal will enter into the child through the mouth or nose and the child will be born dead. One midwife thought the father should not have relations with his wife after the third or fourth month of pregnancy for reasons of cleanliness, but some say difficult birth or wrong positions may result from continued intercourse. The father should not work on the day of birth.

844 No distinction is made between first and subsequent births. Midwives varied in their ideas as to the frequency of births. Some believed that women had children from 1 to 1½ years [842] apart, others said from 8 months to 3 years. One midwife explained that the number of children and the frequency of births were determined by something resembling links in the uterus. These could be counted by the midwife, who could tell how many children the woman would have and, by the spacing, what the interval between births would be. Some women might be capable of as many as 25 pregnancies.

All births are attended by midwives, who form a professional group, although without

844 organization. It is believed all the midwives in Cherán were interviewed by the staff. Most of them are elderly women past childbearing age. Some 4 or 5 years before the study, all of the midwives apparently had received instruction from a doctor called in by the priest. This is reflected to some extent in the methods used, particularly in some efforts at asepsis and the use of antiseptics. The following biographical data were secured from the midwives, the individuals being referred to by number.

No. 1. About 55 years of age; 4 years' experience. Formerly was a curer. No one in her family had been a midwife; she entered the profession "by accident" and "knew how" by the grace of the Holy Virgin.

No. 2. Age unknown, but has had 20 years' experience. Her mother was a midwife and urged her to become one also. She became a midwife because her small business was not enough to keep her alive. She had been married and had one daughter in 6 years of marriage, apparently taking up midwifery after loss of her husband.

No. 3. About 55 years of age, 4 years' experience. Learned by observing a grandmother who was a midwife. Other "grandparents" also tried to teach her. She believes, in addition, she possesses a special "virtue" for such work. Before becoming a midwife she was a curer, devoting herself especially to women who suffered abdominal pains from overwork, using massage. She still does curing, but since her husband died, 5 years before, has been a midwife. She likes the work. She says the Virgin of Monserrato is the patroness of the midwives.

No. 4. New to the profession. Has attended only two births; one of the patients accused her at the court of causing swelling of the organs because of inexperience and refused to pay her fee.

No. 5. Has been midwife 5 years. No further data.

No. 6. Has been a midwife 30 years. Was assistant to another midwife for a long time. One day a child was being born dead; the sub-
[845] ject took cotton and put a medicine she knew on the head of the mother and the child was born successfully. There was a quarrel, but finally
[578] the midwife, who was very old, began to teach

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844 Sometimes, when the pains first start, the patient is laid on a blanket which is then lifted by four persons, one at each corner. The mother is then turned around gently for 15 or 20 minutes. This is believed to hasten the birth and aid the child to get into the proper position. The midwife may also walk from one side to another, saying, "I am coming," to hurry the child.

Most midwives specify certain materials which should be provided by the family in advance. These things include scissors, cooking oil, lard, cotton, and silk thread. Parents provide clothing for the child; the midwife does not specify anything for the infant.

Some midwives, when the birth pains begin, 844 give the mother *gobernadorcillo* or possibly 278 other plants to accelerate the birth. In any case it is asserted that the same herbs believed to cause abortion are administered at this time, usually with sugar or brown sugar. One herb (unidentified) is called zihuapaxtle, a Nahua name. There is no use of wheat rust, however. When the crown of the head of the child is 844 visible, the midwife tries to hurry through the rest of the birth so that there will be less danger of the child being born dead.

It is said that many normal births take only about 15 minutes. This can hardly be counted from the time the first labor pains are felt but is possibly from the time the labor becomes intense. Many mothers in Cherán, however, 845 seem to have fairly difficult births. Cases of labor lasting as much as 6 or 7 hours are reported.

In case the labor is difficult and prolonged, remedies of various sorts are used. The helpers apply pressure to the abdomen. One midwife boils a bezoar, the calcareous secretion from the intestines of some ruminant, brought from the hot country, and has the patient drink the water. Another gives the mother hot chocolate made with water and sugar, and massages the abdomen. Another covers the patient with a blanket and has her breathe the fumes from sugar or some sweet thing burned in a brazier. One midwife stated that when the patient is very "dry," that is, there is no discharge of blood and no breaking of the amniotic membrane, a bit of *nopal* (prickly pear) leaf is roasted in

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases
821 of the moon determines the length of labor.
844 Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching
[144] stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal
[753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

845 inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were born dead. The phenomena were attributed to [821] an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

[805] Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

846 After the birth of the child the mother stays in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife may still massage her with unguents, either [278] coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

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846 757 bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*. The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

834 846 Husband and wife do not resume sexual relations until at least 35 days after the birth; in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

844 262 Shortly after the delivery the mother is given her first food. This may be chocolate, milk, and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *rufino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as kúgwash kamáta for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

844 877 Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *roses de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

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[p. 168a]

Sierra Tarascan
Mestizo
La Cañada

844 According to Rendón, women in Mestizo
877 Chilchota observe no special diet before delivery.
946 Births are attended by midwives, who charge
162 $2. A mixture of egg and flower is sometimes rubbed on the abdomen to lessen labor pains if these are severe. Massage and irrigations with water and soap are used to accelerate birth. After delivery the diet is based on chocolate and atole. After a few days, chicken broth and chicken are added but beef and beans are not eaten for 72 days. The atole is called púykua and is made of maize cooked without lime, ground on the metate, and cooked in water without sugar. If there are hemorrhages the patient is given rubbed (shredded?) parsley in water. The mother stays in bed for a week. On the eighth day she bathes.

876 Rendón reports a mild couvade in La Cañada pueblos. The mother does not eat salt after the birth, eats atole of the same type as at Chilchota, and cooked greens. The fathers stay in the house several days without working.

INFANCY

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443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called "*despachos*" and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but on request one will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and "*epazote*." The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

842 no remedies are taken for barrenness. Others reported that women speak to the professional midwives, who give them herbal remedies, [278] anoint the abdomen with mountain lion grease, or give stew made of mountain lion meat. However, none of the midwives reported any such practices.

Despite these attitudes, belief exists that ●847 pregnancy can be prevented or abortion caused. It is believed by some that only families of poor economic standing who already have two to four children attempt to use these methods. Others suggest absence of love in the home as a reason; some women carrying on illicit affairs are believed to practice abortion. A good many people seem to know of the existence of abortion and to have knowledge of the herbs used. Consequently attempted abortion probably is more frequent than people wish to admit. The [842] ideal of Cherán is the large family; people prefer not to talk about those who do not share the ideal and some refuse to talk about it. It is also said that the municipal officials are vigilant in punishing such cases, but as the penalty is [684] said to be a fine of $1.00 or $1.50 or a night in jail after recovery, this probably would not be a great deterrent even if the danger of detection were great.

847 Four plants are named as being taken to cause abortion. One, *artamisa*, taken with 278 plenty of salt, was mentioned by one of the midwives. Another admitted to using iris root for this purpose, although generally the midwives claim to be opposed to abortion. The two plants most used, however, are *ruda* and *gobernadorcillo*, KUASA. It is possible that these are the same plants; at least descriptions of their use appear to be the same. If they are effective (and local medical men are sharply contradictory in their opinions), many unintentional abortions are probably caused, for *ruda* is a regular remedy for stomach pains. It is not taken, except intentionally, when pregnancy has occurred, as the herb is widely known as producing abortion. The herb is also believed to be helpful to women who have been unable to have children.

Much the same accounts were given of [842] *gobernadorcillo*. To have children, the herb is cooked with a tablet of chocolate and taken just before the menstrual period is expected.

847 To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain
278 the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobernadorcillo* is
[844] also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

One midwife purges barren women with the
842 bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are
278 used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant
847 mothers are often fearful of this and sometimes will not go to curers when they are ill for fear they will be given a medicine which will cause abortion. A woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who was suffering fever and spitting blood refused to go to the curer for fear of being given abortive drugs. Drinking is believed to cause many abortions, and heavy work, such as lifting a log while helping to build a fence, is recognized as a possible cause of abortion. If the mother "likes something too much," for example, a horse or a kind of food, the child may be born prematurely, but apparently may live. Solar eclipses are likewise
[821] believed to cause early births. The midwife is sometimes called if abortion is feared. One midwife anoints the coccyx and abdomen with the white of an egg (which has been beaten on the ground) and also with lard and oil. Another midwife gives the flower of maize, tomato peel, a shoot of verbena, and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware. The potsherd is ground and the whole made into an infusion. This is taken twice and the coccyx and abdomen are rubbed with the white of an egg beaten on the ground.

Some people believe that the first child takes
843 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

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608 may be entered into in some cases without children being involved. In many parts of Mexico, both Indian and Mestizo, the *compadrazgo* is an extremely important aspect of social relationships and it has taken on many special localized forms. As yet, the only adequate study of the institution is that made by Spicer for the Arizona Yaqui.[30]

The following account of the *compadrazgo* was written by one of the Tarascan assistants, Pedro Chávez. Additions to the original Chávez manuscript are in parentheses.

The *compadrazgo* is very common among the Tarascans and is highly respected. All *compadres* and *comadres*, when they meet on the street, must salute [576] each other with the phrase "*Buenos dias compadre*" (good-day) or "*Buenos dias comadre*," or its equivalent in Tarascan "nájeranku kumbáo (or koméri)." This obligation is especially strong between *comadres* or *compadres de pila*, as are called the *compadres* of baptism of a child. In this case it is obligatory to shake hands in sign of a certain mutual respect the two maintain. (These obligations endure for life, even though the child may have died long since.)

Classes of *compadres:* Among the *compadres* exist the following classes:

1. *Compadres* of baptism.
2. *Compadres* of confirmation.
3. *Compadres* of the crown (*corona*) or circumcision.
4. *Compadres* of marriage.

The degree of mutual respect and appreciation between *compadres* is approximately in the order in which they are given. (It should be noted that there are really two classes of *compadres* of marriage. There are the godparents of the bride and groom, usually a married couple, and the relatives of the bride and groom who become *compadres* as described below.)

608 Duties: The main duties are those of *compadres* of
851 baptism. Immediately after the act of baptism (in which the infant is carried to church and the small fee paid by the godparents), they say to each other "*comadre*" or "*compadre*" or "koméri" and "kumbá," which are the same as the Spanish. This is the first duty and the first occasion it is said. From this arises the duty to care for the godchild, for example, to treat it as nearly like a son as one's resources permit. The godparents have the duty of giving the godchild some kind of clothing, such as a hat, shirt, or trousers, whenever they can afford to do so. This can be done as often as the godfather wishes. The father of the boy or girl has the duty of educating the child, telling him that he has the obligation to speak to the godparents with the words "pagrínitu" or "magrínitu." (If the godchild dies before the age of 10, the godfather must provide the burial clothing.)

[30] Spicer, 1946, p. 31 ff.

854 regarded as necessary for any other reason,
304 nor are there any beliefs about the operation.

The infant is ordinarily baptized between 10
851 days and 2 months after birth. The tendency
608 in recent years is for the period to lengthen. Selecting godparents is important, for the care of the child in the event of death of the parents may devolve on the godparents, and intimate relations will exist in any event. For this reason people will often refuse to accept the responsibility or do so only after repeated invitations. Normally a married couple are sought to act as godparents but sometimes an unmarried man serves as godfather. In this case, when he marries, his wife will automatically become godmother. More rarely an unmarried man and unmarried woman are asked to serve as godparents. Agustín R. acted as godparent one time and had never met the woman who served as godmother.

Most commonly the godfather takes the child to church for baptism unaccompanied by the godmother, but sometimes the godmother goes along and carries the child. The godfather pays the priest the fee for baptism, $2.50. In the case of Agustín R., mentioned above, he was accompanied by his mother who supplied the information the priest needed to enter the baptism in the parochial register.

When the godfather returns the child to its parents, the godmother goes to the house of the parents for food. She takes with her 2 to
[431] 5 cakes of chocolate, 2 bars of soap to wash the child, and 3 to 5 pieces of bread worth 10 centavos each. If the godfather is unmarried, he gives money to some woman to buy these things and take them to the child's parents.

The parents of the child prepare beef cooked in broth (čurípo), tamales, tortillas, and sometimes other things. The godmother eats at the parents' house, and sometimes they invite others. The godfather cannot eat at the parents' house, but they send food to him at his own house, which he eats by himself or he may invite a few of his friends in to help him. In the case of Agustín, he was sent 2 chickens cooked in mole sauce, a big pan of rice, a large basket of tortillas and some tamales. He ate most of the food by himself, his parents refusing to partake of it.

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853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

593 For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[85] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the *"troje"* where

868 10 they may guide the plow and do other field work, for short times. By as early an age as
857 15, boys may be working for wages. When a boy begins to accompany his father and to aid in his work, he no longer plays with girls. There seems no rule about this, but about this time, when a boy is not working, he goes into the streets and plays with other boys of his own age, while the girl no longer plays outside but always stays near her mother unless sent on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is
[861] disobedient, he may be struck once or twice with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or
[593] punishment at this time and the relations between father and son and mother and daughter are close and affectionate once the child begins active participation in the adult activities. The period of conflict, then, seems a rather limited one, between the time when a child is no longer carried about and the time when it begins to participate in the adult life. These remarks again are based on very inadequate data and observation.

852 Some time between the ages of 6 and 10, usually toward the upper limits of the age
869 period, the child is usually confirmed. There is very little ceremony involved, but when a
608 visit from the Bishop is expected there will be a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

853

853 INFANT FEEDING--conception of lactation, milk, and colostrum; beliefs about sucking; initiation of suckling in newborn infants; stimulation of the flow of milk; routine of nursing (e.g., posture, intervals); feeding problems; treatment and behavior of the nursing mother (e.g., diet, sexual abstention); communal nursing; fosterage; adjustments to death of mother; supplementary feeding (e.g., age at beginning, appropriate foods and their preparation); method of feeding (e.g., bottle, cup, spoon); etc. See also:

Malnutrition 146
Dairy products 234
Diet 262
Ideas about breasts 826
Weaning 862

29] for visiting or receiving guests, while a great many conservative women wear it constantly. In the latter case, if they can afford it, women have two costumes, an old one for everyday, a newer one for special occasions.

The complete Tarascan woman's dress consists of petticoat, skirt, blouse, apron, *rebozo* or shawl, and a number of woven belts (fig. 8). The greatest variation is in the blouse. This may be of cheap *manta* or even discarded flour sacking, in which case it merely has an opening for the head, short sleeves, 4 to 6 inches in length, and is unsewn down the sides. The [853] open-sided blouse is often worn by nursing mothers, even though the materials are of better quality. No matter how cheap the materials, however, some design in cross-stitching is usually found about the neck opening.

Finer blouses may be of good cotton, rayon, or even silk, although cotton is the most common. The short sleeves may have a drawstring at the end to tie them closely about the arm. This gives a puffed sleeve appearance, although there is no fitting. More commonly, except in garments made for tourists, the lower end of the sleeve is finished with a crocheted band about 1 inch wide in a contrasting color. Often the lower seam of the sleeve is not carried to the body of the garment. The side seam of the latter is also often incomplete for about 2 inches below the sleeve. The opening left compensates to some extent for the lack of fitting. The neck opening is bound either by solid cross-stitching or a crocheted band similar to that on the sleeve. An extensive cross-stitched design usually gives the effect of a yoke, although front and back of the blouse are a single piece. The neck opening is tied together with two pieces of cord, a piece sewn to each side. Garments for sale may have a drawstring about the neck opening, which then is not extended down the front of the garment.

Cherán women's blouses are usually plainer [184] than those worn in other villages. The decoration is usually a dull yellowish brown and is applied with restraint. No study of the designs was attempted, as it is hoped a general study of the Tarascan textile and garment industry will be made.

The petticoat is of white cotton cloth or *manta*. It reaches from the waist nearly to the

844 The child is then wiped off with a clean cloth and oiled but not bathed. Clothing prepared in advance is put on the child. It is said that the midwife tells parents in advance whether to prepare clothing for a boy or a girl and that they seldom make a mistake. But as no difference could be found in the clothing and, indeed, the child is usually wrapped just in some clean rags, the statement has little significance. Sometimes the child is given tea of Castile roses or a bit of edible oil, but most midwives thought nothing should be given the first day.

853 The child is nursed the second day. Rarely does the mother not have milk. Should this happen, the aid of some nursing mother is sought or the child is given cow or goat milk. The latter is not diluted, but it is boiled before using, often being flavored with a bit of yerba buena or cinnamon. Special drinks are given the mother to induce milk flow if it is inadequate. Brews of flaxseed (?) were mentioned.

844 The afterbirth is buried, sometimes beside the fireplace, sometimes under it. If this is not done, it is believed the mother would become "cold," but one midwife stated the cord is preserved and used for remedies. The cord of Agustín Rangel's father was taken to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac and left.

846 Midwives continue to visit the house to attend to the mother and child. The bandage over the umbilicus is removed every 2 or 3 days. The cord drops off between the second and eighth days (the longer period apparently being unusual). The umbilicus is then anointed with iodine or powder made from tules. Sometimes small hernias are cured with a small ball of sosa (an herb) or a green tomato. Hernias result from carelessness or "coldness." Infections of the umbilicus result from carelessness in bathing the child. One midwife reported curing them with face powder!

The child is normally bathed by the midwife on the third, sixth, and ninth days (according to one midwife, immediately after birth also "if that is the custom of the house"). Warm water is used for the bath.

827 143 Some idea that children resemble parents seems to be prevalent and to be attributed to hereditary mechanisms (although in this informants may have been sophisticated). An instance cited was that of a man with a very

827 linear body build which was repeated in the
143 children, "who looked as though a wind would blow them away," yet otherwise seemed healthy. As an exception, there was cited the case of two girls with red hair and blue eyes in one family. The children were not seen and might have been albinos, but the large number of persons who have visited the United States suggests other explanations. Another case was cited in which the parents had black hair and the fairly dark
[142] skin common among Tarascans. Three sons all had dark-red or auburn hair, and the skin, although equally dark, showed also darker spots resembling freckles. In later years the freckles spread until the skin became a solid color, darker than that of either parent.

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732 ently deficient in mentality. Some continue to show childish reactions and behaviors, laugh a great deal without occasion, do not care for their clothing, eat badly, and do not seem to understand well even when approaching adult years. Nevertheless, no adults were encountered who seemed to exhibit insanity or feeblemindedness.

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853 they desire the breast. Although some evidence of shyness was evident, for example, some
[834] mothers draped their *rebozo* over the breast, nursing takes place in a variety of public circumstances, on the streets or on the roads, and even while riding on a burro. Through the first year or so the child sleeps with the nipple of the mother's breast in its mouth at night. Perhaps as a result of this there is a virtually complete absence of thumb sucking at all ages.

Infants are ordinarily carried by their
854 mothers, almost invariably wrapped in the *rebozo*. Even if the child is carried in the arm, the *rebozo* is slung around the child and over the shoulders to take part of the weight. Ordinarily a small child is slung more or less horizontally in the *rebozo* on the mother's back. One end of the *rebozo* goes under the left arm, the other over the right shoulder, the two ends

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 170 b]

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Occasionally a boy will be seen carrying an infant in a *rebozo*. While this is not common, the boys seemed entirely unself-conscious and were not teased at all. Almost never is an infant put down until it is able to walk. As indicated above, it sleeps with the mother and is permitted to nurse at any time, often sleeping at the breast.

Children are not weaned until 18 to 24 862 months; rare cases are reported of children nursing to the age of 3 or 4. Weaning is aided by anointing the nipple with some bitter or piquant material, for example, chile. Weaning is done because of belief the child needs to have better nourishment, not because of boredom or feeling that the mother may suffer from prolonged nursing. Solid food is given the infant 853 as early as 3 or 4 months, when a little fruit may be offered, such as banana. Tortillas are not given until 8 months. Milk, soup, and mild foods are first given the child. Cooked vegetables are fed at about 3 or 4 years. Chile is not fed children until they are well-grown, or adult, according to one informant.

Although children are rarely put down, after 854 they are several months old they may occasionally be placed on the ground and permitted to crawl for brief periods. Occasionally children walk on all fours rather than on their knees. They are not permitted to try to walk, [856] even though they wish to, until they are judged old enough to do so without causing curvature of the legs.

When children are permitted to attempt 868 walking, a wooden bar is hung from two ropes, which in turn fasten to a single rope suspended from a tree or beam. The child is stood up and persuaded to hold the bar, which moves and forces the child to walk. Some children walk

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296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a
[459] ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored hand of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *reboso*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *reboso*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 For special occasions, women who can afford
[438] them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton
[435] *reboso* from Tangancícuaro. Such *rebosos* may cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebosos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

291 The *reboso* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *reboso* is worn as a shawl. Children
[442] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the *reboso*. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

291 of the *rebozo* (pl. 2, upper right and left). The bare arms are also usually covered by the *rebozo*. The ends may be used to lift hot objects or as a handkerchief. The *rebozo* is worn with cotton dresses as well as with the traditional costume.

Women usually go barefooted on all occasions. Today some wear shoes, but no woman was even seen to wear *guaraches*. Occasionally women may wear a man's straw hat over the *rebozo* when traveling in hot sun. Usually, though, a leafy branch is plucked and held to shade the head.

302 Women dress one another's hair. The hair is carefully combed and brushed, frequently with brushes from urban sources or with brushes of *ruiz de paja*. Oil or lemon juice is often rubbed on the hair to impart a sheen and preserve the hairdress for 8 or 9 days. The hair is parted in the middle and then carefully braided in two braids. Young women and some older women braid in pieces of bright-colored yarn or narrow ribbons. Small girls usually have yarn or ribbon only in one braid. Very old women sometimes do not comb the hair, letting it hang in a tangled mass, possibly because they have no relatives or friends to do this. A band or cord may, in this case, be tied around the head to keep the hair out of the face. In Mestizoized Chilchota, women still do not comb their own hair but do it for each other.[12]

291 Girls frequently are put in the traditional
● 154 costume before they can walk. Usually a portion of a worn-out skirt or *serape* is bound on the infant with a belt. When the child can walk, a miniature blouse and petticoat are provided, and usually a portion of a skirt, even
[156] though ragged. Thus, even from infancy, the girl is tightly bound about the waist and at an older age is able to stand the tight belt necessary to support the heavy petticoat and skirt (pl. 2, lower right and left).

301 Both women and girls wear necklaces of tubular red glass beads called *corales* (corals). Three or four to several dozen strings are worn. The strings go only part way around the neck, being attached to two ribbons which are tied behind the neck. Earrings are also worn.

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[12] In Sevoro in La Cebada, women dress each other's hair after the weekly bath. The hair is "dried" with lemon juice and the juice of an unidentified herb.

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868 as early as 8 months, but most later, and some
145 not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be papá, mamá, ueksínga ("I want"), and auáka ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 8 months.

Toilet training is not rigorous and little is
863 done until the child is able to walk. Up to this
854 time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In
[155] general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

As soon as children begin to walk, they are
854 dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments.
291 In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn. Little girls wore a tiny *rollo*, while boys wore cotton trousers and shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little
854 girls are pierced by their mothers, using a
304 needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

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854 regarded as necessary for any other reason,
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The parents of the child prepare beef cooked in broth (čurípo), tamales, tortillas, and sometimes other things. The godmother eats at the parents' house, and sometimes they invite others. The godfather cannot eat at the parents' house, but they send food to him at his own house, which he eats by himself or he may invite a few of his friends in to help him. In the case of Agustín, he was sent 2 chickens cooked in mole sauce, a big pan of rice, a large basket of tortillas and some tamales. He ate most of the food by himself, his parents refusing to partake of it.

608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
[123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
751 but there are few special treatments for them.
754 Only the evil eye must be guarded against especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of
854 a year or less. This illness is especially in-

751 sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently,
754 that is, the person with power to cause the evil
854 eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chile, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

553 In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be
608 chosen at a council of the adult relatives who
851 pick a name from among the deceased relatives, never the saint's day, as is the case among the Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

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553 the child of the latter being known as Pablo Juan or Luisa Juan, etc.

CHILDHOOD

854 [291] Small children are usually clothed today. Occasionally a small boy is seen wearing nothing but a shirt, but this is uncommon, while girls able to walk always have a blouse and a skirt. In early childhood there is a good deal of affection between parents and children. Adults of both sexes play with the children and carry them about a great deal. Small children are kissed by both parents. Fear of strangers is absent. While opportunities for observation were limited, on several occasions when I had opportunity to be with children while talking with parents, they responded immediately to any caress on my part, often promptly climbing into my lap, or seizing hold of my clothing if I were standing. At this age there is evidently little correction. Some children cry and whimper a good deal and are reproved for it or told to hush, but nothing is done if the child continues.

As the child grows a little older, it evidently goes through a somewhat trying period of readjustment. This probably coincides with the coming of another child and also with the increasing care of the child by older brothers and sisters. At this period some rough treatment is given by the parents. Several times children were seen to stumble and fall on the street. When the child began to cry, the father either smacked it on the rump or kicked it along, gently it is true.

854 152 A boy about 4 was observed in a temper tantrum on the Cherán plaza. The tantrum began when the mother took a large piece of sugarcane held by the child, broke it, prepared the smaller piece, and gave it to the child. The child began to scream and weep, demanding the larger piece back. The mother laughed good-naturedly and told him to come along. He refused, and finally the mother gave the boy a gentle tap on the rump with her piece of sugarcane. The child screamed and beat at the mother with his cane. She continued to laugh, made some comments to others passing by and gradually got the child moved along, but he continued screaming as long as he was within earshot. In this case the mother showed more

854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

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736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
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871 ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

868 Actual participation in adult work begins at about 8 years for boys. At this age they
857 accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

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Sierra Tarascans

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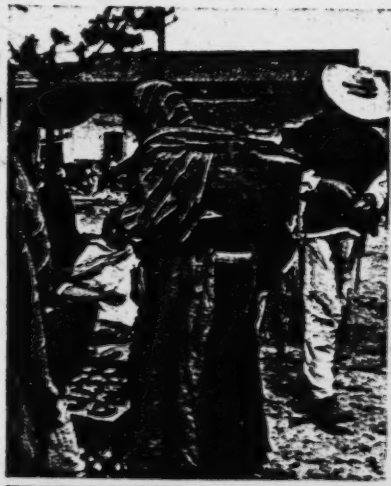

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WOMEN, CARRYING METHODS, AND HAIR GROOMING.

Upper (left): Woman bargaining for tomatoes, showing typical method of carrying burdens on the back, i. e., by a sling of sacking which supports a basket and passes around the shoulders and across the chest. Her rollo is clearly visible. The man in the short poncho is probably a Mestizo attending the fiesta. *Upper (right)*: Woman using *rebozo* in carrying a child. Musicians in background. *Lower (left)*: Unmarried young woman of San Lorenzo with rayon apron and light *rebozo* for a fiesta. *Lower (right)*: Mother combs her daughter's hair and anoints it with oil or lemon juice (in how?) to give it a sheen.

[End Plate 2]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958

[End Plate 3]

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Plate III. Views in Morelia

Upper, Ignacio Peña, narrator of the myth of creation, in front of author's apartment.

Lower, Spanish aqueduct built to bring water from mountains to city.

[177]

291 of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of [885] an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

302 Today both men and boys wear the hair short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only 178 one boy in Cherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remem- [856] bered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of 291 women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only

[Text continues on page 40 b]

291 of the *rebozo* (pl. 2, upper right and left). The bare arms are also usually covered by the *rebozo*. The ends may be used to lift hot objects or as a handkerchief. The *rebozo* is worn with cotton dresses as well as with the traditional costume.

Women usually go barefooted on all occasions. Today some wear shoes, but no woman was even seen to wear *guaraches*. Occasionally women may wear a man's straw hat over the *rebozo* when traveling in hot sun. Usually, though, a leafy branch is plucked and held to shade the head.

Women dress one another's hair. The hair
302 is carefully combed and brushed, frequently with brushes from urban sources or with brushes of *raiz de paja*. Oil or lemon juice is often rubbed on the hair to impart a sheen and preserve the hairdress for 2 or 3 days. The hair is parted in the middle and then carefully braided in two braids. Young women and some older women braid in pieces of bright-colored yarn or narrow ribbons. Small girls usually have yarn or ribbon only in one braid. Very old women sometimes do not comb the hair, letting it hang in a tangled mass, possibly because they have no relatives or friends to do this. A band or cord may, in this case, be tied around the head to keep the hair out of the face. In Mestizoized Chilchota, women still do not comb their own hair but do it for each other.[12]

Girls frequently are put in the traditional
291 costume before they can walk. Usually a
854 portion of a worn-out skirt or *serape* is bound on the infant with a belt. When the child can walk, a miniature blouse and petticoat are provided, and usually a portion of a skirt, even though ragged. Thus, even from infancy, the
[856] girl is tightly bound about the waist and at an older age is able to stand the tight belt necessary to support the heavy petticoat and skirt (pl. 2, lower right and left).

Both women and girls wear necklaces of
301 tubular red glass beads called *corales* (corals). Three or four to several dozen strings are worn. The strings go only part way around the neck, being attached to two ribbons which are tied behind the neck. Earrings are also worn.

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[12] In Sopoco in La Cañada, women dress each other's hair after the weekly bath. The hair is "fixed" with lemon juice and the juice of an unidentified herb.

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[p. 170 b]

854 crossing on the chest and being either tied or tucked under the opposite arms. When a little older the child kneels on the top of the *rollo* or thick pleats at the top of the skirt or sits on the *rollo* with legs on either side of the mother's waist. In either case the child is held in place by the *rebozo*. Men often carry infants in their 857 arms, while small girls frequently carry their 854 younger brothers and sisters in the same way as their mothers. The infants seem to interfere with the older child's activities very little.

Occasionally a boy will be seen carrying an infant in a *rebozo*. While this is not common, the boys seemed entirely unself-conscious and were not teased at all. Almost never is an infant put down until it is able to walk. As indicated above, it sleeps with the mother and is permitted to nurse at any time, often sleeping at the breast.

Children are not weaned until 18 to 24 862 months; rare cases are reported of children nursing to the age of 3 or 4. Weaning is aided by anointing the nipple with some bitter or piquant material, for example, chile. Weaning is done because of belief the child needs to have better nourishment, not because of boredom or feeling that the mother may suffer from prolonged nursing. Solid food is given the infant 853 as early as 3 or 4 months, when a little fruit may be offered, such as banana. Tortillas are not given until 8 months. Milk, soup, and mild foods are first given the child. Cooked vegetables are fed at about 3 or 4 years. Chile is not fed children until they are well-grown, or adult, according to one informant.

Although children are rarely put down, after 854 they are several months old they may occasionally be placed on the ground and permitted to crawl for brief periods. Occasionally children walk on all fours rather than on their knees. They are not permitted to try to walk, [856] even though they wish to, until they are judged old enough to do so without causing curvature of the legs.

868 When children are permitted to attempt walking, a wooden bar is hung from two ropes, which in turn fasten to a single rope suspended from a tree or beam. The child is stood up and persuaded to hold the bar, which moves and forces the child to walk. Some children walk

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[p. 148b]

THE PASTORELA

535 The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is
796 also performed at Christmas time. The dance
is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and
with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are
● 857 the *uanánčes*, the four girls (six according to
other accounts) who have taken incense and
flowers to the church during the year and performed other services at the church. Generally they are about 10 years of age. Usually the girls have been vowed to the service by their parents as the result of illness or some other misfortune threatening the child. The time of the dance is sometimes called the fiesta of pajáču (meaning not secured).

The *uanánčes* invite a number of other girls to participate, 12 in all being needed. The girls invited by the *uanánčes* have no responsibilities other than dancing, but each of the *uanánčes* must feed the group for 1 day. The *uanánčes* also select adults to represent the parts of the devil and the hermit and also select the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of course, are borne by their parents) also have music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the *catrin*, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with straw hats adorned with artificial flowers (actually the style is not citified, but is rural Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not performed in 1940 and the actual dance could not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the performance. One of the songs collected (for
535 the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows
539 (spelling as given):
796

A que noche tan cremoza
Ensillad mi buen caballo
Que en Belen nos conbida de Salvador
Muy lejos tieras bengo
Agosar de una pasiada
Con gusta y contento
A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
Saddle my good horse,
For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
To very distant lands I will arrive.
I will enjoy a journey,
With pleasure and content
To bring together my cattle.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 with the peso. From the plaza we then went west over
7% to the store of Don Emilio Rojas where we danced and were given a 50-centavo piece. From there we then came over to the house of Rafael Castillo, where we danced and were given two packages of cigarettes. From there we went over to the store of Benito Pahuamba, where we danced and were given a bottle of sherry. From there we went over to the *carguero's* house to eat supper, but before we ate we danced the whole works. Then we ate supper and after that they gave each of the *viejos* a loaf of white bread. But before, when we were dancing and reciting, the *carguero's* wife began to pass out sugarcane and oranges and then we went to eat. After supper we danced for a little while, up to about 11 p. m., and then we went home. We danced [this time] because that was the *combate* for this year's *mayordomía* for Don Aurelio. [The last sentence is obscure. Don Aurelio was the *carguero* for the succeeding year.]

Ordinarily the dancers appear again for 1 day at the time of Candelaria, February 2, reciting the same *relatos* but without the Three Kings. For 1941 one man had agreed to pay for the music and two others had agreed to provide food for the dancers, but for some reason the arrangement fell through. On the vespers of Candelaria, people burn pitch pine (ocote) in front of their lots.

OTHER DANCES

●[857] On January 1 a group of children, 6 to 8 years old, dances in the day time. Six boys and six girls participate and are called taré sapíratiča, or the "little old men." They go to church very early in the morning and change the image of the Holy Child, which had been placed in a reclining position in a crib on December 25, placing it in a sitting position. After the Mass the children go to the house of the *colector*, where they breakfast and dance. They then go to the house of the kéṛi and dance. Later they go to some other houses to dance. At midday they eat at the house of the *colector* again. The dance is performed to music furnished by wind instruments. It apparently attracts little attention and often is not performed. A former *colector* stated the girls are the *uanánčes* for the ensuing year, but this fact seemed not to be generally known.

In connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves or the Virgin of the Snows, a group of girls performs a dance on August 5 for 1 day to music of wind instruments. The dance is

854 crossing on the chest and being either tied or tucked under the opposite arms. When a little older the child kneels on the top of the *rollo* or thick pleats at the top of the skirt or sits on the *rollo* with legs on either side of the mother's waist. In either case the child is held in place by the *rebozo*. Men often carry infants in their
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736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
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About 25 percent of the boys go to school at
857 ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are
871 ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there
[562] is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

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857 accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

868 10 they may guide the plow and do other field
work, for short times. By as early as age as
857 15, boys may be working for wages. When a
boy begins to accompany his father and to aid
in his work, he no longer plays with girls.
There seems no rule about this, but about this
time, when a boy is not working, he goes into
the streets and plays with other boys of his
own age, while the girl no longer plays outside
but always stays near her mother unless sent
on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is
[861] disobedient, he may be struck once or twice
with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or
[593] punishment at this time and the relations between father and son and mother and daughter are close and affectionate once the child begins active participation in the adult activities. The period of conflict, then, seems a rather limited one, between the time when a child is no longer carried about and the time when it begins to participate in the adult life. These remarks again are based on very inadequate data and observation.

Some time between the ages of 6 and 10,
852 usually toward the upper limits of the age
869 period, the child is usually confirmed. There
is very little ceremony involved, but when a
608 visit from the Bishop is expected there will be
a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

857 524 Boys and girls play together a good deal until aged 8 or 10. Varieties of tag games are common. Boys also play among themselves frequently. For small boys at present, small home-made wagons with four wheels, usually with no method of steering, are one of the more popular playthings. Older males in the household make the wagons. Balls made of rags are also used. They are thrown and, at times, are used with a hockeylike game in which the ball is hit with curved wooden sticks. The street is used as a field and the object is to hit the ball past opponents (Beals and Carrasco, 1944). January is a favorite time for this game. Small boys amuse themselves by roping pigs, and about the time of the fiesta of the patron saint they may attempt to ride the pigs.

The most popular boys' game probably is marbles. The common marble game is "follow the leader." It is sometimes played for centavos. The rainy season is the most popular time, because the rain lays the dust and provides clean, hard surfaces. Quite popular is top spinning, which is most played in June and July. Top fighting is a common form. The first player throws his top at a ring. If he misses, his opponent attempts to hit the top with his own. He may split the first top, for the points are sharpened, or win it.

857 481 Stilts are made, especially in October and November. They are small, peeled pine trees with one of the branches left projecting near the bottom. This is almost exclusively a boy's amusement, but one girl was seen walking on stilts. Hunting birds with sling shots (mostly [227] of the rubber-band type) is most common in May and June. A ring and pin game, made of [524] wood in Paracho, is played by all ages.

857 524 A favorite sport from March through May is kite flying. Kites of small boys are about 7 by 9 inches; those of larger boys are about 2 by 3 feet. They are six-stick kites made with sticks all the same length and requiring a tail. They are commonly in bright colors. Big boys tie razor blades on the tails of their kites and fight each other. They try to maneuver their kites into the top position where they can be dropped and cut the strings of the other kites. There is a slight element of danger in this; one boy got his cheek laid open in 1940.

857 Small girls and sometimes small boys play with swings in the house yards. These are merely larger versions of the swings used to teach infants to walk. Girls also play running games in the streets with small boys and play "keep away" and other games with rag balls. [157] Girls are shy and always stopped playing when they were observed.

857 In general, girls ape adult activities much more than do boys. Girls pretend to mill 868 maize, using a board for a metate, a rock for the mano, and mud for the maize dough. They play at being street vendors, using flower petals for merchandise. Sometimes they have dolls made of rags, but not very often. More common is it for several girls to get some boards or branches and make a house in which they will play at housekeeping with their fireplaces, grinding stones, dishes, etc. After several weddings had been held in close succession, a group of girls were observed playing at having a wedding. Flowers were put in the hair of the "godmothers" and leaves of maize were tied in the hair to represent the ribbons used in real weddings.

857 Education for life in Cherán is completely on an informal and unconscious level. Children 861 learn first by imitating and then by doing while assisting their parents. The social and religious structure they learn little by little through observation first of parents', and later of relatives', reactions to various individuals and situations and by listening to conversations. Only to a very small extent do children learn by being told. Again, observations are too few to generalize extensively, but apparently children are counseled and advised only when they begin to be old enough to undertake adult responsibilities. When they mention that they may do a certain act, the parents may discuss the advisability with them. In small matters of etiquette, parents may prompt children of any age. Formal training, though, seems to play little part in education for life as it is lived in Cherán.

871 Formal education for about 25 percent of the boys is received in school. Those who continue throughout the available course receive four years of school education. They learn to read and write and do a little simple arithmetic. They learn very little history or geography.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.976]

163 The data again are not entirely reliable because
842 of a tendency not to count deceased children until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[26]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938,
165 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

The table of deaths by causes (table 16)
165 should be considered primarily of interest in
753 showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities.
[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[858] [26] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
[123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
754 but there are few special treatments for them. Only the evil eye must be guarded against
854 especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

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Occasionally a boy will be seen carrying an infant in a *rebozo*. While this is not common, the boys seemed entirely unself-conscious and were not teased at all. Almost never is an infant put down until it is able to walk. As indicated above, it sleeps with the mother and is permitted to nurse at any time, often sleeping at the breast.

Children are not weaned until 18 to 24 862 months; rare cases are reported of children nursing to the age of 3 or 4. Weaning is aided by anointing the nipple with some bitter or piquant material, for example, chile. Weaning is done because of belief the child needs to have better nourishment, not because of boredom or feeling that the mother may suffer from prolonged nursing. Solid food is given the infant 853 as early as 3 or 4 months, when a little fruit may be offered, such as banana. Tortillas are not given until 8 months. Milk, soup, and mild foods are first given the child. Cooked vegetables are fed at about 3 or 4 years. Chile is not fed children until they are well-grown, or adult, according to one informant.

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548 occasionally. Payment, usually 50 centavos, is given to the girls prostituting themselves, part of which is given to the woman who lends her house for the purpose and arranges the meeting.

Despite the existence of prostitution, it is
● 864 claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Girls particularly are believed to be relatively innocent, although obviously all have knowledge of the nature of the sexual act in a setting as full of animals as is Cherán. Boys are believed to be somewhat more sophisticated because, even though they may not have visited houses of prostitution, details are talked about among them. After marriage, aside from the prohibitions on intercourse during pregnancy and confinement and
833 during menstruation, there are no restrictions on sexual relations between husband and wife. There seem to be no ideas about a fixed interval or ideal interval between sexual relations and informants thought relations were "frequent" but would not suggest any time periods. In general, the subject of sex relations proved embarrassing and informants seemed purposely to avoid definite statements.

The customary preliminary to marriage is
583 for the groom to "steal" (*robar*) his bride. Virtually everyone of the older and the more articulate men in town deprecate the custom and many assert that it is a recent development. Nevertheless, no one could name a time when the custom was not practiced. Moreover, it is to be found in many other Tarascan towns, perhaps in all of them, and is regarded as an old form at Mestizo Chilchota, where most marriages also begin by stealing. Although occasionally the groom asks for the bride instead of stealing her, such cases are exceptional and seem more likely to be the innovation than does the stealing of the bride.

Only on very rare occasions is the bride stolen without her consent. Generally the entire performance, including setting the time and place, has been arranged beforehand between the bride and groom, although it is good form for the girl to struggle or at least to pretend to do so. The groom enlists the
[561] cooperation of some of his age mates and they assist in carrying off the girl and in blocking pursuit. The usual time for carrying off a girl is on a Sunday when she comes out of church

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the
809 pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and
569 heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the
173 Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is pro-
867 vided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the
182 role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.

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512 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds
462 it herself, in the meantime making atole. The men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and
[869] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually
[517] by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 In some ways the activities of men are less
462 varied and complex than those of the women. A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

It would be a mistake to assume, however,
517 that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor,
159 broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

854 forebearance than seems likely to be usual.
[152] Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of
[524] them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress.
[864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

Being an orphan is regarded as a grave mis-
736 fortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán
[195] when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 About 25 percent of the boys go to school at ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are
● 871 ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there is some start toward participation in adult
[562] activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

Actual participation in adult work begins at
868 about 8 years for boys. At this age they accompany their fathers to the woods and help
857 carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

857 Small girls and sometimes small boys play with swings in the house yards. These are merely larger versions of the swings used to teach infants to walk. Girls also play running games in the streets with small boys and play "keep away" and other games with rag balls. [157] Girls are shy and always stopped playing when they were observed.

857 In general, girls ape adult activities much more than do boys. Girls pretend to mill 868 maize, using a board for a metate, a rock for the mano, and mud for the maize dough. They play at being street vendors, using flower petals for merchandise. Sometimes they have dolls made of rags, but not very often. More common is it for several girls to get some boards or branches and make a house in which they will play at housekeeping with their fireplaces, grinding stones, dishes, etc. After several weddings had been held in close succession, a group of girls were observed playing at having a wedding. Flowers were put in the hair of the "godmothers" and leaves of maize were tied in the hair to represent the ribbons used in real weddings.

857 Education for life in Cherán is completely on an informal and unconscious level. Children 861 learn first by imitating and then by doing while assisting their parents. The social and religious structure they learn little by little through observation first of parents', and later of relatives', reactions to various individuals and situations and by listening to conversations. Only to a very small extent do children learn by being told. Again, observations are too few to generalize extensively, but apparently children are counseled and advised only when they begin to be old enough to undertake adult responsibilities. When they mention that they may do a certain act, the parents may discuss the advisability with them. In small matters of etiquette, parents may prompt children of any age. Formal training, though, seems to play little part in education for life as it is lived in Cherán.

871 Formal education for about 25 percent of the boys is received in school. Those who continue throughout the available course receive four years of school education. They learn to read and write and do a little simple arithmetic. They learn very little history or geography.

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[p.175 b]

871 They learn something of natural history, such as major classifications of things in the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms.

874 A few ambitious families send one or more of their children to high school in Morelia or to an agricultural school. Some are sent to the boarding school at Paracho, where they receive some education in a trade and in farming. A few also may go to Mexico City, and a case or two were discovered of children studying law or medicine. However, it is doubtful whether 2 dozen families in Cherán have sent their children on to advanced school training.

871 182 With all due acknowledgement of the effort and sincerity involved in the school system, the Cherán schools do not train children in any real sense for life in Cherán. The average Cherán resident completing the school training has little advantage over his unschooled fellows in following the farming routines of the community. If he can read and write he perhaps has some less chance of being swindled in business transactions and more opportunity of rising to some municipal office. If his education is effective, however, and is put to use, it is by moving out of the basic pattern of Cherán. Such a person may become a storekeeper or a mill operator, where his education will be of some slight service to him. The major advantage of school training is to better equip some individuals to cope with the Mestizo world which impinges on Cherán to some extent. Even so, the school child acquires little knowledge of rights and responsibilities in a larger world. Insofar as the education is effective and is utilized—and this is even more markedly true of those going on for more advanced education—the effect is to move the individual out of the culture of Cherán. If he stays in Cherán he tends to become an exploiter rather than a producer, or to occupy a position where he furnishes some liason between the rest of the population and the Mestizo world. Or, more commonly, he moves out of the Cherán culture completely, residing in some other part of Mexico. Only to a very small extent and in a very limited number of cases does an individual become a better producer, that is, a better farmer; or practice a trade learned through schools; or become a force and example guiding the community to better housing, reformed

871 diets, better health practices, or higher stan-
882 dards of community organization. Formal education is still not geared to the needs and problems of Cherán life and is and will remain relatively ineffective until it becomes of obvious utility to the average Cherán resident. In other words, until the educational process is conceived of first of all from the standpoint of Cherán culture, instead of from the standpoint of national needs or theories, it will not be effective. And when education becomes geared to Cherán needs, paradoxically, it can then be effectively geared to national objectives.

YOUTH

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882 boys in general are rather antisocial and appear to have some conflict with their parents. They feel they are growing up very fast and are impressed by the age gap which separates them

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539
The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature [175]
of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest [648]
through the successful teachings of the Catholic church. [197]

As literature, the legends are presented in language which 539
seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial 113
status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should [871]
be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct [194]
religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather
exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the
neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of
folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta [196]
of *Uaxeata cónseuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest
to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-
Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these
legends have probably become embellished with illusions and
atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This [128]
author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly
literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to 539
the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the
changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems
to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well [131]
since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the rela- [182]
tive isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate
the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan
life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty 539
years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native prove- 177
nience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are 178
apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), [43]
yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, [463]
1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as mar-
riage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—
the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of
Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and 539
social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends 529
597

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.175 6]

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[p. 2b]

his aunt, Doña Feliciana Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

A particular debt of gratitude is also due Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one of the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

A word should be said about field methods at this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

882 from their parents. In an overheard conversation, two young men commented at length on how fast people got old at their ages, while people over 30 did not seem to age at all.

The transition for girls is even less clearly defined than that for boys. As girls are sometimes married even before their first menstruation, this physiological transition hardly [881] seems to mark a status change. From the age of 6 or 8, girls essentially perform adult labors in assisting their mothers. Youth is essentially a transition to adulthood and marriage. As a general thing, girls are married soon after the [582] first menstruation.

881 Informants were agreed that most girls experience the first menses at about 14 years of age; whether this is the ideal age or the actual age could not be determined. No cases of failure to menstruate were known. Menstrual disorders apparently do occur sometimes and the aid of midwives is sought in such cases, but no details could be secured. Men, at least, believe that girls are generally ignorant of the menstrual period until they experience the first occurrence, and this belief coincides with a few statements by women. Some girls are said to be a little depressed or frightened, but the experience is not severe. Mothers explain to their daughters that the phenomenon is perfectly natural, and girls never become ill.

882 The mother always informs her husband when the first menstruation occurs. At this time the father increases his admonitions to his wife to watch over the girl. Careful mothers from now on do not let the girls go alone for water or to church or walk about the streets. Care is taken that girls do not see "bad" things. Well-brought-up girls, in fact, are hardly allowed out of the house until they are married, but if this ideal were really lived up to, it is difficult to see how either marriages could be arranged or "stealing" occur. Cherán, though, feels its standards are much above those of other towns and people mention some [186] of La Cañada towns, especially Tacuro, as being very bad. The latter town is said even [835] to have many cases of sexual relations between father and daughter, which is said never to happen in Cherán.

841 Most women early become regular in their menstrual periods. No devices for keeping

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882

[186] [835]

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891

796 gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is
535 worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choreographic description (and being unable to
[126] witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, turí'a, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or boys are sought, "alert people, good learners,
[883] who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the koroníče.

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293 During the summer months boys and girls are
[883] the full-time shepherds, driving herds up the mountain slope each morning and down to the folds near the house at evening. The elders perform the semiannual shearing and often tend the flocks in the cornfields during the winter. Professional shepherds are sometimes hired by sheep owners to care for their flocks.

The sheep of the Tarascans are small, scrawny animals, descendants of the 16th-century Spanish breeds. In a given flock about half the animals are black, the rest white (pl. 7). Often a few goats graze with the flock. The Indians are usually financially unable to improve the breed with new blood; in only one case did the writer
236 observe a merino ram. The Tarascans raise sheep mainly for wool. The *rancheros* around Cerro de Patamban shear their animals with hand clippers every 6 months. Some wool is obtained also by the girl shepherds, who pluck from the backs of sheep while the animals are grazing; as she plucks, the girl spins the wool on a whorl spindle, completing a ball of yarn as large as the fist at the end of day. In many villages local wool is used for weaving, many weavers possessing their own flocks. Otherwise the wool clip is sold to people from other villages or to mestizo wholesale buyers.

231 The hog was the first European animal domesti-
177 cate that the Spaniards brought into the Tarascan area in quantity, and was possibly one of the first of the new animals adopted into Indian culture. As early as 1525 Spaniards were raising large droves of hogs in the vicinity of Pátzcuaro in order to supply food to placer operations in the Balsas (Millares Carlo and Mantecón, 1945, p. 32).[119] Indians were used as swineherds. Throughout the colonial period large numbers of hogs were fed in the marsh areas north of the Sierra and droves were periodically driven to Toluca and the valley of Mexico (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 180). Today the hog is common in
231 every Tarascan village. Practically every household owns two or three animals, which serve as scavengers, running the streets by day; enough maize and scraps are fed the animals to induce them to return at night to the proper pen in the

[119] The hog appears to have been the first Old World animal raised on a large scale in New Spain. Moreover, hog culture was intimately connected with gold placering in Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Michoacán (1521–30). Droves were driven along with the shifting placer camps, the animals feeding on fallen tropical fruits (e. g. the *ciruela*), roots, and wild tubers in the tierra caliente. "*Carne de puerco*" was the chief "energy" food given the Indian labor gangs.

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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team. 526

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it. [883]

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf. 526 171

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios. [824]

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan. [175] [172]

Koltſs atárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskúkua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apórun*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece. 524

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kurínſkua* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *ra* is often omitted, giving the form *atákua*. The "l" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *koltſs* is in this category, but its origin is not identified. [194]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient.

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it.

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces.

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri.

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

291 of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of [885] an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

Today both men and boys wear the hair 302 short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only 178 one boy in Cherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remem- [886] bered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of 291 women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only

[Text continues on page 40 b]

588 recent years it is said that these restrictions
586 have disappeared.

One reason for the free union is the difficulty of securing a legal divorce. Such a divorce can be granted only by a court of first instance (*juzgado de primer instancia*). The nearest court of this kind is in Uruapan, and to secure a divorce requires many trips to Uruapan and an outlay of more money than most Cherán residents can afford. Moreover, most people do not understand the needed steps.

586 Causes of divorce are drunkenness, wife beating, failure to support the family, or abandoning the family for another woman on the part of the man. On the part of the woman, infidelity is an important cause. Lack of children is rarely if ever the direct cause of divorce, and is not recognized as a sufficient reason. Incompatibility evidently may play a part also. Uncles and grandfathers of the married couple and the godparents of the marriage intervene if a marriage is not going smoothly, and attempt to persuade the couple to change their habits.

In all cases of divorce for whatever cause, the officials of the *municipio* investigate. If they find the divorce not justified, the officials may force the couple to continue living together. If the causes are deemed sufficient, the officials do not interfere, although they may supervise disposition of children so that they will have the best care. If children are less than 6 or 7 they are usually put in charge of the mother. Over that age they are usually given to the parent best able to rear them properly. If the mother is industrious and the father a drunkard, the children will be given to the mother, but if the mother is careless of her obligations, the father will receive the children. Dislike or quarrels rarely arise between relatives of a divorced couple. In free unions, as in mar-
[593] riages of widows or widowers, sometimes a parent is jealous of the spouse's children by a previous marriage, sometimes not.

ADULT LIFE

885
585 Entry into adult status is closely associated with marriage. Normally a child is not consulted in family affairs until he is married; the only exceptions are a few families where youths have not married at the customary ages. Usu-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat
593 difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[851] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

1:Beals E-6 (1940-1941)1945 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 193a]

596 they have lived thus far. In the few cases
591 where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

593 More commonly a joint family will not be
591 established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

593 Much the same situation will obtain regard-
423 ing farm lands. A father may give his son some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son
● 885 may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 In addition to acquiring a house and lands,
352 the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

291 unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in
521 Cherán is simply talking. Both men and
517 women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

538 With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

887 The transition from adult to old age is not
a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents
886 whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

(p. 201 b)

886 fatigable dancer at fiestas. By any standard
887 this man is old, but he certainly shows no sign of senescence, although it is unlikely he is still sexually potent. Similarly, women obviously far past child-bearing age are often the most active workers at fiestas and the most eager dancers, in contrast to the often lackadaisical attitudes of young mothers who dance not at all.

886 For women the menopause comes between 40 and 50. Information from women on sexual subjects is difficult to secure even by women, and the scanty information is quite unsatisfactory.[20]

Some women appear to be more or less spiritless and sad after the menopause, while others seem to be quite gay. In some cases this difference may have psychological basis or may reflect the presence or absence of physiological difficulties. Indifference of husbands, the sexual potency of husbands, and the continuance of sexual relations may also have some bearing on individual cases. At least one woman expressed herself as pleased to have passed the menopause because "now she was free" and was not dependent upon men. Further study of the problem is needed but would require considerable time and tact on the part of women investigators.

888 In general, whether old age is depressing and unhappy or not seems to depend upon the continuance of a successful marital relationship and the possession of adequate economic resources. The only really unhappy old people seem to be elderly women without children or husbands who eke out a miserable existence in ways that could not be discovered. They dwell in hovels and lean-tos of brush and boards, carry their own wood, and to some extent live on charity. Those with reasonable health and either dutiful children or enough property to insure care on the part of the children seem to lead a fairly satisfactory life. Often nephews and nieces also help care for old people; again, possession of property probably aids in securing

[20] Early in the study Mrs. Ruth W. Burke, of New York, aided by the nurse from the boarding school at Paracho and by a Mexican girl from Paracho, tried to fill out comprehensive questionnaires on sexual subjects, directed primarily toward gaining insight into the psychological problems related to the menopause. She was able to secure only three reasonably complete schedules and even these probably contain evasions and some unanswered questions. I am indebted to Mrs. Burke for copies of the schedules and have drawn upon them slightly for these remarks.

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
584 forced but went willingly. There is no reason to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am not concerned in the matter but come to speak for the parents of the groom. They have come as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the evening the father returned and agreed to the marriage, but he said little and clearly was angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
182 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means
602 that the two families, in the most extended sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male relatives will help to move a house or roof a house, while the bride's female relatives will be called on to work in the kitchen on the same occasions. Both families will likewise be concerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in varying degree, especially when a grandchild marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion
585 for celebration, the release of tensions through drinking, the provision of diversion with the dancing, and the general stimulus through extensive social interaction is very considerable. For the participants, weddings probably rank as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for social contacts and amusement.

A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
585 weddings is the much greater participation of
● 987 the older women. Young women with children usually do not take a very active part in the kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the exchange of clothing. The old women, on the other hand, are in the forefront of all activities. Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in many respects. Old women are the most active in the kitchen. They are the first to start drinking, although they rarely drink to the excess common among the men, and they are the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the playing of dance music has an almost compulsive effect. Time and again, when dance music is being played, even though it is not time for dancing, some of the old women will be seen quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

Although the ceremonies of marriage are
585 most elaborate in the case of first marriages,
587 often marriages of widows or widowers are

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888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of
[198] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Paricho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* in medicine was resident in the town (a
[759] *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the
[344] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

759 All the curers (*curanderas*—*kurijki*; in other towns *ximájpiri*) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the
752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling
755 *cuaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which
[824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them
755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in
761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to
[888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially
775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the
764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not